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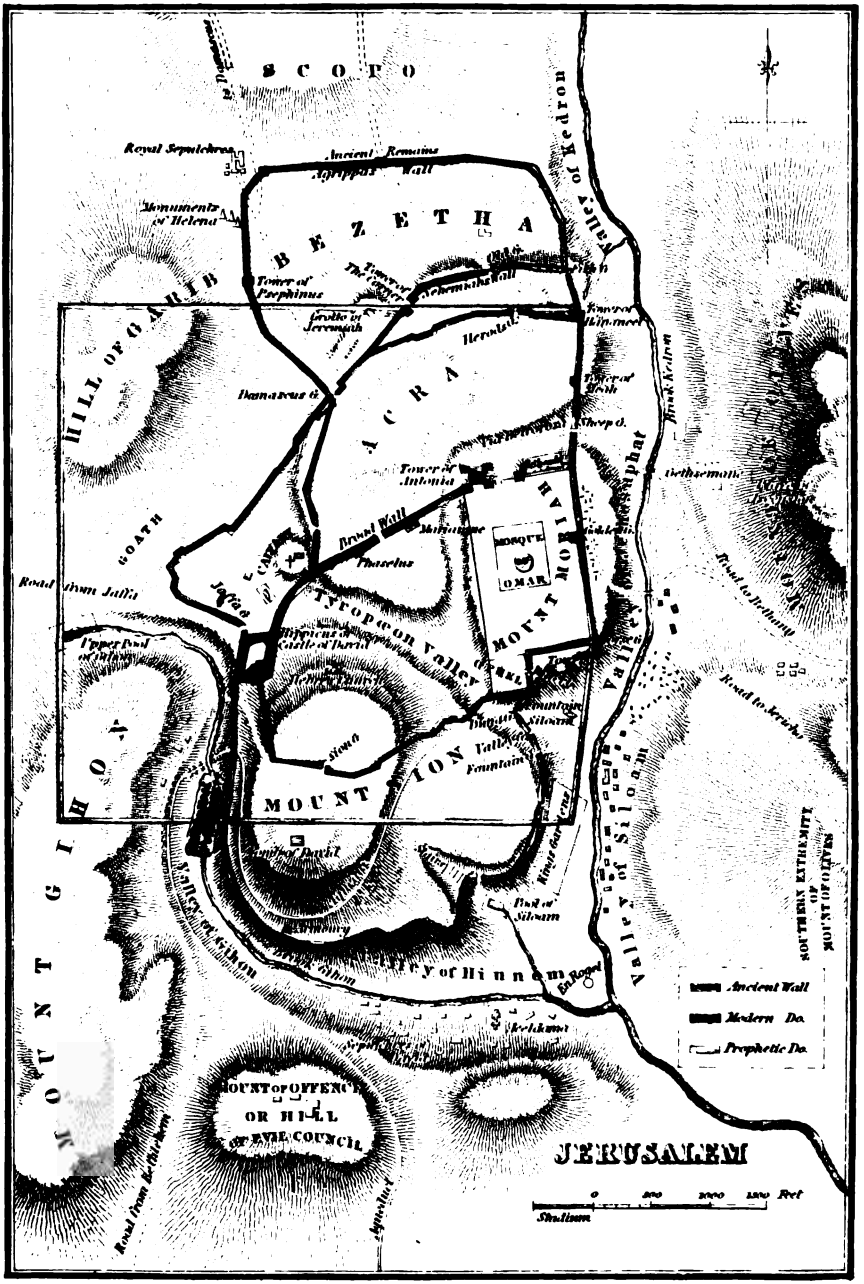

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NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

TO

MADEIRA, TENERIFFE,

AND ALONG THE

SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN,

INCLUDING A VISIT TO

ALGIERS, EGYPT, PALESTINE, TYRE, RHODES, TELMESSUS, CYPRUS, AND GREECE.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF

EGYPT AND PALESTINE,

AND ON THE CLIMATE, NATURAL HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTRIES VISITED.

BY

W. R. WILDE, M.R.I.A.

Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland; Honorary and Corresponding Member of the Learned Societies of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Athens; Lecturer on Ophthalmic and Aural Surgery; Author of "Austria and its Institutions," and the Report on the Medical Department of the Irish Census for 1841, &c. &c.

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DEDICATED

TO

THE HON. AND VERY REV. HENRY PAKENHAM,

Dean of St. Patrick's,

AND

WILLIAM ROBERT WILLS, ESQ.

Of Castlerea House,

AS

A SMALL BUT SINCERE TOKEN

OF THE

GRATITUDE AND RESPECT

OF THEIR ATTACHED FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In September, 1837, my friends Sir Henry Marsh and Dr. Graves appointed me medical attendant to a gentleman about to make a voyage for the benefit of his health. At their suggestion, I undertook to collect information relative to the climate of the places we should visit, and also to keep a register of their temperature. At the solicitation of other friends, I made a daily note of those objects which struck me as interesting in the countries we visited. From these notes the present work has been arranged; but, instead of dragging my readers through the perusal of our daily adventures and misadventures, I have in general endeavoured rather to condense the substance of what I saw and observed in foreign lands into a connected narrative.

Voyaging, as my friend Mr. R. Meiklam did, in his own yacht of 130 tons, with all the comfort such a mode of transit could command, and bending our course wherever climate or curiosity attracted us, we probably suffered fewer privations and mischances than fall to the lot of the generality of travellers; and at the same time we were perfectly at leisure to examine, without interruption or hindrance, any objects of interest we met on our route. Whatever of the marvellous my narrative may have lost by these means, I trust it has gained corresponding advantages of a more solid description. How far I have been enabled to avail myself of the advantages I have mentioned, or of those which all medical men enjoy in eastern countries, it is for the reader to determine.

On the characteristics of climate in reference to disease, little

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has been added to our stock of information, since the publication of Sir James Clark's work, which, moreover, did not touch upon those shores of the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean which it was my fortune to visit. I trust that persons in search of health will glean from my pages some useful information relative to the accommodations and best seasons for visiting the various places we touched at in the Levant and elsewhere.

The kind reception given to the first edition of this Narrative, and its rapid sale, having induced its publishers to bring out another and less expensive edition, I have carefully revised the whole, and considerably enlarged it in many parts. For the latter purpose I have carefully noted the history and progress of events that have taken place in the countries described in this work, during the last five years. On several of the subjects treated, I have corresponded with the residents in those countries, particularly with regard to the climate, and the means of access. I have likewise carefully examined the best works descriptive of the same localities, which have appeared since the first publication of this narrative in 1840, and have introduced whatever might afford the reader substantial information on any of the subjects discussed in this book; so that in its present form it partakes somewhat of the nature of a handbook to those scenes which are attempted to be described. I have also endeavoured in this edition to correct many of those imperfections in style and language which I am but too conscious existed in the former one.

Since the first edition appeared, I have received a most interesting communication from Corunna, on the subject of the ancient Pharos of Hercules, not only confirmatory of my original observations, but likewise throwing more light on the origin, history, and use of that antique building, (one of the very oldest in Europe, and one intimately connected with the first colonization of this country,) than can be found in any other work in our language. And even while these sheets were passing through the press, I received an old Spanish MS. which clears up much of the obscurity attending this disputed topic. For some further and more detailed notice of this subject, I must refer the reader

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to the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy" for this year; and drawings of both the ancient and modern tower will be found at page 9 of this edition.

Of Madeira and the Canaries, I feel that too much cannot be said; and upon comparing my own notes with the opinions and investigations of others, I am daily more and more convinced, that for a particular class of invalids they are vastly superior to any other climate within the same distance of our shores.

The chapter on Madeira has been almost re-written, and from the interest which it appeared to excite in its original state, as well as to answer the multifarious questions which are so frequently put to me by those intending to visit the island, I have enlarged it with a variety of information suited to invalids and temporary residents, and derived from the most authentic sources. Teneriffe has been revised in a like manner.

Dr. Lepsius and others having claimed as a discovery the proper understanding of the mode in which the coating was placed upon the Pyramids, in accordance with the text of Herodotus, subsequent to the reprint of those pages in which the subject is discussed, I have answered his and the views of Messrs. Perring and James Wild, in "The Athenæum" for April 20th, 1844.

On the subject of Tyre I have had the advantage of the observations of those engineers who visited that place previous to the late Syrian war.

The researches concerning the topographies of ancient Tyre and Jerusalem, have cost me much labour and patient investigation, and I trust they may continue to be thought of interest, both by the biblical student and the general reader. The topographical portion of Jerusalem, I have very carefully revised; and while I see no reason to change the opinions which I originally put forward on that most interesting subject, I have stated the views of Dr. Robinson, I trust with fairness and truth. In these opinions I have likewise been strengthened by those of Gesenius; and those objections, which I was the first to urge against the views of Dr. E. D. Clarke, have since been confirmed by all observant travellers.

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It is gratifying to find that several of the speculations on which I ventured with regard to the social or political condition of some of the countries we visited, have since turned out true; and of these, the French possession (so-called) of Algiers, affords a striking proof; and the war now carrying on by France with Abd-el Kadir, and the emperor of Morocco, is merely what I had foreseen and anticipated in the chapters on Algiers. My opinions on Greece and its government have been likewise confirmed in almost every particular.

Many of the tombs and monuments upon the coast of Asia Minor, which I have examined and described, appear to have been comparatively overlooked by others.

Though much has lately been written about the change now taking place in Egypt, it is a subject upon which the British public can never be too well informed, and cannot take too deep an interest, considering how materially our means of rapid communication with our Indian possessions must be influenced by the condition of that country.

The Appendix contains some disquisitions upon subjects which I trust will interest the antiquary and the student of natural history, though perhaps too abstruse for the general reader.

I have again to acknowledge the many facilities afforded me in my investigations in other lands, and the many, many kind attentions of my esteemed friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Robert Meiklam.

Throughout the revision of this work, I have had recourse to the original notes, and while retracing my steps through scenes that must ever live in my recollection, I feel that I cannot again appear before the public, without acknowledging the flattering reception which, with all its imperfections, this my first book met with.

15, Westland Row, Dublin,
July, 1844.

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NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE.

CHAPTER I.

CORUNNA.

Departure from England—The Bay of Biscay—Corunna — Costumes—Troops — The Hercules Tower—Story of Old Russian George—Visit to the Field of Battle—Sketch of the Action and Retreat—Similarity to that of Xenophon—Sir C. Napier—A Fish Market—Appearance of the Country—Zoology—A Brigand's Story—Trade—Cigar Manufactory — Hospital — Hereditary Executioners—The Tomb of Moore—Departure from Spain.

THE boats were hoisted to the davits, the anchor catted, and the last cheering note of the sailors' "Ye ho, my hearties, O!" had ceased on board the Crusader yacht on the evening of the 24th of September, 1837, as her light sails bent to the wind, and she slipt past the white cliffs of the Isle of Wight, to seek for her inmates in warmer climes that health which an English winter cannot afford. A nine-knot breeze soon took us out of the chops of the channel to where the god of the stormy water rules with undisputed sway—the sleepless Bay of Biscay—where we rocked and tossed about for the ensuing three days—the wind heading us hourly, and the sea rolling a tremendous swell. Old Neptune seemed to welcome this my first visit to his dominions with all due honours; but notwithstanding the sea-faring philosophy of our own lordly poet, my soul *did*

——"sicken o'er the heaving wave."

How my spirits sank within me when, lying in my birth on the weather-quarter, every swell broke upon the bulwarks, and the scattered wave, splashing over the deck, ran hissing along the vessel's side. What sensations this state begets, especially during those dark and dismal hours of night, when, in addition to the

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elemental war without, the ocean's roar, and the howling wind, each bulk-head and spar would express its sufferings in the most mournful complainings! At times, these hitherto plaintive wailings would wax "louder, longer, louder still," till, rising in full chorus, they would become as outrageous and discordant as a menagerie at feeding time;—and then would come an interval of rest—a moment of intense stillness, as if the winds and waves took breathing time, and paused to watch the effect of their last effort upon our gallant bark, or mark how they could best apply the succeeding one.

On Wednesday, a small bird (one of the fly-catchers) hovered about the vessel, at least seventy miles off land: unable to bear up longer, it fluttered a few minutes among the rigging, fell exhausted upon the deck, and died almost immediately. Next day, a dove made its appearance, endeavouring to reach us;—poor thing! it came, like Noah's of old, not with an olive leaf, and the welcome tidings of land, but to tell us, that she, too, could find "no rest for the sole of her foot." The wind continuing to head us, and freshening into a gale, we made but little way, and, to complete our miseries, the mainmast sprung at the deck! This misfortune was remedied during the day, the mast having been "fished" and rendered secure enough to carry a trysail, under which we made land on the following morning, September 29th, and a more welcome hail never saluted my ears. The sea moderated, and we determined on running into Corunna to refit. How weary one feels on first coming on deck, after a few days' sea-rocking; a lassitude very similar to that experienced in coach-travelling. We had perceived it gradually getting warmer for the last two days, and now the difference of climate was much greater than we could have supposed, from so slight a difference of latitude.

The north-west coast of Galicia, along which now lay our course, is bleak and rugged, though not deserving the term bold or iron-bound. The famous Hercules light, which forms so striking an object on this coast, soon pointed to where the swollen waves of Biscay give place to the calm and secure waters of the united harbours of Corunna and Ferrol. The numberless wind-mills that crown every eminence, in full work, with their snow-white sails glancing in the sun, carried us back to the days of Quixotte and Spanish knight errantry. The sight of them, indeed, always created a smile; and perhaps it may be here

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observed, that much of the extravagance we are inclined to impute to the poor Don, from *our* notions of the magnitude of wind-mills at home, is greatly diminished by those of this country being so exceedingly small. Many are constructed solely of wood, and, viewed in the indistinctness of twilight, do not require the imagination of even the hero of Cervantes to transform them into giants.

A most wretched pilot-boat came alongside, from the ragged and noisy crew of which we selected a pilot; the similarity in feature, expression, and coal-black hair to those of a like class on the western coast of Ireland, who boast a Spanish origin, struck me instantly. The only peculiarity in costume of these people, besides the invariable red sash and its accompanying chuchilla, was their prodigious wooden shoes, which, on emergency, would almost serve them to float in. I need hardly inform those who have ever entered a foreign port, that our pilot's first inquiry, on coming aboard, was after the *rum bottle*. Except one of the forts, and a spire or two, there is little of the town seen before entering the harbour; but on rounding the point, the whole bursts upon your view, lying principally along the beech and on the water's edge.

Corunna—that name so stamped on the page of British history —what recollections does it not revive as we ride before these once bristling walls? Within view are *the heights*, whence so destructive a fire was poured down upon our gallant countrymen, and the tomb of their renowned leader crowns one of the bastions beside us. After waiting for some hours, the health and excise officers arrived. These officious gentry being satisfied as to the purity of our bills of health, which being in Latin, neither they nor our skipper knew one word of, we were permitted to land.

The harbour is very fine, secure, and almost land-locked; the town forms a crescent around it, and when seen at a little distance, presents a rather novel appearance, owing to the irregularity of the white-washed houses, their green windows, verandahs, and numerous balconies, together with their red-tiled roofs and tall chimneys. There is little commerce, and but few vessels; the latter being principally small Spanish brigantines, feluccas, and guarda-costas. Two packets sail monthly to the Havannah. There are no docks, those originally commenced having long since been abandoned; and like all continental fortified cities, the gates are shut at sunset. The streets of Corunna

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are wider than those of most Spanish towns; the shops poor, the trade inconsiderable, and although containing 20,000 inhabitants, the place has a deserted and desolate appearance. The town is divided into old and new; the former, situated on the hill surrounding the citadel, is the residence of the aristocracy; while the new, which runs along the water's edge, is mostly composed of shops. There is a very tolerable Prado, where the inhabitants walk at dusk, to smoke cigaritas, inquire into the merits of the last public report,* discuss the chances of the war, and the certain destruction of the *Pretender*, as they term Don Carlos, being all violent Christinos; and "Spain's dark glancing daughters" issue forth, attended by their duennas, to court the moonlight, exercise their fans, and return the salutations of the passing cavalleros.

This place was at one time strongly fortified; it is now but "mouldering walls and towers defenceless," and in many places the guns lie dismounted in the embrasures. At the entrance of the harbour stands the castle of Saint Antonia, on a rock about a musket-shot off shore;—it is in tolerably good condition, and serves at present as a state prison for the Carlists.

The costume of the females is very pretty, and amongst the upper orders black seems the prevailing colour; but as you descend in the scale of society it is of every hue. The women have all good figures, being particularly straight, some indeed so much so, as to give the appearance of constraint; but the head seems to be the *point d'appui*, the object of all their care, from the highest to the lowest. No matter how badly they are dressed in other respects, the head is always neat and elegant. I have seen many going without shoes, whose head-dress might be envied by an English lady of the highest fashion. Their hair, of a shining jet, is either madonnaed, or drawn tightly off the forehead, made as smooth as possible all over the head, and collected at the back

* Lies are rife here; one evening during our stay we were surprised at the sight of the town illuminated, accompanied with great rejoicing. We found it was for a victory said to have been gained over the Carlists near Madrid, in which the rebel force was totally annihilated. A few days after, other accounts arrived, by which it appeared that an engagement had taken place, but with a different result, four *Christinos* having been killed, the rest running away, "to live to fight another day."

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into one tail, or sometimes two, often reaching far below the long slender waist. One small curl, pressed flat on each temple, is kept in its exact position for great occasions, by a black patch the size of a shilling! Ringlets and curls are unknown, and I never saw the hair *turned up*—that object so longed for by the sex in our own country—so anxiously looked forward to by all *industrious* mammas, and forming such an eventful epoch in a young lady's life—the bridge from youth to womanhood—the very next step to "going out." They wear no bonnets, but the graceful mantilla of black silk, trimmed with velvet and edged with lace, is drawn half-way over the head, and hangs low down on the figure; it is a very beautiful and becoming piece of female attire. In a few instances I saw white lace ones worn by Carlists: but caps are unknown. All the better classes carry fans, which they keep in constant motion, and the dexterous management of which forms, I should think, no small item in the accomplishments of a Spanish lady of fashion.

The complexion of all ranks is very dark, more so than one would be inclined to attribute to the influence of a few hundred miles' difference of latitude. I cannot take it upon my conscience to say that the women of Galicia are handsome; their features are indeed regular and tolerably well-formed, with straight noses, delicately pencilled eye-brows, and beautifully modelled chins, but the want of colour and animation deadens all interest, unredeemed even by the black and brilliant eye which is universal. To this the country girls are, however, an exception; they fully compensate for a somewhat less tasteful toilette, by a complexion bright, animated, and blooming. The gentlemen citizens are all enveloped in the enormous cloak, above which are just seen a pair of formidable moustaches;—I never could divest myself of the idea of their having the deadly, treacherous stiletto hidden in the dark folds of the former. They seem partial to the brightest colours; scarlet trowsers being a favourite piece of dress. The costume of the farmers is much more picturesque and national, but gaudy and of all hues, principally red and light brown: their high-peaked hats being tastefully ornamented with feathers, artificial flowers, and ribbons of every brilliant colour;—they wear the hair in long ringlets behind, and falling over the shoulders; and the jacket, of red or yellow, with parti-coloured sleeves, is profusely decorated with braid and buttons.

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These, with their Dutch breeches of enormous folds, give them a most grotesque appearance; but with all this finery, they generally go barefooted, and few wear the moustache, that adornment being resigned to the more dandified citizen, who cultivates it to a most luxuriant extent.

The dress of the muleteer is peculiar; his dark brown leathern jacket, purple velvet breeches, and great leggings, together with the sombrero or large slouched hat, which shadows his handsome dark features, deck a form often of the finest mould, and capable of bearing every hardship. These men, remarkable for the honesty of their dealings, are incessantly traversing the whole extent of the Peninsula, and many of them realize large fortunes; they form a community in themselves, and you may meet them in great droves along the roads, each having under his care from six to twelve mules, tied in a row, laden with tobacco and merchandise, with the drivers sitting sidewise on the hinder one, and singing some of their own wild and beautiful melodies.

The farmers and the poorer inhabitants generally are a small race; I never saw so many deformities any where, and the children are squalid in the extreme; but with the exception of one or two blind crones seated at the gates of the town, there are very few beggars, although there is no asylum for them.

The soldiery are the most miserable, half-starved, and ill-looking set of fellows I ever beheld; ragged and shoeless. Just fancy a barefooted corps! The national, or city guard, would be a disgrace to any party of ragamuffins; their dress, an old blue jacket, dirty yellow cross-belts, sacken trowsers that never saw a wash-tub, and a little grey forage cap, no stockings, and rarely shoes; this is full dress. The artillery are somewhat better, but their long light-grey bedgowns, and high narrow black caps make them look like so many chandler's boys with tin cans on their heads. The officers are little better, though they twist their moustaches, puff paper cigars, look fierce, and strut about with all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of war"—surely a hungry Scot, a well-fed English, or a half-drunken Irishman ought to be able to thrash a dozen of them.

You still see the old women sitting at their doors plying with great industry the distaff and spindle, the only spinning machine now in use here. There are no public conveyances of any kind, and the only carriage is a most ill-constructed sort of cart, drawn

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by two half-starved bullocks of a tawny colour, and usually much too young to work; they draw it by a rude pole and collar, and are themselves half-dragged along by a most wretched, ragged driver; the wheels are two wooden rollers turning in wooden blocks, and as the axles are never greased, the screeching which is created is the most intolerable that ever assailed human ears. It would be hard, I think, for any people on the earth but themselves to find an excuse for such a detestable nuisance; yet they not only tolerate but encourage it, as they say the sound drives on the animals, and it certainly looks as if they embraced this as a *dernier resort* with the miserable brutes. In the morning, when the different articles are bringing to market, you hear the bullock-carts in perfection; indeed it is utterly impossible to hear any thing else, and when you ride into the country, their screaming assails you from all directions. The horses and asses in this part of Spain are smaller than in any other: the former have a good dash of Arab blood in them, and the Moorish or Memlook stirrup is still in use here.

The religious edifices are hardly worth the notice of a traveller, except probably on Sunday, when the aisles, which are unincumbered with pews, are crowded with their congregations, who, fetching in with them baskets of fish, fruit, vegetables, and wares of all kinds, give the place the air of a market. As to pictures, if any ever graced the walls, they will most likely be found in the cabinets of Paris, probably in that of Marshal Soult; and as most of the religious orders have been abolished, you scarcely ever meet with a priest or a friar in the streets.

There is very little national music heard in this part of Spain, save the occasional twilight note of the guitar, touched by some fair signorita, half-hidden behind a green verandah.

We visited the Hercules Tower, situated on the extremity of the Peninsula, about a mile to the south-west of the town. It is a magnificent square tower, rising at least two hundred feet above the level of the sea, which breaks here with tremendous violence; it stands upon a rocky base of about eighty feet, and is exceedingly well built of hard close white granite, and has an electric conducting wire extending from a small pillar elevated above the lantern to a house about twenty yards off. An inscription over the doorway states that it was built by the merchants or board of trade of the province of Galicia. It has been

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erected since 1809, and must be of inestimable value to mariners, as it is seen from an immense distance, and marks the common entrance to the harbours of Corunna and Ferrol; but what adds still greater interest to it in the eye of the traveller, is the fact of its enclosing within its massive walls, one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity—the pharos of Hercules, the oldest existing specimen of this kind in Europe, and amongst the very few now any where to be found.

The origin of this (the *original* tower) and its name are involved in much obscurity. The tradition here is, that it was built by Hercules himself. Humboldt mentions, that Laborde had discovered an inscription near its foundation, stating, that "this pharos was constructed by Caius Severus Lupus, architect of the city of Aqua Flavia (Cheves), and that it was dedicated to Mars. Strabo, indeed, affirms that Galicia, the country of the Galici, had been peopled by Greek colonies. According to an extract from the geographies of Spain, by Asclepiades, the Myrlean, an ancient tradition stated that the companions of Hercules settled in these countries."

To the Irish antiquarian this building must be of considerable interest, from its supposed connection with the early history of this country, and its reputed Phœnician origin. Since the first edition of this work was published, Sir William Betham has stated, in his Etruria Celtica, that he has discovered references made to this tower in the *Eugubian Tables*, translated by him into Irish;—the passage to which he alludes in the seventy-eighth line of Table VI.—"ɯɟ e ʇɟɳ ɐɲ, *a thousand from the* FIRE *steering*," refers, he supposes, "to the ship leaving the coast of Spain for the Turn (Carne), and mentions the fire kept up on the land for the guidance of mariners; and also in Table VI., line 119, the words ʇɟɳ bɲɟ ɟɟɳ e, *three mountains there from*, point out Cape Ortegal too plainly to be mistaken." In another place Sir William says, "The name of *Corunna*, and the Groyne, are both derived from the river on which the town stands, Garonne, or ʒɐɲb ɑb̈ɐɲ ɳɑ, *the rough or boisterous river*, as the Garonne of France." Corunna, however, does not stand on any river, and the only one in its neighbourhood is not the Groyne, or Garonne, but the Rio Burgo; the Groyne being a term sometimes applied to this bay.

Again, "there is," says my friend, "some incongruity be-

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tween the accounts of Mr. Wilde and Laborde. The latter says the light-house is situated 'upon a very high mountain, a league from the harbour;'" and I have stated its position to be about a mile to the S.W. of the town, on a rock by the water's edge. Any one, however, at all acquainted with the locality knows that there is no such mountain in this vicinity as that described by Laborde, and the position of the Hercules tower can easily be ascertained by referring to any of the Admiralty's charts of the coast; and moreover, a light on "a very high mountain, a league from the harbour," would be of little service for nautical purposes. The same authority doubts the circumstance of the original Pharos being enclosed within the modern tower. Having, however, communicated on this subject with the British consul at Corunna, I have just received the most confirmatory proof of the fact, in the two original drawings kindly forwarded to me by him, from which the accompanying illustrations have been made.

That to the left represents the old Pharos as it stood in 1797, the date marked on the drawing, under which we find the follow-

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ing inscription: "*Perspectiva que de muestra el estado de la torre antiqua llamada de Hercules quando se emprendio sure-edificacion, y revestimiento de canteria por orden del Real consulado du la Coruna,*"—"View exhibiting the condition of the ancient tower called Hercules when its rebuilding and facing with cut stone were undertaken by order of the royal consulate of Corunna;" and beneath this the line—"*Fecit Trueva Alumnus Academiæ ex Civitate portus Brigantini, anno,* 1797."*

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* "The most remarkable circumstance attending this tower is the coincidence of an account of its building being preserved in the oldest Irish MSS., and the most remote traditional history of Ireland, which appears to be but an allegorical account of the acts of the Phœnicians. The Gadelians are, in Irish history, stated to have migrated over all the known world of the ancients, 'from their original country to Egypt, from thence to Crete, from Crete to Scythia, from thence to Gothia, then to Spain, from thence to Scythia, again to Egypt, then to Thrace, then to Gothia, again to Spain, and then to Ireland.' This apparent rigmarole, in other words means nothing more than that the Celtæ, or Gadelians, carried on commercial navigation to and from all these countries, and eventually found their way to Ireland. This is related by Giolla Keavin, an Irish poet, who lived about A.D. 1072, in a poem called *Reim re Riogh*, or the *Race of Kings*.

'Braha the son of worthy Deyaha
Sailed from Crete to Sicily
In four good ships, which after
Bore him to Spain, in the south of Europe.'

"Braha is said to have had a son Breogan, who had a son *Galamh*, or *the victorious*, who was afterwards in Irish history called Milespan, or Milesius. It is related of Breogan that he *built a watch tower* in Galicia in Spain, and that there had been traffic between Spain and Ireland previously to the building of this tower, which was for the purpose of assisting in the intercourse between the two countries. Ith, the son of Breogan, is said to have seen Ireland, like a cloud in a winter's evening, from the top of Breogan's Tower. That is, in more simple language, he contemplated the direct passage across the sea, even in the winter, by means of the lighthouse erected on the *Bri gan*, bꞃꞇ, *mountain*, ȝǽꞃ, *extreme*, or the *farthest mountain to the north*. Whether there was ever such a man as Breogan, or whether he obtained the name from building the tower, is a question not necessary to inquire into, but the fact of such a tower still existing in this spot, and there being the same tradition

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The height of this tower is about 139 English feet; the architecture bespeaks it of no older period than that of the Romans, and tends to support the view taken of it by Humboldt and Laborde already referred to. The inclined marks on the exterior appear to have been the remains of an external winding stair, although the tower itself was hollow. The right-hand figure exhibits the appearance of the present modern tower, or "facing with cut stone," that surrounds the antique building, from a sketch made in 1829, and in which the original plan of the pharos is preserved. There can, I think, be little doubt but that the earliest beacon—that mentioned by Sir W. Betham, in the translation of the Etruscan tables and the Irish records—stood likewise upon this spot, which is one of the most valuable and

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respecting it in Galicia is a strong corroboration of the truth of the Irish historical tradition.

"In the Annals of the Four Masters is an account of this tower, and also in the Book of Ballymote, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, is the following passage:—

"'Baí mac maith ag Brath .i. Breogan agá noemad dor mBreagan 7 in cathair .i. Brigandsia a hainm a tri Breogain .o. ad ceat cnis feartus geamraig .i. oidche fanna ad condairc Ith mac Breogain anall no can Gilla Caeman in dan.

"'Brath had a noble son, viz. Breogan, by whom was built the Tower of Breogan, and the city called Brigandsia. From the tower of Breogan, by the bye, Ireland was beheld, on a winter's evening, namely, on the night of Laman (i. e. All-Hallows.) Ith, the son of Breogan beheld it, as Giolla Caemhan has sung:—

STANZA XXXIX.

Do brig mor camlon ir cath
For firag neartam nllathach
Breogan na nglor ir na nglia
Leis do nonda Brigandsia.

Great skirmishes and battles were fought
Against the renowned Spanish hosts,
By Breogan, of deeds and battles,
By him was founded Brigandsia.

"The meaning of the name *Brigandsia,* is the *mountain most remote,* bri gand fia, and the founding alluded to the tower, rather than a

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most commanding sites for a lighthouse in the world; and it is of the highest interest to find so much recorded in history and so well established by the actual existence and preservation in situ, of one of the most curious relics of antiquity in Europe.

There are many traditions in this part of Spain about Hercules and his companions; and at Betanzos, a few leagues hence, there is some curious old architecture, and also a museum, where they go so far as to exhibit the very arms of the hero, and the *leather money* used in his time! There can be no doubt, however, that the Hercules here referred to was the Phœnician, and not the Grecian. Orosirus, a writer of the fifth century, gives an account of a very fine column or pharos, which tradition in his day said had been erected by Hercules on the coast of the Celtiberian Galicia, as a guide to ships coming there from Britain. Mr. G. Higgins supposes the town of Corunna took its name from this column, and says, "there is every reason to believe that the sea coast was possessed by the Sidonian race the whole way from Sidon to Corunna, with the exception perhaps of the Delta of Egypt. Under these circumstances, it is very evident that a voyage to Britain must have been very easy, even

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town. The same account is to be found in *Leabhar Gabhaltas*, or Book of Conquests, a History of Ireland of good reputation.

"The authority of Keating has been so much stigmatised, by the translation published by Dermod O'Connor, that I have been unwilling to quote any thing from him, but the original is written in an honest spirit, free from the many absurdities and amplifications of the translator. The translation by W. Haliday is much better. Henry O'Hart, a schoolmaster in the county Sligo, about 1686, made a good translation, the original of which is in my possession. The following extract from it shows that he considered Corunna and Breoghain's Tower the same, though Peter Walsh makes it Compostella:—

"'Then Lughaigh, the son of Ith, went to Tuir Breoghan, or Corunna, and showed his father's dead body unto the posterity of Breoghain, &c.'

"Again—'Then they ship themselves at Corunna, or Tuir Breoghain, in Galicia, (leaving Spain among the forraigners, like a boane among a company of quarrelling curres,) and to sea they goe in thirty shippes, each whereof carried thirty valiant men, besides their women, and a number of the vulgar sorte under their forty-nine commanders, viz. eight sons of Breoghain, viz. Breagha, from whom Magh Breaghe, or *Meath*," &c. &c.

[*Etruria Celtica—Etruscan Literature and Antiquities investigated, by Sir William Betham.* 2 *vols.* 8*vo.* *Dublin*, 1842.]

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with very indifferent ships." We must recollect that the Sidonian colonists spread themselves chiefly along the African shore, and crossed over to Tartessus in Spain by the pillars of Hercules; Cartago being probably their first settlement in Europe, except Greece. It is sometimes called the "Iron Tower," and near it, about a mile and a half from the town, one of the embarkations of the English troops took place. On our way to it we saw an old Moorish castle upon a rock, not far from the shore, and north-west of the town. From thence we passed over a wide uncultivated common covered with innumerable land shells, a small and very beautiful species of the common helix; with a great variety of small motley green lizards, and grasshoppers of all hues, chirping and springing about in all directions in the warm sunshine. The *Datura Stramonium* grows here and there in great luxuriance, and was then in both flower and fruit, and also a small shrubby daphne, with a white flower, and reddish berry. The meadow saffron (*colchicum autumnale*) flourishes here in great profusion, the hills about the light-house being literally covered with it, and as it is now in full blow, its light pink flowers produce a very gay, lively appearance; and the charming belladonna lily lends its graceful form to beautify nature's verdant carpet. The soil, which is of a light and sandy character, is principally cultivated with Indian corn.

On the morning of the 2nd of October we set forward to view the memorable field of Corunna, accompanied by old George Daboish as our guide. Before we proceed further, we must introduce this personage to our readers. His history is remarkable—by birth a Russian—an Italian by descent—married to a Spaniard—and, although naturalised in Spain, claiming England for his country. Few men in his condition have seen more of what is termed *life*. He has with truth, "braved many a rough sea's storm" in his day—and often been the very sport of the element he made his home. At an early age he was bound to the master of an English merchant-man trading to the Black Sea; out of which he was, shortly after, pressed on board a British man-of-war; from this he took *French leave* at Cork, and having travelled across the country for some days, alone and pennyless, he found himself at what he not inaptly calls "the *mutiny* of Vinegar Hill." Shortly afterwards he re-entered the merchant service, and some years subsequently was wrecked returning from the West Indies

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as mate, having suffered unspeakable hardships in an open boat for three weeks, during which time the crew were reduced to the horrible alternative—

> " When out they spoke of lots for flesh and blood,
> And who should die to be his fellow's food."

From this state of misery and privation they were providentially rescued by a Kinsale hooker; to the inhabitants of which place he still retains feelings of the utmost gratitude. He again entered the navy, and immediately after served at the Nile; was wounded at Trafalgar on board the Bellerophon; boasts the honour of an acquaintanceship with Nelson, and was present at the execution of Parker, after the mutiny at the Nore. He served in one of the transports in the bay of Corunna at the time of the retreat, and seems perfectly acquainted with all the transactions concerning it. After this he betook himself once more to the merchants' service; soon rose to be a master, and had acquired some wealth, but was again shipwrecked, and he alone of all his crew saved. He was thrown ashore, and beside him lay his ship's compass, the sole remnant of all his earthly possessions. He still preserves it with the greatest veneration, and exhibits it with delight to strangers.

The ocean's greedy wave had robbed him of his home; the rocks and sands had spoliated his wealth; the drenching spray had damped, but could not quench, that fire of enthusiasm, so characteristic of his calling—till love, all powerful, induced him to resign the fickle element for one of the dark-eyed maids of Corunna. He married, and here, by years of industry and perseverance, he rose to comfort, if not to wealth.

Short-lived was his day of happiness. In the year 1823, when the French bombarded this town, his house, which stands outside the walls, was struck by a random ball, and in the very spot* where he had concealed all his treasure, (some thousands of dollars,) which the French soldiers soon pounced upon, and fearing their vengeance for concealing his property, he had actually to swim for his life to one of the Spanish vessels in the harbour. Still he has weathered the storm, and supports himself in some comfort by the proceeds of a small *Posada Secrata*, or lodging-

* This is still to be seen, and the account is verified by the British Consul.

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house. He is now a stout old man of seventy-six—a fine honest tar of the olden days of long queues and wide trowsers; he has seen much of the world, and, what is rare in his profession, profited by it; to use his own expression, "a man who travels much seldom dies a fool." He is also master of most of the European languages, and speaks English well;—his long yarns of the days of Nelson, and the various scenes in which he had been a partaker, were highly amusing. He is a good ciceroné, and is universally known in Corunna, as "old Russian George."

The heights of Corunna are about four miles from the town; the tract of intervening ground is very uneven, and thrown into a succession of mounds and small enclosures, intersected in every direction by dirty lanes, the banks of which rise, in many instances, high above the head; while the deep and narrow bridle-paths admit of only two passengers abreast. You proceed, eastward, along the Madrid road, for about two miles; when turning to the right into one of the deep lanes, you traverse these miserable tracts for another mile and a half, until you reach a range of *secondary hills*, distant about half a mile from the summits of *the heights*. On the former of these was posted the British line;* its right resting upon one of the by-roads leading to Elvina, and its extreme left stretching downwards to the great Madrid road; while, on the heights above, and commanding a point blank range of their opponents, stood the French at the time of the engagement. At a farm-house situated some way down the hill, on the edge of a pine wood, and to the right of Elvina, was planted the battery which proved so destructive to our troops.

The hamlet of Elvina, from which the enemy was driven, is a wretched collection of about ten or a dozen scattered houses, at which three or four ways meet. It is a filthy sunken hole—its only attraction, at present, being a small antique church, of Saracenic architecture, a few hundred yards to the left of the village; its door and windows with their deeply groined arches having the impost, ornamented on the left side, with a rudely carved ram's head, bearing the crescent on the forehead. Near this the most trying part of the contest took place, and, beside one of the walls that surround it, Major (now Sir Charles) Napier, when in advance

* See Moore's History of the Campaign, and Napier's Peninsular War.

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of his men, and severely wounded, was timely rescued from the bayonets of several French soldiers by the generosity of one of their drummers, for which Napoleon justly conferred on him the order of the legion of honour. Beyond the church the road turns to the left, with high fences on both sides, but still greatly exposed to the French battery which was planted on the hill in front and a little to the right. Here, at a sudden turn of the lane, about one hundred yards from the church, is pointed out the spot where fell one of the ablest of British soldiers—the immortal Moore.

The farm-house is still in existence at the angle of the pine wood, to which his attention was directed, when a cannon-shot carried away the greater part of the shoulder-joint.

We erected a small cairn of stones on the sad spot; and then directing our course by the farm-house, from the battery of which came the principal assault, we gained the heights occupied by the enemy's lines; and certainly it was a position of extraordinary strength and advantage, commanding a view of not only the whole extent towards the town, but of the inland country to a great distance. And here it may be asked, why did Moore abandon those very heights, which he held till a day or two before the French took possession of them? The conclusive answer is this; that although it be granted, that he could have retained his position as long as his supplies lasted, even against a very superior force, yet having only 15,000 men, a number quite inadequate to completely defend the *whole extent* of heights, and having on his right a great expanse of open country, he would have ensured the destruction of his own army, by rendering his wings liable to be turned. Again, it may be inquired, why, having left this vantage ground, did he not throw his army into the town, a tolerably fortified place?—for this reason; that, independent of his being still liable to an attack on the walls, guns could in many places be brought to the water's edge, especially near to fort St. Lucia, (as was done on the next day,) and the embarkation greatly embarrassed, or completely prevented. And then it must be remembered, that Moore had already determined on removing the British army from Spain.

Corunna, as seen from this point, presents the apex of a triangle, of which the French lines formed the base, while the British kept them at bay in the centre. Had the the transports arrived from Vigo, as was expected, on our men reaching this on the 13th,

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every thing could have been gotten safely on board before the arrival of the main body of the enemy, as we were two days' march a-head, and so Soult have been outwitted; his plan having evidently been to keep harassing us on the march, and deferring the attack until the moment of embarkation. As it was, the delay served to add lustre to the British arms, and to restore whatever of order and discipline might have been wanting among the troops, from the extreme hardships of so long a forced march. The French were completely repulsed at every point, and with considerable loss—but, alas! the victory was purchased with the blood of its noble hero.

The question of the retreat has been ably and successfully discussed by many historians, but by none more than by him from whose justly celebrated and accurately correct work, I make the following extract:—

"Thus ended the retreat of Corunna, a transaction which, up to this day, has called forth as much of falsehood and malignity as servile and interested writers could offer to the unprincipled leaders of a base faction, but which posterity will regard as a genuine example of ability and patriotism."

I would not have been thus explicit upon a subject so often and so ably handled by men of superior talent and military experience, and who were present at the scene they describe, were it not for the opinions sometimes expressed in society at home when speaking of the Retreat of Corunna, and the recent opinion of a naval author, who having occasion, in his character of historian, to conduct the British fleet into the harbour of Corunna, (where they ought to have been long before,) is pleased to criticize the retreat as "conducted with ruinous haste and precipitation," comparing it with "that through Holland in 1794–5," and blaming Sir John Moore for not giving battle to the enemy, as thereby "the deaths of eight thousand British soldiers (who perished in the retreat) would in all probability have cost the enemy a much greater number!"* although he states, in a previous paragraph, that the enemy was "pressing upon him, but constantly refusing battle until he reached

* The following general return, extracted from the Special Regimental Reports, contains the *whole number* of non-commissioned officers and men,

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the sea-coast," and concludes by considering it "the most disastrous affair of the whole war." This is at least *ultra crepidam*. The general orders daily issued by Sir John Moore show the state of insubordination of the troops, numbers of whom perished owing to their own disobedience of orders. As to the unwritten authority of a "highly respectable officer of the ninety-fifth," from whom his information was drawn, "that the soldiers always took their meals *in quiet*, and brought in all stragglers from the army," on which the historian rests his opinion, it rather militates against the charge of "ruinous haste," and is directly opposed to the authority of the best acknowledged account of the transaction, that by Colonel W. Napier, an actor in the scene; and to the official communications contained in the work of Mr. Moore, whose only fault is, that he has not done *sufficient* justice to his lamented brother. We may remark, *en passant*, that the gallant author just quoted should have been at least correct when stating facts: the engagement did *not* take place at one o'clock, and terminate at six, on the morning of the 17th, but between two and five in the afternoon of the 16th November, 1809. And we are curious to know the calibre of the guns that, "planted on the heights of Corunna, kept up a constant fire on the transports," a distance of upwards of four miles!! Fort St. Lucia is just at

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cavalry and infantry, lost during Sir John Moore's campaign—very little more than four thousand, including those killed in battle:—

Lost at or previous to the arrival of the army at the position of Lugo	Cavalry 95	Infantry 1302	Total, 1397
Of this number, 200 were left in the wine-vaults of Bembibre, and nearly 500 were stragglers from the troops that marched to Vigo.			
Lost between the departure of the army from Lugo and the embarkation at Corunna	Cavalry 9	Infantry 2627	Total, 2636
			Grand Total, 4033

"Of the whole number, above 800 contrived to escape to Portugal, and being united with the sick left by the regiments in that country, they formed a corps of 1876 men, which being re-embodied under the name of the Battalions of Detachments, *did good service* at Oporto and Talavera." So that, by this official account, our greatest loss was 3233—(see appendix to Napier's Peninsular War, vol. i. p. 83)—and if the reports of the French themselves are correct, that their loss "*was above* 3000," we cost the enemy, in a single battle of three or four hours, very nearly as many men as we had lost in the whole retreat.

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the water's edge, on the north-east side of the harbour of Corunna, from where the enemy's guns played on the transports next day.—See Captain Brenton's "*Naval History of Great Britain*," vol. ii. p. 308–311.

The spot where stood the magazine, blown up by our troops, is now a vineyard, with scarcely a stone to mark its site. The explosion is described as having been terrific, almost all the windows in Corunna having been shattered, and occasioning so great a swell in the harbour, as to endanger the shipping, many of which dragged their anchors. A citizen told us, that Moore had sent them notice of the intended explosion, to apprise the invalids, and to desire they should all open their windows; showing, in this slight instance, the coolness and forethought of the general, as well as the humanity and kindness of the man. Eulogium on such a man, from an unprofessional pen like mine, is superfluous, but *just*, supported as it is by the ablest of military opinions, those of Napoleon, Wellington, and Soult; it is, however gratifying to add even one voice, however feeble, to the swelling sound of admiration with which a grateful nation beholds the dawning of an "all cloudless glory" gradually rising from the mists of prejudice and ignorance, and ascending into that region of bright and deathless fame to live in company with the great and good of all times and nations, for ever.

I cannot help observing that with one of those whom the world has long since proclaimed immortal, his achievements place him in close parallel. The retreat of Xenophon bears the most singular resemblance in almost every particular, saving in duration, to that of Moore. Both were betrayed and deserted in a strange land, far from home, and by the very people they came to save. Both had an enemy to encounter, brave, vigilant, cautious, and far superior in numbers, who, while they incessantly hovered round and harassed their rear, cutting off their stragglers and supplies, never would accept the offered engagement. Both traversed countries barren and mountainous, in the depth of winter, and, to complete the resemblance, both, when in sight of that sea which to them was a haven of rest, were forced into a desperate struggle ere they were allowed by the flush of victory, to seek that safety her stormy bosom afforded.

In addition, and as if to render the similarity more complete, my friend Sir Charles Napier writes thus to me:—

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"As in one column the army of Moore reached a height between Betanzos and Corunna, a view of the sea suddenly burst upon our sight, and 'the sea! the sea!' was vociferated by the soldiers in front of the column, and repeated to the rere. I heard that Sir John Moore said to his aid-de-camp—'Now for the first time, in this retreat, I think myself unlucky; for I see no ships, and I may be obliged to fight a battle.' He regretted the being forced to sacrifice his troops in a battle fought to secure his embarkation, and which promised no other important result but that of adding another proof of the courage possessed by British soldiers. His object had been to draw the French army under Napoleon, to the north of Spain, and thus give the Spaniards an opportunity to rise and form their armies in the south. This masterly manœuvre was ably and successfully executed. His next object was to embark his small army without a battle—this was not possible—he fought, conquered, and fell, leaving his character recorded in the annals of his country, as one of her most consummate warriors, and greatest men."

The field of battle and the general face of the country is poor and barren, composed mostly of granite rock, with scarcely any soil, but what little exists is clothed with that beautiful heath the *erica ciliaris;* and small scattered clumps of pine, like fox-covers, crown the summits of all the surrounding hills.

It was a lovely day, the heat marked by the thermometer was 70° in the shade, but which the light sea breeze prevented being oppressive. This is the harvest of Indian corn, the principal food of the lower classes, and all are engaged in bearing it home. We hear nothing around but the screeching of the bullock-carts, which, though so insupportable in one's immediate vicinity, loses much of its discordance by distance. On our way home, we passed through some delightful valleys, crowded with vineyards, fig, orange, and chesnut trees, the latter of which, hung over with ears of Indian corn spread out to dry, looked as if loaded with their own golden fruit; but the houses, and the peasantry themselves, were wretchedly dirty, and many of the wine-presses "contrive a double debt to pay," and were converted into pig-troughs.

There is a tolerable fish-market at Corunna, but it is uncertain, owing to the severe gales which rush in here from the Bay of Biscay. The grey mullet are very plentiful in this harbour, and,

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on a calm day, are easily shot by throwing a bit of bread on the water, at which several will jump together;—I have frequently killed five at one shot. That most delicate of all sea-fish, the red mullet, is got here in great abundance, as is also the saury and sea pike, several varieties of sea bream, dories, red-gurnet, and eels; but the principal fish, from its numbers and its commercial importance, is the sardinha *(clupea sardina)*. The mode of taking these is peculiar;—a large flat-bottomed boat, holding upwards of thirty people, is anchored where the shoal is expected, and a net of great length and excessively small meshes is shot out by a small boat, which, having enclosed the fish, is hauled into the large one, by an upright windlass, or capstan; the net is nearly half a mile long, and the multitude captured at a single haul is almost incredible. Immediately on being taken, they are cleansed and the heads cut off, they are then packed dry in tubs or baskets, with salt and bay leaves for exportation. The most accurate attention is paid to the packing and curing of these little fishes, which has insured for them a ready market in every port of the Mediterranean, whither they are sent in vast quantities as well as into the interior of Europe. Our extensive sprat and herring fisheries on the Irish and British coasts might derive a profitable lesson from the Spaniards, both in their mode of catching and preserving. At the mouth of the Rio Burgo a few sea trout and salmon are occasionally caught in the season, but not in sufficient numbers to warrant the statement, that they frequent that river;—it may be supposed, that a few stray down the coast, after the great migratory mass have ascended the British rivers. Turbot is a rarity, and of inferior quality, but there are several species of Wrasse taken in the bay.

This part of Galicia is considered a good vine country; but though the grape is large and well flavoured, the wine is wretched stuff. The fruit-market is generally cheap and good, the peaches particularly so, and the onions are the finest I ever saw—they are of a beautiful crimson hue, and these, with pumpkins of immense size, gourds and peppers, form the principal food of the lower classes. The town being a fort, no gardens are allowed round it. Chesnuts are in great quantities, and eaten by every body: you meet with the stoves where they are roasted at every corner, and the incessant, though not inharmonious cry of "castanas ricas," salutes you every where.

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The only wild fowl I saw was the red-legged partridge, which, though larger and whiter, is not nearly so well-flavoured as the common English species, and is in taste little removed from a barn-door fowl. Our shooting excursions afforded an opportunity of seeing the country around, which is very uninteresting, being a succession of barren hills, similar to the battle-field. This repulsive aspect is, however, enlivened by the occasional fertility of the valleys, which makes the contrast the greater. Here the farms are surrounded by groves of magnificent chesnuts, and contain vineyards, fields of Indian corn, and several neat enclosures. The science of agriculture is but little known in this part of Spain, and proper cultivation could do much; the primitive plough, formed of a simple beam, with a cross-stick at the end, to which the share is fastened, shows their lamentable state of ignorance in this all-important branch of knowledge. The mattock is the principal implement of husbandry. The sheep are wretched in the extreme, being not larger than a three-months' lamb in England; the wool is mostly black, short, coarse, and mixed with hair, and the mutton consequently very bad. The beef is good, though small, probably from working the oxen so young.

Altogether Corunna would be a cheap place to live in, and the climate, just now, is very pleasant and healthy. The dews, though heavy, do not commence till late in the evening, but the winter months are often excessively severe, as those who suffered in 1809 but too well know—the cold of that winter, however, was far beyond the average; at present the heat during the day is generally about 70° Fahr.

Civil war, with all its desolating train, has not yet reached this part of the country; the land is cultivated as usual, and the people appear fully as happy, and affairs go on as smoothly as if no such thing existed in the kingdom. In fact, the poorer classes seem to know and care little about it; their condition will be but little benefitted, whoever conquers; and with the exception of the evening's discussion, which takes place on the Prado, amongst some of the officers or the politicians, on the arrival of the last report, or the dark glances of a few suspected Carlists, grouped in little coteries around a padre, or lurking behind a crumbling bastion, to take a furtive look at the castle of St. Antonio, which holds so many of their friends and comrades

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within its dark, damp, and wave-washed dungeons, none seem to trouble themselves about the subject.

The rocky shores in the neighbourhood afford interesting walks to the naturalist; the water is beautifully clear, and the rocks, as far as they are washed by the tide, completely covered with small pinkish madrapores, and the most splendid actiniæ of every colour, besides different varieties of star-fish, medusæ, and other molluscous animals. Two species of cuttle fish (*sepiæ octopus* and *officinalis*) are exposed in great plenty for sale in the market, and considered excellent food. In my wanderings along the shores, I occasionally found the slender green locust, (*locusta viredissima,*) and always remarked that, on pinning it in my hat or case, it immediately commenced depositing its eggs, as if fearful of its destructive race becoming extinct.

The English mails now go to Vigo, and those to Madrid are, owing to the present state of the country round the capital, very uncertain—they are carried on horseback by couriers, who are frequently robbed. A circumstance occurred in connection with one of these robberies, a few years ago, so characteristic of Spanish law and injustice, that I cannot help recording it, as related to me by a friend there resident at the time.

Towards the latter end of October, 1835, the insurgents of Galicia posted a notice, that all persons found conveying the mail of her majesty the Queen of Spain should be shot. The government courier proceeding from Corunna to Madrid, soon after this notice, was murdered, the bags cut open, and the letters destroyed, it was supposed by a Carlist named Lopez.

Count Pablo Morillo, then captain-general of that province, enraged at such conduct, declared, that if they shot another courier he would execute the brother of Lopez. These brothers had been previously tried for an offence in no way connected with political affairs; were both acquitted; but the unhappy victim to injustice was detained in prison on suspicion, while his brother joined the insurgents as their chief.

The captain-general would not listen to the advice offered him by many—and amongst these several of the consuls of the place—to issue a proclamation of his intention to shoot the brother of Lopez, if they committed a similar act. In a few nights after, on a Saturday, a courier, with both his horses, was shot two leagues from Corunna.

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The count, a most violent man, would hear no remonstrance, and instantly ordering this unfortunate man for execution, hurried him off, desiring the confessor to prepare him for the other world on his way to the spot where the courier was shot the night previous.

At two o'clock on a Sunday, this man was led out, accompanied by a prisoner named Ramos—the one to be shot, the other to witness the fate he next was to suffer, should another courier fall by rebel hands. When they arrived at the place of execution, and Lopez was told by the provost-marshal his excellency's order, he replied—"What do I know of all this?—I have been in prison a year, and know nothing of my brother's crimes; why should I suffer for him?—but I have long thought I should—I am ready"—and sat down on the chair. . . .

The company of Urbanos returned, after this sad scene, with Ramos riding on an ass, sunk and unmanned. Both prisoners were in the queen's uniform as officers.

It were but to be expected that the brigand Lopez would commence a fearful retaliation. He still haunts the mountain passes in this neighbourhood—the terror of those who have wealth to lose—the *Rob Roy* of Galicia; but although the thirsty soil may have drunk up the stream of life that flowed from the wounds of this innocent man—the hot vapour rising from that purple tide has ascended on high, an evidence against this guilty land.

The only trade of any extent carried on in Corunna is the Fabrica Tobacos, or cigar manufactory—a government monopoly, none of the soothing weed being permitted to be used except what is made into cigars, and bad enough they are. All smoke; "the naked beauties" of the mild cigar are not, however, preferred by the people, who cut it up into small pieces, rolling it in little square bits of maize (rice paper), and puff away with great satisfaction. There are no pipes. The manufactory is worked, solely, by females, and when in full operation, gives employment to 3500 hands, besides the officers and overseers of the establishment. The workers are of all ages from eight years upwards; and in one of the rooms we entered, there were 800 at work! They sit at tables, with a smooth thick board placed before them, of about a foot square. The leaf is first damped, and then a certain quantity weighed out to each individual, and for which

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she is obliged to return a certain number of cigars. The operation is commenced by unfolding the leaves, and cutting them into pieces of about six inches by three, until they have a sufficient number of these *folders* prepared. The smaller broken pieces, and cut-off ends, are all collected in another heap to form the centre of the cigar, while the stalks and larger veins of the leaf are put aside and forwarded to Hamburgh, to be manufactured into snuff. The only instruments used by the makers are knives, shaped like a shoemaker's, and a pair of scissors. Having smoothed the leaf with the handle of the knife, they take some of the shreds and smaller pieces, and placing them in one corner of the folder, roll it obliquely over them, keeping them even with the right hand, till they come to the end, when the remainder of the leaf is cut off, and the point twisted. The cigar is then measured, the top clipped off, and a roll or two on the board being given to it with the hand, it is finished. So quickly is all this done, by expert workers, that it is almost impossible to examine the process, except by watching it in a beginner, as some can make as many as three cigars in a minute. Not a bit is lost, all the parings being put into the interior of the next. When the central parts are too small, rolled too hard, or have too much of the stalk or veins remaining, it both impairs the flavour, and prevents the kindly smoking of the cigar. Expert workers will make as many as eighteen bunches, of fifty-one each, a day, but this requires great practice; the average number is about twelve bunches, or 612. After it is manufactured, the tobacco is again weighed, and the people are all searched by the matrons on leaving off work. The good workers can earn three shillings a day, and the ordinary ones from two shillings to two and sixpence, which, considering the cheapness of provisions in this part of Spain, is a high rate of labour. They all seemed very merry, and kept up an incessant clatter. The fingers of those long engaged in this work, become exceeding slender and delicate; and such a display of elegantly decked heads and sparkling black eyes I never saw; yet these girls looked unhealthy, as might naturally be expected from the confinement and pernicious atmosphere of the factory, the rooms being low, badly lighted, and worse ventilated. The great heat and poisoned air were to us quite intoxicating, although it is astonishing how the youngest bear it without being narcotized. Consumption is very common

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among them, and I remarked numerous deformities in the offspring of those engaged in the Fabrica. As we walked through the establishment, we were constantly saluted with that common ejaculation of an English seaman, "*I say, I say*"—indeed I know not the country, where a British ship has ever been, that the people have not picked up this favourite expression of Jack's.

The produce of the manufactory is immediately transported into the interior, on mules, immense droves of which are always waiting to be loaded at the Fabrica. I may be excused this long history of the cigar, when it is considered that this factory is one of the largest known, one of the greatest sources of revenue to the government, and that at this moment one half at least of the inhabitants on the face of the earth use tobacco in one shape or other.

Not meaning any slander on this respectable institution, I may observe, that there is a very extensive foundling hospital in Corunna, the reception-cradle of which is not permitted to rust on its hinges. Infanticide is, however, unknown.

Some of the handsomest structures in the town are the public fountains; that in the fruit-market is particularly good, surmounted by a figure of Fame; a fit emblem of such a place, the usual receptacle of news, and the diffuser of scandal.

There is an extensive and well-situated hospital, containing 150 beds, divided into three compartments, civil, military, and that for prisoners; the wards are low, and fortunately not crowded, especially dirty, and all the patients were smoking.

Fevers and epidemics are rare; and injuries and accidents are of uncommon occurrence—no doubt, owing to the absence of all wheel-carriages and machinery, the frequent cause of them at home. The medical men are all graduates of Madrid; the prescriptions are obliged by law to be written in Spanish; and the respective branches of medicine and surgery are more distinct than in other countries.

The capital punishment here is the garotte, and consists in the culprit being placed, sitting, against a post, through which a noose is run, put round the neck, and a sudden twist produces instant suffocation. The finisher of the law is constantly met lounging about the streets; that honour is here hereditary—the present unfortunate man's father, to save his own neck, having bound to this office himself and posterity, then consisting of three sons in

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rather good circumstances, who have thus been compelled to become executioners in different parts of Spain. The convict prison is worth a visit, as exhibiting a den of filth and misery, impossible to describe, and filled with desperadoes, whose looks, if looks be an index of the mind, tell tales of

> "Murder, treason, sacrilege, and crimes
> That strike the very soul with horror but to name them."

October 9th. The cold of winter is beginning to be felt; it is time to seek some more genial clime, so we shall make our last visit to the tomb of MOORE. This is situated beside the citadel, on a raised plot of ground, the Campo del Carlos, containing about an acre, and commanding an extensive view of the bay and adjoining heights.

The monument itself is of white granite, and stands in the centre, chaste, simple, and architectural; at each corner there is a small brass howitzer, bearing the emblems of the French republic, and on the panel, on either side, is the inscription:—

IOHANNES MOORE.
EXERCITUS BRITTANICI DUX
PRÆLIO OCCISUS
A. D. 1809.

The ground of this bastion is clothed with the dwarf-mallow, and a row of aspen poplars surrounding the enclosure, with their stunted heads bowed to the blast, seemed to mourn over the tomb of the departed hero.

All must acknowledge the taste, the feeling, and the generosity

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of the gallant Marshal who raised the monument, and penned the inscription to the memory of a fallen enemy. Little of memento is, however, required by the Englishman who visits it—little to be written of the character of that great man, who died, as he lived, gloriously—a gallant soldier, a sincere friend, and an ornament to the country that gave him birth!

In order to preserve the tomb, a wall about breast-high was erected by the British government, in 1824. This has had the very opposite effect from what was intended, as it not only obstructs the view, but actually conduces to its defilement, the interior being a receptacle for every description of filth and abomination. True it is, that the Spanish authorities put up a notice, many years ago, inflicting a small fine upon offenders; but no further trouble is taken. Ah Spain! is this your gratitude—this the respect you pay to the remains of the man who came to free you from slavery and oppression? You deserted him while living, and you dishonour his sepulchre when dead. The body of Moore was interred here, in compliance with a wish he was often heard to express, that he should be buried where he fell; and besides, it was not only the nearest spot, but indeed the only one that the circumstances of that memorable night afforded.

> "Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,
> And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him;"

but if blame could have been attached to him, it may have been for accepting a command so limited by ministers at home, and so hemmed in by the trammels of diplomacy abroad. Whatever the spot on his bright escutcheon Slander would dim with her unhallowed breath, it was nobly effaced by his life's-blood on the battle-field of Corunna. When we look at the conduct of the Spanish generals—at the letters of Mr. Frere, from Madrid—at the broken promises—the never-fulfilled treaties—the behaviour of the Marquis de Romana, who kept just one day's march a-head, eating up whatever of food was to be obtained in the country, we are forced to acknowledge that in truth it was a *victorious retreat*.

Within the barrier, and underneath part of the monument, are buried some of the family of a former vice-consul; and, though they but mingle in the clay common to all mankind, I do think it was rather presumptuous, even for the representative of majesty

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at the port of Corunna, to displace the stones erected by Soult, and disturb the ashes of the mighty dead, so hallowed by the immortal lines of Charles Wolfe, and so endeared to us by every grateful recollection. St. Paul's has her tribute to consecrate his actions, and Glasgow has erected a statue to her citizen; but surely England will do something more, either by removing his body to Westminster, or by erecting a testimonial upon the spot where he fell. It is not too late for those private friends, and companions in arms, who fought under his banner and stood beside him in the battle-field, to bestir themselves in this noble work.

It is waxing late; the evening gun has just proclaimed the sunset, and the broad belt of golden light which marked its parting beam is fast dying in the west. The vessels of war are answering the deep-mouthed echoes from the fort, as their last boom is dying o'er the calm waters, and the shrill whistle of the boatswain is heard above the castanets and the merry dance in the different trading craft immediately beneath. Our own gallant schooner has completed her repairs, and now with her taut-ropes, taper raking masts, and beautifully-modelled hull, forms a striking contrast to the sluggish, dirty vessels by which she is surrounded. As the deep shades of evening descend, they all veer round like a herd of startled deer, and head the shifting night-breeze. The moon is rising from the ocean behind the hills of Ferrol—the deep silence of the city and the glimmering lights in the different houses remind me that it is time to return on board.

All is now ready, and to-morrow we sail. Unhappy Spain, farewell—thou art, indeed, the land of brilliant promise, but most baneful produce; yet who can look upon thy proverbial perfidy—thy ceaseless wars upon the liberty of thought, of conscience, and the spread of knowledge, and not behold in thy present bloody struggles a just and terrible retribution?

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CHAPTER II.

LISBON.

Arrival in the Tagus—Lisbon—Church of the Estrella—A Harbour Scene—The Dogs—The Palacio de Cortes—Ruins of the Inquisition—Cathedral—Holy Crows—A Black Virgin—Theatricals—Hospitals and State of Medicine—Belem—Its Palace—Convent—Tomb of Alfonzo VI.—Mosaic Altar of St. Roch—The Carmo—Description of the City—Costumes—Gallegos—Aqueduct of Alcantara—A Suicide—Dock-yard—Visit to Cintra—Description of the Country A Postillion—Splendid Views—Moorish Castle—Penha Convent—Cork Convent—The Monks and State of Religion—Collares—Palace of Cintra—Montserratt—Beckford—A Pic Nic—Mafra—Story of its erection—Marble Chapel—Library—English Navy Officers—A Friar—Portuguese Cookery—Climate—Departure.

We left Corunna on the morning of the 10th and entered the Tagus on the 12th; the atmosphere misty, and the wind blowing a stiff breeze down the river, which presented just here a noble expanse of water, but so muddy, from its admixture with sand and dirt, that it had quite the appearance of ill-made chocolate, both in colour and consistence. The current is rapid, and the waves continued to break over us till we anchored alongside the town, yet, the fear of wet jackets could not drive us below, or compel us to forego the glorious sight that momentarily opened to our view.

On either side of the river the breakers on the great and little Ketsups are tremendous. The larger of these sand-banks is now guarded by a handsome fort, surmounted by the Bougie light, which forms a pretty object as you enter the river. The sea breaking with fury on the edge of the sands, and the spray flying to a great height, the remnant of the waters rushes on like an immense rocket far in upon the bank, and expands its strength in foam. In beating up the river, you are struck with the strong line of demarcation that exists between the river and sea waters, owing to the rapidity of the current, and to their different degrees of density. The distant rock of Cintra, Fort St. Lucia, and

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Belem Castle, were passed in succession on the left bank, the intervening ground being but little cultivated, and having a tawny brown appearance. On the right, the banks are higher, presenting the section of a number of sand-hills cut off at right angles with the river.

We "brought up" about breakfast-time, and shortly afterwards went on shore at the Caesŏdre. This large square, which is open to the river, is the great mart of Lisbon, and now crowded with English navy-officers of all ranks, from the "executive-chief" down to the "cheeping mid"—the usual buyers and sellers that throng the avenues to the principal port of a large city; and the never-failing gang of loungers to be found wherever hotels, wine-shops, and billiard-rooms exist.

The public gardens and other promenades of Lisbon offer little of interest: ill-constructed fountains, dry, and surmounted by figures of tritons, fishwomen, and river gods out of all proportion, enclosed with straight hedge-rows, and spirally clipped box trees, give to the whole scene an air of stiffness and formality. These disagreeable features are, however, compensated for by the contrast of some magnificent specimens of the lovely *datura arborea*, still adorned with their large snow-white pendant bells, which shadow several of the public walks.

In the evening we walked out to Buenos Ayres, the west-end of Lisbon; a delightful suburb, situated high above the river; beautiful in its prospect; healthful in its air; and the only possibly clean spot throughout this city of ups and downs, which looks just as if the earth had suddenly become arrested in some wave-like convulsion. On our way home we passed by one of the most conspicuous objects here, the church of the Estrella, or Coraco de Jesus, built by one of the queens of Portugal, in honour of the heart of our Saviour, which she fancied she possessed, enshrined in a splendid alabaster vase! It is a noble building, crowning one of the highest parts of the city, and a miniature of the church of Mafra; the dome forms a conspicuous object on entering the harbour; externally the walls are rather too highly decorated, and its order of architecture hard to define —if any be adhered to, it is the Corinthian. The doors being open, we entered, just as the candles on the altar were lighted for vespers. The ornamental work of the interior is chaste and beautiful, of different coloured marbles, wrought in panels, and

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surrounded by elaborate fret-work, all of the highest polish. The dome and arched roof are also of marble.

A single sentinel leaned on his musket at one of the side altars; a few scattered groups of females knelt around some patron saint; and the solemnity and silence that reigned throughout the building added to the awe and reverence inspired by the hour, the situation, and the scene. Presently the priest entered, and bowed before the altar: a cloud of incense rose around him, while a most enchanting strain of slow, soft music stole upon the stillness, and crept religiously along the aisles, swelling gradually till it filled the whole building. On either side of the organ was a close grating, behind which the nuns and monks of the adjacent convent were placed, and poured forth a full tide of harmony. How striking is a first visit to a Roman Catholic house of worship abroad; where the pomp of ceremony, the splendour of decoration, and the enchantment of sound serve to exalt religious enthusiasm, and to lend to devotion those fictitious charms, made by exciting appeals to the senses.

We returned on board as the evening gun was fired, and after tea enjoyed our cigar on deck; we were far enough off shore to lose the hum of the city, and not too far to prevent us catching the modulated notes of the bands playing in the Caesŏdre.

There are few scenes of greater interest than a large harbour such as this, with its ships and craft of all kinds and nations; their busy inmates quieted in sleep, save the restless night-watch pacing the deck, or the stealthy gliding of the custom barge, guarding against contrabandistas. The stir and bustle of the day was now hushed into most perfect stillness—here lay our own men of war, in the centre of the river; their topmasts lowered for the night; and with their black hulls and mathematically squared yards, looking like so many monsters of the deep, waiting but the provocation to vomit forth destruction. The various merchantmen, and the feluccas whose long latteen yards shoot up like immense leafless quivering reeds, and numbers of country boats, with their high Chinese prows, and gaudily-painted sterns, lie scattered on all sides of us. What a glorious sight! lighted up by a moon of such resplendent brightness, as to dazzle the eye, and render every object almost as clear and distinct as by an English sun;—not the pale and sickly waning moon, seen in our own misty climate, but a full and brilliant

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orb that sheds the rich effulgence of a midnight's glory on all around.

Just now from the fort came that beautifully martial sound, the bugle call, floating clear and distinct on the light wind, bringing with it sensations the most thrilling, as carried down the stream, its echoes fall in cadences along the river's broken banks, and are finally lost far out amid the ocean's roar. The tide is turned—the ripple has ceased against our bows, and now all is silent as the grave;—moments like these raise man above himself into that world of thought, that bids him look from nature up to nature's Lord. But if he be within ear-shot of Lisbon, he will have little time to moralize after eleven o'clock, when the dog-howl begins. This continues without intermission till morning, and is one of the most hideous noises that ever grated on man's ear; the cry is not "the house-dog's honest bark," but a wild unearthly howl, broken at times by the abrupt note of passion, or the prolonged yell of anguish, distinctly recognizable even at this distance. Occasionally a civil war breaks out, by some tribe invading the territories of another; and then the uproar is truly terrific. In these struggles the vanquished are devoured by the conquerors.

Notwithstanding all this canine discord, the dogs appear at present the most stable part of the constitution of Portugal: their government is republican, formed of several petty states, and were it not for those nightly outbreaks, I would say was well regulated. Living in small communities, principally in the ruins of convents, old houses, and many of the places desolated by the great earthquake, they own no masters, answer no names, and, like all outcasts, have become an abandoned, dissolute, and uncivilized race, scorning the power as well as the protection of man—the true Ishmaelites of the canine race. They have a peculiarly wild and ferocious aspect, and seldom stir out during the day; but at night, troops of fifteen or twenty of these ravenous creatures come rushing along the deserted and ill-lighted streets, stopping occasionally to revel on some recent offal; and should any unhappy stranger fall amongst them, he is instantly set upon and demolished on the spot. The dogs of Lisbon are nothing in number now to what they were some years ago, when it was absolutely dangerous to open the doors once the dog-howl began. They are, however, under the present police surveillance, a

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necessary evil; there being no sewers, or any means of removing nuisance and offal in this most filthy of cities, and no paving corporation to compel cleanliness, these dogs are, therefore, the only scavengers. The clergy endeavoured at one time to keep down their number, till the occupation of this place by the French, who compelled them to turn scavengers *themselves*—since this they have rather encouraged their increase, to prevent the recurrence of a similar degradation. Another cause of the vast number of dogs formerly, arose from the people up the country having, during the vintage, regularly shipped them down the river to Lisbon, to prevent their destroying the grapes, and sending for them again when the harvest was over. This has, however, been stopped: and the government lately issued an order to have all dogs, not wearing a collar with the owner's name, destroyed by the police. Since then numbers have been destroyed by poison: and these dying in the streets at every turn, are quite disgusting, and enough to cause a pestilence. In fine, though greatly diminished, they are still very numerous; but as sewers are now being made through the principal streets, the necessity for them will soon cease. It is very remarkable that, notwithstanding the number of dogs, hydrophobia is hardly known.*

The square of the Inquisition is a handsome area, and there stand the scorched and blackened walls of that blot upon humanity, its interior having been burned to the ground. It was lately used as a treasury; but the vengeance of heaven seemed to follow it, and it was reduced to ashes, for the second time, last year. On its being first transferred to the government, every effort was made by the clergy belonging to it to obliterate all traces of the wretched inmates of those dismal cells; yet many were the names discovered; and, on the destruction of the walls, several skeletons were, I have been informed, found built up in their substance, sad mementoes of the deeds of infamy practised on the unfortunates brought within its accursed precincts.

The Palacio de Cortes is a handsome building, and, like all other fine edifices here, was once a convent. The number of the Cortes is about sixty; they meet in the open day, and

* Since the above was first published, I have been informed that many valuable improvements have been made in the city of Lisbon, and several sewers constructed.

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their sittings are free to all; but the voice of the speakers is quite lost in the gallery, by a row of attic windows which have been opened round the hall. There is a good likeness of the queen hanging over the president's chair. A decorum and politeness reigned throughout this quiet assemblage of gentlemen, not always to be found amongst the midnight legislators of St. Stephen's Chapel. The members receive a salary from their constituents; and the president calls on each member, in his turn, to address the house.

The chamber of peers is now abolished, and none of the ministry can hold a seat in the Cortes. Many of the states were so indifferent or so penurious as to forfeit their elective franchise for the time, and had no representatives.

The cathedral is a large building, with a finely-groined roof; but the walls of the interior are covered with the never-ending blue tile. This crockery prevails every where, but the rage for it has somewhat abated of late; the subjects represented on it are generally from heathen mythology; in some places it is pleasant, cool, and cleanly; and in hospitals, particularly, it is very valuable, being so easily cleaned, and not so liable to retain infection as whitewash. Owing to their once extensive slave trade, and large negro population, there are more black people seen in Lisbon than in any other city in Europe, and their prejudices are more studied there than elsewhere. In this cathedral there are two altars flanking the upper central one; on that to the right is an image of the Virgin and child, *white*, and highly decorated with tinsel and artificial flowers, &c.; while on that to the left is one similar in every respect, save that the faces and hands of both mother and child are *black*:—this is negro conciliation! Behind this central altar, the *Holy Crows* of Saint Vincent are quartered; the priests are rather chary of exhibiting them at present, and the day I visited here only one made his appearance;—it was the general report that the other had gotten a severe fit of the gout. All the world knows the story of the patron saint of Lisbon, Saint Vincent, who having been murdered abroad, and the crew of his vessel dying, his body was brought safely into the Tagus by two crows, one taking the helm, while the other manned the yards; and those in this cathedral are said to be their lineal descendants. Since then a pair of crows are quartered on the city arms.

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The theatre is a wretched concern, but the opera is justly celebrated; the house is beautifully proportioned, and said to be, next to that at Milan, the finest in Europe. The stage is larger in proportion to the house than any I ever saw; and the whole lighted by one magnificent chandelier in the centre. The drop-scene is a beautiful representation of the aqueduct of Alcantara. The house was well attended, and the dress-circle principally filled by English residents, and the officers of our fleet. The opera was well got up, and the ballet really admirable; it is generally the principal part of the performance. The gallant Admiral Napier, who was present, was received with much enthusiasm by the audience.

The hospital of San Joseph is an admirable institution, of immense size, and well kept; it is advantageously situated on a considerable height, and altogether struck me as being a noble establishment; it was formerly a convent of Jesuits, and the chapel is now in ruins, having suffered much in the earthquake of '55. It is the general hospital for the city, is capable of containing upwards of 1500 patients, and is divided into medical, surgical, lunatic, and obstetric departments. There are four wards, of vast extent, exceedingly clean and well ventilated, with four rows of beds in each; and at eleven o'clock, when the patients have dined, the shutters are closed and all made quiet for them to enjoy their siesta. The tiled floors are watered every morning, which keeps them very cool, and the walls are completely and appropriately covered with blue pottery.*

There is another small hospital for elephantiasis, a disease which is very common here.

I sailed down the river to visit Belem, in company with an Irish gentleman, who served in the army here during the late

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* There is a small lecture and dissecting-room, but no museum; and anatomical subjects are supplied from the hospital, and are very cheap. The school of surgery, also under this roof, was made royal by the late king, whose picture hangs in the hall, where, at the time of my visit, candidates were undergoing a *public vivâ voce* examination for the professorship of the practice of physic. The college is authorised to grant licenses, and permits its members to prescribe in medicine; but medical degrees can be conferred at Queensboro' only.

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war, and who is still kept out of his pay, and left to live as best he can, like many others, from general officers downwards, who left their country and bore the blows, while this thankless people reaped the profit.

The palace of Belem stands upon a very fine elevated terrace, commanding a charming view of the river. The grounds are laid out in the old quaint style of clipped hedges, and trees cut in every fantastic form; yet, though it is the perfection of stiffness and formality, I cannot but confess it looked agreeable, for while we may be disposed to complain of the curtailment of nature's free and fair proportions, one is compelled to admire the uncommon art, neatness, and dexterity bestowed on the production of all these strange and grotesque forms. Yew and box trees seem to be most generally patronised by the gardeners; the latter growing here in great luxuriance. In one place, you behold it cut into the shape of a huge melon; in another, into a gigantic pine apple: here it assumes a beautiful spiral form, and there you see it take the shape of some antique monster.

Handsome fountains adorn the gardens; and on the parterres are some good specimens of Portuguese statuary, one in particular of the Grecian Daughter. A tank of vast size, at the top of the gardens, contains the largest mullet I ever saw, some at least twenty to thirty pounds weight, *in fresh water*.

The aviary contains nothing but a few sparrows; the dens for the wild beasts are all locked up, and empty; and the whole place has a forsaken, desolate aspect.

The palace itself has a mean exterior, and is, as usual, half covered with Dutch pottery; yet a fine suite of rooms, of good proportions, and very tolerably furnished, run along the front of the building. The walls are completely covered with pictures, some of considerable merit, but all *unframed*; and the likeness of Don John, with his negro countenance, is seen everywhere—on the ceilings, in the corridors, above, below, to the right, and to the left. This was once the favourite residence of the royal family, but the present poor queen is not allowed by her ministers the enjoyment of even this quiet retreat.

The adjoining convent, which is now used as an asylum for 1500 poor children, is worthy of a more attentive inspection than I had time to bestow on it. The workmanship of the church attached is extraordinary; the external walls are a perfect fret-

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work of ornament, and the flying buttresses are covered with vines carved in bas-relief, twining about and clinging to them, through the foliage of which peep out the faces of innumerable angels and seraphs. The clustering of figures on the walls is, if any thing, too thick; the eye becomes wearied, not finding a single unoccupied spot whereon to rest. The architecture preserved in the doors and windows is Gothic, but the sculpture and ornament are unique. The whole has somewhat the colour of reddish blotting paper, being formed of a description of sandstone very liable to be destroyed by atmospheric influence. A poor priest, still retaining the broad-brimmed hat and threadbare russet habiliments of his order, sat begging at the door; he, however, was not permitted to enter within the precincts of what had formerly been his home, and had belonged to his once powerful order, and he looked wistfully through the gates as they closed behind us.

In the interior, the crowded ornament was abandoned, and gave place to a chasteness and simplicity of decoration designed in the most perfect taste. Six pillars of grey polished marble on each side formed the aisle: these reared their exceedingly tall, slender shafts aloft, and branching at top into the form of a palm, spread out their broad thin foliage to support a roof of matchless elegance. The pulpit, like the pillars, was of grey marble, and covered with the same elaborate lacework. The whole church is a splendid specimen of arabesque, and strikes the beholder as being the product of enchantment rather than the work of mortal hands. I had almost forgotten to mention the altar, on which stands the tabernacle, celebrated by all travellers as being one of the largest pieces of plate in existence, at least six feet square; it is of silver, beautifully wrought in the most delicate filigree, but now much tarnished. Behind the altar is the vault, containing the tomb of the unfortunate Alfonzo the Sixth. With much difficulty I persuaded the sexton to open the vault. We descended, and great indeed was the old man's amazement at my unceremoniously removing the lid of the large trunk-shaped coffin. The dryness of the atmosphere has preserved his body in great perfection, evaporating the fluids, and leaving the flesh and skin black, shrivelled, and adhering to the bones; the lips being retracted from this cause, exposed the teeth, which were white and in the finest preservation. The head was small, and the forehead narrow, retreating

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and unintellectual. He was dressed in his robes of state, profusely ornamented, with a rich embroidered cap on his head, and round all was wrapped a fine muslin robe, spangled with gold. On each side of him are deposited an Infanta of Portugal, his children. The tomb of Don Manuel, who raised this beauteous pile, in honour and commemoration of the voyage and achievements of Vasco de Gama in the New World, stands on the left of the altar—it is hewn out of an enormous block of black marble, highly polished, and is of great elegance of design and workmanship.

Before leaving Lisbon, we must visit St. Roch, which embodies all that is curious and beautiful in the city; it is now very difficult of access, but well repays all the trouble expended in gaining admission. The general appearance of the interior of this church offers little to comment upon. The roof and walls are gaudily painted—the latter embellished with pilasters, and crowded with altars in white marble, inlaid with bronze, more curious than beautiful; but the grand object of attraction, the famous altar of St. John, stands in a recess to the left, and is concealed from view by a rich crimson curtain, removed, for the inspection of the public, only on one day in the year—the feast of St. John. We were conducted through a dark narrow gallery, and having been led opposite the altar, the curtain was slowly withdrawn; and then such a sight! After standing in silent admiration some minutes—"Oh, how very grand!" burst involuntarily from all present. It is a perfect gem in mosaic, where all the splendid marbles of the Peninsula are displayed with the most skilful arrangement. We stood in a small chamber, railed off from the rest of the church; the massive doors on either side through which we entered were of burnished brass, and of most exquisite open-work; the walls were encrusted with dark marble, from which stand out, in clusters, pillars of polished marble, judiciously contrasted with pilasters of a darker hue placed behind. The capitals are of the Corinthian order, and wrought in brass like those of the Thron-Saal at Munich, as are also the pedestals. The grouping of jasper, verde-antique, porphyry, Gibraltar stone, and many other marbles of the most beautiful colours, in the different columns, produces the most delightful and imposing effect. Above, the canopied roof, panelled in dark marble, is supported by white cherubs, standing as if about to take wing from the tall slender pillars: the

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floor is mosaiced in a rich carpet pattern; and at the farther end stands the altar, a single block of lapis lazuli of immense size, flanked by pillars of the same precious material, resting on porphyry steps, its upper border being inlaid with a row of brilliant amethysts. But we must hasten to the grand magnets, the three mosaic pictures. The centre, or altar-piece, is the baptism of our Saviour in the Jordan, after Michael Angelo; the figures are as large as life, and are copied with such fidelity, that the hand is involuntarily stretched forth to assure one's self they are not oil and canvas; they are brought out in the most beautiful and natural relief; and the whole, particularly the reflection of the Saviour's feet in the running water, are given with such truth as to fill the spectator with the most unqualified admiration. Those on the sides are—the Annunciation, after Raphael, and the Conception, after Guido.

Two large and costly candelabra of silver, gilt, stand before the altar. The whole is the workmanship of the celebrated Italian, Justi; it was executed at Rome, and cost a sum much greater than is to be found in the treasury of Portugal at this moment. I feel I cannot do this splendid work the justice it deserves; but I know I am reminding those who have seen it of a great treat. Should any of my readers be in Lisbon, and pressed for time, let them sacrifice all else to see St. John's chapel at St. Roch, and Belem Cathedral. This altar was one of the objects which the spoliating hand of Junot had selected to grace the French capital, but for the timely interference of the English.

Of the buildings destroyed by the earthquake in '55, some fine ruins still remain; among the rest, the Carmo, which crowns one of the seven hills of Lisbon, and forms a striking object from the parterres of the Rua St. Roch. It was the finest specimen of the lanceolated Gothic architecture in Portugal. One is lost in amazement to see the row of tall, thin, clustering pillars, which divide the nave and aisle, still standing, while the roof was utterly destroyed, and many of the walls shaken to their foundation. What a noble ruin it would be considered in England! Here, it is a filthy saw-pit, half filled with dirt and rubbish, and the top of the splendid doorway is now nearly on a level with the street. Beside the door is an inscription, stating it to have been consecrated by Bishop Ambrosia, in 1523; and beneath this is a small cross, under which is a notice, purporting that "whoever

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kisses this cross shall have an indulgence of many days." The reverence once paid to it was such as absolutely to wear away the stone with kisses; while now the mud of one of the filthiest streets in Lisbon so covers it that I was obliged to poke away this nuisance with a stick in order to obtain a view of it.

I may with justice sum up a description of this city in the faithful and energetic lines applied to Cologne by Coleridge, whose name will soften down the asperities that might otherwise grate on ears polite—

> ———" A town of monks and bones,
> And pavements fanged with murderous stones,
> And rags, and hags, and hideous wenches—
> I counted two and seventy stenches."

In a word, the city is worthy of a people degraded by ignorance and the grossest superstition. Were I asked for a description of Portuguese character, I would say, it was one partaking of every bad quality belonging to a native of the Peninsula, without one of those redeeming virtues, which, in some degree, render interesting and valuable the character of their neighbours.

I would rather turn to the sunny side of the picture, and conduct the reader to any thing worth seeing, without his being assailed by any of the thousand and one stenches of Lisbon. By the way, talking of the sunny side of the picture, I may observe, that the sunny side of the streets may be always known by the number of those *prehensile operations* going forward in the windows of both rich and poor, and which fully accounts for the decrease of the monkey tribe, since the days of Beckford, when they were hired out to perform those little offices upon the *head* that filial piety now takes upon itself.

The women do not dress so neatly as those in Corunna, and are but little better-looking—many being *blondes*, yet retaining a Spanish cast of countenance by no means improving. The costume of both sexes is more mixed, and not so national as that we had lately seen. The heads of all the females are enveloped in immense thin muslin handkerchiefs, puffed out to about two feet square at the top, and not inaptly resembling the hoods occasionally worn at funerals in our own country. The rest of the figure is completely enveloped in a long, dark brown mantle.

Lisbon is well supplied with water, from the numerous beauti-

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ful fountains spread about the city, and the water is conveyed from house to house, in small barrels, by the Spanish water-carriers—the Galegos—hundreds of whom swarm round every fountain, and form the most interesting groups to be met with. They are all Galicians, and although the water is sold for about a farthing a barrel, many have been known to amass sums large enough to enable them to purchase estates on returning to their native country. They are remarkable for their honesty, and the hardships they undergo are extraordinary, many sleeping in the open air round their fountains at night. The water is conducted to the city by the famous aqueduct, a distance of many miles; and, where it crosses the valley of Alcantara, a short way outside the suburb, it is certainly one of the finest objects in Portugal. The first view of it in this place disappoints; but on a longer inspection, you become gradually impressed with its true and immense proportions. The water is conducted over the deep ravine, (through which a rapid torrent, now dry, runs in the winter,) on a duct of thirty-five arches, measuring 2873 feet. These arches are some of them round, some of them lanceolated: the height of the central one from the water-course below is 226 feet, and its breadth 108 feet. One may form a faint idea of its elevation and span, by knowing that the largest ship of the line, in full sail, could pass under it. The whole length, from the source at Canessas to Lisbon, is 56,300 feet, or $10\frac{2}{3}$ miles; it is built of grey marble, and looks as clean and sharp as if constructed but yesterday. On either side of the water-way, there is a foot-path, broad enough for two to walk abreast between it and the parapet, which is barely breast high. In the centre are two water-channels, each 18 inches broad, one of which is closed each alternate year, for the purposes of cleansing and repair; they are roofed in, ventilated by numerous gratings, and surmounted by a handsome turret over every second arch.

This walk is the scene of frequent robberies, as few would like to wrestle on so slight a footing, and over such a depth, with a Portuguese bravo. While looking over the highest part, and remarking the diminutive appearance of the people in the valley, my guide told me it was the favourite resort of suicides, who came to fling themselves over the parapet, and the spot is certainly most inviting to those tired of life, and willing to rush into certain and immediate destruction. The view from the top does

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not so much please as astonish you; it is only while standing below, and at a little distance, that the grandeur of this stupendous pile breaks fully on the senses. In this situation, when looking up the valley through those stupendous arches, you behold its deep gorge and precipitous sides crowded with orange groves, quintas, and windmills, and a prospect presents itself seldom to be equalled in loveliness; the mingled effect of light and shade, mellowed by the declining sun, that throws the shadow of the neighbouring heights across the vale, deepening the green of the different plantations, and again lightly reflected by the red-tiled houses on the road to Cintra, produces a combination of natural and artificial beauty of the rarest description.

One object, and one alone, shed a gloom over the face of smiling nature. As we turned through one of the arches, to examine some plants at a little distance, we suddenly came upon the corpse of a man, who had but a few hours before thrown himself from the battlement above; and accustomed as I have been from almost childhood to view death in every shape and form that lingering disease, or the murderous hand of man can make loathsome, it shall never fade from my recollection, the view of that haggard, horror-stricken face, on which despair and desperation were still marked, in the fixed look and convulsed feature. He was lying on his back, with the head down hill, and he could not have made the slightest struggle, as the clay was soft, and he lay imbedded in it. He appeared above the lower order, was well dressed, and his clothing, even to his shoes, was perfectly new—a practice common to suicides here. The body was not mangled, though the fall was so great, and his hair, sprinkled with gray, and bespeaking some forty winters, was thrown off a fine and well-formed forehead; but approaching decomposition was already beginning to clear away the wrinkles that had settled on his brow. The sun had thrown the shadow of one of the pillars across where he lay, for although shining equally upon the just and the unjust, it appeared as if disdaining to shed its lustre, or throw one bright beam of hope upon that loathsome, stiffening carcase. I was about touching it, to discover what injury had been sustained, but was prevented by my guide, who assured me that certain imprisonment would follow. A few yards off sat a group of men and boys, lounging idly in the sun, who

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treated the matter with perfect indifference, from its every-day occurrence here.

This was the scene of contention during the late civil struggle. The lines of Lisbon, on which people were still at work, ran just above. Although the cottages and buildings in the immediate neighbourhood bear the marks of the recent conflict in their shattered walls and roofs, I was delighted to find that not a single ball had touched the aqueduct.

We visited the dock-yard and arsenal; in the former was *one* ship, on the stocks for so many years, that they have put in three new sets of timbers already, and are now negociating a loan of £300 for a further repair! Their naval officers are educated in a *model* ship, placed in the arsenal. How are the mighty fallen!—think of the days when the Portuguese navy was the terror of the world, and her mariners added rich store of knowledge to their children, and incalculable wealth to their coffers.

The markets of Lisbon, particularly those for fruit and fish, are well supplied; haiks and dog-fish are caught in great numbers in the Tagus, and much used for food, but dories and mullet are the favourites. Some of the finest muscatel grapes are to be found here; several that I weighed were above 170 grains each!

The bull-fights, in honour of the royal birth, were over before we arrived; but all were hastening to Campo Grande, a fair held a few miles from town, to eat roast chesnuts and pork chops. It was, we understood, but a stupid place, without show or amusement, so we made better use of our time by visiting Cintra, the Brighton of Portugal.

The immense suburbs through which we passed, showed Lisbon to be a city of much larger size than from the sea we should be inclined to suspect. The roads, paved with enormous blocks of limestone, are execrable; the carriages have no springs, and are worse appointed than the vilest London cab. Shade of M'Adam! had you been qualified for purgatory, you surely would have been sent to jolt out your period on the Cintra road. The seats of the nobility in the neighbourhood of Lisbon are little better than English farm-houses, with one exception, the delightful residence of the Baron Quintilla, a great friend of the queen, who has every thing about him fitted up in English style. The

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country along the road presents the greatest sameness; its brown aspect, without a single spot to relieve the eye, renders the drive of fifteen miles for the most part uninteresting and monotonous. Not a hedge-row is to be seen, and but a few vines and dingy olives, with the agave or American aloe, which grows in great luxuriance, bordering the roads and enclosures. The country appears to be but thinly populated, and the only objects in the landscape are the water-towers, and numerous small aqueducts, all running towards the valley of Alcantara. As we approached Cintra, the air became much cooler, and that noble mountain concentrated all our admiration, its rugged outline being exhibited in the sharpest relief against a back-ground of the most gorgeous purple, which marked the setting glories of the god of day.

While yet some miles from our journey's end, our sorry nags got blown, and the sable postillion regaled them with bread steeped in wine; and then remounting, plied whip and spur with an energy that would have awakened the spirit of Dick Martin, had it been in the neighbourhood; but all in vain. He again dismounted, and, coolly unharnessing each poor brute separately, belaboured him on the road side with a huge club which he carried in the boot for the purpose. Again they were put to, and blacky practising every refinement upon the art of "touching upon the raw," and occasionally strengthening his meagre carcase with a pull at the wine flask, and his more meagre soul by an appeal to the saints, and a variety of crossings, he at length brought us late in the evening to Cintra. If possible, see this place by moonlight, as by day the barrenness of the surrounding country detracts greatly from the beauty of the scene. The bold mountain scenery—the lemon and orange groves—the waving rows of cane, with their nodding, plume-like tops—the beautiful and picturesque village itself—the old Moorish castle on the hills above, crowned by the Penha convent, and the lofty domes of the royal palace beneath—make this the most attractive spot in Portugal.

An additional charm is given to the scene by the ivy-clad walls, covered at top by amarylles and crimson geraniums, which flourish here in the greatest profusion and brilliancy, and by the huge evergreen oaks and cork-trees, (on which grows a beautiful parasitic fern,) intertwined with vines that spread their graceful festoons from branch to branch. There is a handsome prome-

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nade, surrounded by rows of elms and tulip trees; at the lower end are the houses of two nobles, with their odious pink fronts and ugly busts. It was in one of those "*the Convention*" was signed. Our fare at the English hotel, and the Port and Collares, were very passable; I wish I could say as much for the beds, which were of flock, lumpy, uncomfortable, and tenanted by myriads of bugs.

The morning after our arrival we procured donkeys to ascend the heights. The road winds in a zigzag course up the steep, which, though most precipitous, our little animals climbed in safety. As we ascended, the scene beneath gradually disclosed itself. Cintra, its detached houses, the church and palace, rising out of the rich foliage of vines and elms, and, still further down the ravine, the numerous groves of orange and olive trees, watered by rills of the purest crystal, collected from the neighbouring heights—and the mountain itself, bold, rugged, and composed of blocks of granite boulders, with scarcely a blade of any thing green between—all added to the grandeur of our prospect. The outer wall of the ancient Moorish castle surrounds one of the secondary heights, and as it creeps from rock to rock, is guarded at short intervals by round or square towers, many of which are perched on enormous blocks of granite; while the inner wall above, looks as if cast round the neck of the peak, like a collar, and the summit is crowned by the square black walls of the Morisco Fortalice, within which are the remains of an ancient bath and mosque. It must have been a place of great strength; but there is nothing in the shape of inscription to declare the origin or the founder.

We continued our way to the Penha convent, which tops the highest pinnacle of the range; and in its eyrie-like position, looks like one of those small turrets that jut out from the walls of our ancient castles. With much difficulty we urged our donkeys up the steep ascent on which the convent stands; the massive gate had fallen from its hinges—the grass had grown over the well-paved yard—the garden fence had been long since demolished, and the nettle and the hemlock had choked up its walls and parterres. No burly friar came to bid us welcome—no lay-brother ran to hold our donkeys—and although it was the Sabbath morning, silence and desolation reigned throughout.

The only disturbers of its solitude were a few jackdaws, that

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cawed and fluttered round the chimney-tops, scared at our loud knocking, which reverberated through the building, and some straggling sheep, whose tinkling bells we heard as they leaped over the garden-wall at our approach. All else was silent, upon a day when these rocks and valleys so often rung with "the toll of the summoning bell," and the surrounding peasantry in their gay attire filled its courts, or knelt before its altar; for now, wretchedness, ruin, and decay have taken up their abode, where for so many years peculiar sanctity was believed to dwell. Our uproar for admission at last appeared to wake its only inmate, a wretched old woman, who admitted us, after a reconnoitring glance through one of the side windows. In the outer court stands the entrance to the church, the chief object of attraction here; it is a square porch, supported on four pillars of singular twisted rope-work, with knobs between, from which springs a light and elegantly-groined roof; but on the top of this portico they have stuck a contemptible little spire, covered with the eternal Dutch tile, that quite spoils the architectural effect.

The chapel itself is small; the doorway is an old round arch, deeply groined, and of exquisite workmanship, and the altar, which reaches to the roof, is looked upon as a piece of most elaborate art. All is going fast to ruin, even the figures of saints and virgins that still stand upon the altar are losing their tinselled finery, which is now falling to rags, and the tabernacle or shrine was thrown into a corner, and is mouldering to decay. The monks themselves have been all driven hence, and the whole pile, amongst the cloisters and arcades of which many beautiful specimens of Moorish architecture are to be found, wears an aspect of loneliness that lends its saddening influence even to the casual visitor.

The view from the Penha is most extensive; beyond Cintra, and the wooded heights of Collares, all inland appears a brown, barren waste, as far as the eye can reach; but seaward, the prospect is glorious. The Tagus, from above Lisbon, is traceable to the ocean; while, to the north, the tall towers of Mafra rise high above the horizon, and close the view.

In our ride over the mountains we passed the Cork convent, a most romantic spot, and so hidden among the rocks, that you see nothing of it till you get between two large blocks of stone that form the entrance. Inside, it is completely covered with the

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rough bark of the cork tree; the simple friars had decorated the altar, opposite the entrance, with pieces of china, broken plates, shells, and bits of coral from the coast, not inaptly resembling a baby-house; but it too is abandoned to neglect and to the ruthless hand of time. Its community consisted of only two or three capuchins, the last remaining of whom, taking the strong hint afforded by the treatment of his brethren of De Penha, decamped with the plate and the little treasure belonging to his house. In the garden we found a full-sized figure of our Saviour lying on its face, imbedded in the soft earth, and the crown of thorns, that had bound its brow, in one of the adjoining walks! A few short years, nay, almost months ago, this figure was held to be one of the most sacred in Portugal, and none of the neighbouring peasantry went to their daily work without paying their devotions to it. What then shall we say for the religion of such a land? Religion there is none; infidelity has usurped the place of ignorance and blind devotion, and now stalks naked throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula, but more particularly in Portugal. By the present constitution, no male religious houses are permitted; all priestly orders have been abolished—the monks and friars have been driven from their princely establishments to live upon the sum of one and sixpence a-day, and their estates and large revenues confiscated to the crown. What the French Revolution commenced, and Napoleon carried on, Don Pedro, and the glimmering of enlightenment now breaking on this land, have completed. It is in contemplation to do away with the different nunneries; but it is to be hoped that ample provision will be made for the helpless inmates, before such a measure is adopted; and I have no doubt but that it is one which will be hailed with the truest gratitude by every signorita in Portugal.

The parochial clergy, the only ones permitted here, have little influence over the people; and it is a singular fact, that so far from assisting the monks, when driven from their homes, the peasantry refused them the necessaries of life, or even the shelter of a cottage roof; and this to men before whom they had so lately knelt, and who exercised over them a spiritual tyranny neither tolerated nor known in any other country. What, it may be asked, has become of such a large body of men, who had no trade, and are prohibited from following their profession? It is not to be expected that persons like these, reared in luxury, and living on the

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bucks of Mafra and the wines of Collares, could support themselves on two pistarines a day; and it cannot be said of them, as of the unjust steward, that by their liberality they made for themselves "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." Most of them have left Portugal; many will be found under the banners of Don Carlos, having exchanged the church quiescent for the church militant; and not a few in Great Britain, perhaps within the walls of Stoneyhurst, or Clongowes.

We returned through Collares, a deserted village, its fountains dry, and Quintas uninhabited, the present state of politics making their noble owners exiles. We rested ourselves at a cool wine-shop, and enjoyed a glass of the light claret which takes its name from this place. It is a thin, rough wine, agreeable in flavour, and weak enough to be drunk in tumblers—the *vin ordinaire* of this part of the country.

We took the lower road on our return, and enjoyed the magnificent view of the scenery along the wooded sides of the mountains through which we passed. With the exception of the lovely lemon and orange groves, the foliage of Portugal has not the green and refreshing tint of that of England, nor can it boast the glowing, mellow hues of our autumnal landscapes, as all the green has a rusty, brownish appearance, like that of the dingy olive. Quantities of those picturesque and noble trees, the stone pine, grow upon the heights, and their seed is much used as food by the poorer classes, whose children collect the cones, and beat them with mallets till the seed drops out; these are boiled soft, pounded in mortars, and used as beans are in other countries.

17th. We rose early in the morning and visited the far-famed palace of Cintra—an immense building in the Moorish style, presenting a confused jumble of courts and terraces, and although composed of innumerable apartments, possessing hardly one good room. All the pillars and window-frames are twisted and much covered with carving and fret-work—the latter completely spoiled, however, by their immense heavy green sashes. "The hall of swans," so called from having the likeness of that bird framed in every panel of the walls and ceiling, is of goodly size and proportion. To another may be given the name of "magpie-hall," in the domed roof of which each panel contains the representation of a magpie, holding in his claw a rose entwined in a ribbon, on which are the words "por ben," "for good." The story connected with

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it is, that a certain king was discovered by his queen in this very room kissing one of the maids of honour, who held a magpie on her arm; on seeing her majesty he exclaimed, "por ben," the Portuguese "honi soit." The queen withdrew; but on the king's leaving for Lisbon, a few days after, she had this room thus decorated against his return. A small chamber, tiled completely over, is shown as that in which Don Sebastian held his last council before his ill-fated African expedition. Our guide next conducted us to a small attic room, where, assuming a most rueful aspect, he informed us, that Don Alfonzo the VI. was imprisoned by his queen for upwards of nine years:—unfit to rule his kingdom or his wife. The whole of the flooring, except where his pallet stood, is worn by the footsteps of the poor captive. The only other object worth mentioning is what we may call "the hall of stags"—the panels in the walls and dome of this handsome apartment having each a stag painted in the centre, with a shield hung from its neck, on which are emblazoned the arms of some one of the nobility of Portugal, and bearing the crest between the horns. The devices of the princes of the blood-royal form the upper range; and below, the wall represents a stag-hunt in blue tile. As the present poor queen is not now allowed to enjoy the sweets of this beautiful retreat, the whole has gone much out of repair, and the furniture is hardly fit for a plain English gentleman.

Most of the English residents have houses at Cintra. A pic-nic was got up to-day, to which we were kindly invited. The rendezvous was one of the Quintas a few miles distant, and thither we now bent our steps, accompanied by three "cheeping middies," that morning let loose from their wooden prisons in the Tagus. Our walk lay by Montserrat—formerly the princely mansion of Beckford; now mouldering in ruins. It was an exceedingly elegant and tasteful building, in the English style, but scarcely a vestige of its roof now remains; and within its once highly decorated halls and costly chambers, the bramble, the thorn, and the thistle, flourish in undisturbed luxuriance. A few short years more, and a guide will have to lead the traveller to the spot where the eccentric author of Vathec held his court. It is a most romantic spot, commanding in its prospect every beauty that Cintra and the surrounding country affords. The lofty, tree-clad mountains behind, the undulating cultivated plain before—in the dis-

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tance, the illimitable sea—and around, long slopes of vineyards, with groves of the finest orange and lemon trees—force an exclamation of rapture, sadly qualified by regret at the utter destruction to which this most lovely of retreats is fast hastening. On the western turret still stands the flag-staff from which the silken banner of old England so often fluttered in the breeze; it seemed conscious of the dignity it once possessed, and in defiance of the ruin going on around, was determined to "spin it out, and fight it to the last." One of the largest Tangerine orange trees in Portugal flourishes in the lawn, and clumps of magnificent arbutus, not to be surpassed by even those of our own dear Killarney, border the ravine that separates the demesne from the hills behind; but scarcely a trace of the walks and pleasure-grounds now remains. Our pic-nic went off as well as meals of that comfortless description generally do; dancing followed; and having seen the ladies safely mounted on their donkeys, we strolled quietly home by moonlight.

The principal society in this part of the country is English, as the present Portuguese aristocracy are either beggars or exiles; and the few who do not come under this description, decline society, from disgust at the unceremonious deprivation of the power and honours they had so long exclusively enjoyed. On this account strangers see little of Portuguese manners or society, and what they do see is generally at the houses of the English residents.

Next morning we bade adieu to Cintra, and turned our faces towards Mafra. The roads are so unfit for carriages that we were obliged to ride. We traversed a most barren and thinly populated country, still worse than any we had yet seen; it looks a perfect desert, except where an occasional lemon or orange grove creeps up the sides of a ravine, owing its existence to the fertilizing power of some neighbouring spring. The small village of Penado was the only collection of houses we met for the distance of twelve miles. The gorge in which this picturesque hamlet is situated, is spanned by an enormous bridge of blue limestone, taken from the neighbouring quarry—an inspection of the fossil shells of which will well repay the traveller's trouble. On the other side of the ravine the porphyritic limestone breaks out; but the principal rock in this part of the kingdom is the common grey marble, the strata of which appear above the surface in many places.

We reached the convent about noon, and were struck more with

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its vast extent than the beauty of its architecture. This immense pile is said to be the largest in Europe, next to the Escurial; and some notion of its magnitude may be formed, from the fact of 10,000 soldiers having been reviewed upon its roof! It was once the favourite residence of the Portuguese monarchs in the olden days of despotism and devotion; and the circumstance of its erection is said to be this—John V. having no family, a monk of great piety, the queen's confessor, stated, that his majesty would not be long childless if he built a Franciscan cell at Mafra. The expectant king performed his part of the condition, and the fulfilment of the prophecy in due time, led to the building being enlarged to its present magnitude. The front faces the dirty village of Mafra; the splendid entrance is flanked on either side by a tower and spire 200 feet high, between which, but farther back, rises the dome of the church, and the front view is terminated at either extremity by a beautiful pavilion in the Turkish style. An immense flight of steps leads to the highly ornamented semicircular portico, in which are several colossal figures, beautifully executed in white marble. Those standing at the sides of the church door I cannot pass by in silence: one is a St. Vincent, and the other a St. Sebastian, by Carlo Monaldi, in the usual attitude, bound to a tree, and pierced with arrows; both are noble specimens of statuary. We entered the church, and how shall I attempt to describe the grand, imposing spectacle that riveted us to the spot—the great height and vast extent; the elaborate workmanship, with carving of the most curious art; the numerous altars, paintings, and statues; but, far above all, the beauty, variety, and splendour of the marbles. Wherever the eye can reach, it is only marble; the fretted roof—the panelled walls—the lofty and most beauteous dome—the floor, and the gigantic pillars—form a perfect sea of marble, of the most brilliant polish, and endless variety of colour.

The massive gates are of bronze, and finely cast in open work. On either side is a number of small altars jutting out into the aisle, each surmounted by a bas-relief in white marble, and having a statue of the same material at either corner; and between these altars there is a row of tall Corinthian pillars. The grand altar is supported by two red porphyry pillars, each of one stone, thirty feet high; and the altar-piece itself is a splendid painting, by Travisani, representing Saint Anthony receiving the infant

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Messiah. There are no less than *six* organs of great size, power, and tone. No tawdry decoration, no tinsel-clad saint, not one bit of gilding, and not a trace of the eternal pottery-ware, is to be seen, to mar the effect of its chaste and classic beauties. With one exception, all the altars have been stripped of their costly furniture; and although the massive candelabra still remain, they no longer throw their wavy light over the scene. One dim and solitary lamp burned before the only altar still in use; and gloom and desolation have settled within those walls, where once the proud display of monkish superstition was wont to flourish, when the mitred abbot, with four hundred priests, and even royalty itself, assisted at the ceremonial. With a lingering step, and many a longing look thrown back, did I leave this marble-studded hall.

From the chapel we passed into the sacristy, and were thence conducted through corridors of immense length, lined on both sides by cells, to the kitchen, which was fitted out on a scale of magnitude and convenience apparently ill-suited to the abstemious habits professed by its late inmates.

In the great dining-hall the seats and table-frames were of Brazil wood, supporting marble slabs. Dozens of these corridors and winding passages were passed in succession; and on ascending an immense staircase, we were ushered into the library, with the exception of the chapel, the place of greatest interest here. It is one of the largest in Europe; of fine proportions, and lighted from the top; the books are in good preservation, and mostly on old divinity and jurisprudence, with, however, some antique and very valuable editions of the Scriptures in Arabic and other oriental dialects. It is clean, and well aired; but the present librarian could afford us but little information, not being able to *read* himself! The whole of this vast assemblage of literature, the accumulation of centuries, is about to be removed to a library erecting at Lisbon, and designed to hold the books of all the monastic establishments in the kingdom.

From thence we proceeded to the flat roof, where alone we could judge of the prodigious extent of the building, and there our wonder ceased at its holding 10,000 men. The convent forms a grand square, intersected in the centre by rows of chambers of a lesser height. In the midst are fountains, gardens, and parterres; and behind, the immense park of Mafra, formerly filled with deer and other game, stretches down to the sea. There is a very fine

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peal of bells in each turret, worked by a barrel connected with the clock-machinery, but this being out of order, they do not now chime as usual.

Here we had an exhibition of an attempt made by one of our navy officers to signalize himself in a way that adds but little to his credit. A flag-lieutenant of one of our men-of-war, having contrived to mount above the clock, bedaubed his name and that of his ship with black paint on the polished marble!

The clergy are forbidden entrance to this place, as well as to the cathedral at Belem; all, except one old monk, who being the most ancient of its late occupants, is permitted to go once a day to celebrate mass in the chapel. We found him, bent with age, sitting on the steps waiting for his hour of admission.

We had bespoke dinner at the village inn, and the following bill of fare will give some notion of the state of the culinary art at present in the country parts of Portugal. While waiting for the keys of the convent, we had been attracted by the solicitude of a clocking hen for her young progeny. On our sitting down to dinner, we discovered that our soup was composed of the bony carcase of the sexagenarian hen we had so lately admired; our hunger would, however, have made even this palatable, but for the quantity of vinegar and aniseed it contained. This course was then removed by half a dozen chickens, the skeleton progeny of their deceased mother. Being utterly disgusted and unable to touch these, our attendant buoyed us up with the hope of a second course; it came, and consisted of roast pork, stuffed with garlic and aniseed, and garnished with coarse brown sugar. The wine and brandy were also strongly tinctured with that abominable Portuguese luxury, aniseed. In short, this, with garlic and Dutch tiles, are to be smelt, felt, and seen, wherever one journeys throughout the length and breadth of the land.

To increase our discomfort, the carriages we had ordered from Lisbon did not arrive, and to think of sleeping here was any thing but cheering. The evening approaching, we were obliged to remount our jaded mules, and set forward on the road to Cintra, but fortunately we met the carriages at Penado.

The road from this to Lisbon is rather picturesque, being more wooded and diversified with hill and dale; and the orange groves, particularly near the beautiful village of Bella Vista, are

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very luxuriant. The water is supplied to these plantations from the different aqueducts, by means of a rude Persian wheel, of large dimensions, turned by bullocks, which raises the water in earthen jars fixed to the periphery, and discharges their contents into troughs which branch off to the root of each tree. This is, in all probability, a remnant of the Moorish times.

I was, I confess, disappointed with the city of Lisbon, and much more so with its climate, which was to us very trying, owing to the great transition from heat in the sunshine to cold in the shade. The intense glare and dazzling brightness reflected from the white houses are exceedingly annoying to the sight, and apt to produce head-ache. There is altogether a suffocating feeling in the air, that is particularly distressing, even to a person in health, how much more so must it be to an invalid. I know of few diseases relievable by the air of Lisbon, principally on account of its variability. During the past summer, the thermometer was frequently 92° in the shade on board some of our vessels in the river, and the next day it would sink to 73°. So marked is the difference here between shade and sunshine, that you have a perfectly different atmosphere on both sides of your house, or on the opposite sides of a street—a complete Russian bath. The average maximum daily heat is now 75°.

Having now seen every thing worthy the notice of a passing traveller, in and about Lisbon, and the wind favouring, we sailed down the Tagus on the evening of the 19th, and next day stood out to sea, shaping our course to Madeira.

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CHAPTER III.

MADEIRA.

Voyage to Madeira—Arrival at Funchal—Avalanche—Hurricane in 1842—Boats—Our residence—Sleighs—Wine Carriers—Beauty of the Vegetation—Hill Scenery—Zoology—Costumes and appearances of the Madeiranese—Aspect of the country—Botany—Scenery at the Brazen Head—Recession of the Sea—A German Botanist—A Drag Anchor—Steepness of the roads—Horses and Burriqueiros—Palanquins—Cama de Lobos—Moonlight Views in the Mountains—The Day Breeze—Jardin da Serra—Tea Plantation—View of the Coural das Freiras—Its Descent—Regions of Vegetation—Magnificent Scenery—Climate of the Island—Accommodation—Application to invalids—Diseases improved by it—Time to visit it—Effects of Vegetation—Equability of Temperature—Insular Position—Weather tables—Class of Patients benefitted—Consumption—Dr. Heineken—Duties—Means of Going out—English Merchants—Wines—Reading-room—Discovery of the Island—Story of the Lady Anna—The Cedar Cross—Nuns of Santa Clara—Feather Flowers—Maria Clementina—A Grave-yard Scene.

OCTOBER 23rd. We made the island of Porto Santo. Our voyage from Lisbon was barren of adventure of any kind, and little occurred to relieve the monotony, except the occasional visit of a Mother Carey's Chicken, which disproved the oft-repeated assertion, that they are to be seen only in boisterous weather. Yesterday evening, while yet ninety miles from land, a few butterflies fluttered about us, and came on board. The powers of flight of those beautiful ephemerides are truly wonderful, when we consider the span of their short lives—many living but for a day.

In the morning we got a view of the south-east end of the island of Madeira, consisting of a number of disjointed crags, broken cliffs, and tall isolated rocks, spreading out to sea with their spire-like tops, and washed by the breakers, the spray of which, glittering in the sunbeams, formed a multitude and a variety of the most beautiful miniature rainbows. Here, the rocks form natural arches; there, jut out into rude battlements, or flying buttresses, and assume, in many places, the appearance of some half-submerged cathedral, with its turrets and pinnacles rising above the crystal wave.

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The breeze freshens, and our course is laid along the southern side of the island; the coast becomes higher, and the enormous columns of basalt look like pedestals supporting this beautiful spot above the ocean. Over these, in many places, the cliffs rise with a perpendicular face of several hundred feet; their tops clothed by the pine and the laurel, and the alternate layers of red tufa and dark-coloured scoriæ being visible at a great distance. On passing a high cliff called the Brazen Head, one of the town batteries, the Loo Rock, crowned by its fort and telegraph, came into sight. Numbers of vessels of various sizes and of all nations rock on the heavy swell in the open roadstead;—we steered into the midst of them, and anchored early in the day before Funchal, the capital of the island.

I had often heard and read of the beauty of this charming spot, but it far surpassed all idea I had ever formed of it from description. The town, which is embosomed in limes and orange groves, coffee plantations, wide-spreading bananas, and thousands of the rarest plants and exotics, runs along the edge of an open roadstead, forming but a shallow indentation in the line of coast. The hills rise in terraces behind the town to a height of several hundred feet, clothed with vines and the most luxuriant vegetation; and studded with the lovely Quintas or private residences of the inhabitants. While still in the roads a striking object catches the eye of the traveller, the Mount Church; a large white building, that stands surrounded by some of the finest vinhaticos and chesnut trees, at an immense height above the town. Above this, the mountains rise still higher, clothed with never-failing verdure, beautified by cascades and waterfalls, and their sides torn into deep ravines and gloomy gorges, which vary the landscape by their deep black shades, alternating with the brightness of the surrounding foliage. Over all, the bald tops of the Torrinhas and Pico Grande rise many thousand feet above the valley of the Coural das Freiras, or Madeirian Switzerland; and on their barren blistered summits proclaim the volcanic nature and origin of the island.

While we were waiting for a boat to come off, the greatest consternation appeared suddenly excited on shore; the people shouting and running in all directions; presently the water in the bay became muddy, and we found that it arose from one of the mountain torrents sweeping suddenly down the dry bed of the river. No rain had fallen here, but a cloud was caught on the

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mountain-top, collected in the different water-courses, and emptied into the river, on the bed of which, at this season of the year, the inhabitants are in the habit of spreading out their clothes to dry. Some years ago a terrific torrent swept suddenly down from the hills, carrying away a church, several houses, and above 400 of the inhabitants.* Our own boats being unfit for such service, we went ashore in one of those adapted to the coast: they are of amazing strength and great breadth of beam, with high-peaked prows and sterns, from which spring posts a yard high; these and the bottoms are shod with iron. The beach in front of the town is composed of shingle and loose rolled

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* The soundings of the harbour have, it is said, been much diminished by the quantity of debris carried down by this disastrous flood, which occurred in October, 1803. Since the first edition of this work appeared, a hurricane most fearful in its visitation and disastrous in its consequences occurred at Madeira, on the 24th of October, 1842, and far exceeded in violence and duration any thing that history has recorded; the destruction of life and property has not been so great, however, as in 1803, owing to the mountain torrents having now freer egress to the sea. The effects of this are still visible in the island, and the town of Funchal in particular; and the rocks and debris carried into the water-course have not been yet (a year after) quite removed. This memorable event is thus described by an eye-witness:—

"The last summer was exceedingly hot, and almost without rain, the weather remaining beautifully fine until the 15th of October, when the clouds began to envelope the mountains, which brought on the following day severe thunder storms, accompanied with heavy rain, continuing almost without intermission until the morning of the 24th of October, when the rain partly ceased. At ten o'clock the Royal West India steamer Dee arrived, and landed fifty-two passengers for the island. She was, however, prevented from proceeding until the following day, as the admiralty agent who had come on shore with the mail could not get on board again. About mid-day the whole island appeared buried in a vast cloud, threatening total darkness; the barometer fell considerably. The air became very oppressive, with a strong sulphurous smell, and the wind veered about to nearly every point of the compass. At one o'clock the rain began to fall in torrents; and about an hour afterwards I perceived, at a distance of about a mile from shore, an immense rising in the sea, which was soon connected with a mass of dark clouds overhanging the bay, to all appearance charging themselves or drawing the water from the sea for the space of about ten minutes, followed immediately by a heavy swell or rising of the ocean, which swept towards the shore; and although I was at a considerable

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gravel, and sinks very rapidly at the water's edge, so that even on the calmest day there is a heavy surf, that makes it necessary to haul up the boats high and dry. This is done, with the small ones, by throwing a rope ashore, and waiting for the highest swell to carry them up; when the people on the land think this sufficient, you are mounted on its crest, the boat rides upon the wave, the men haul on the rope, and you are landed high upon the shore. In like manner the embarkation is effected—you take your places in the boat, several men stand at the stern watching the highest swell, and when it reaches the prow, they shove her off with great force, sending her far out upon the wave. With larger

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elevation above the level of the sea, it appeared high enough to sweep over the city; its force was, however, broken, and it subsided on the beach. The rain still continued in torrents, and at four o'clock the roar of the water in the river, which was about forty feet in depth, began to give me some alarm; when, looking out of the window of my house, I perceived that the bridge was being swept away, and that the water was rushing into the streets. I immediately left the house, and on reaching the street the appalling sight that appeared in every direction was enough to make the stoutest heart quake with fear. The street in front of the garden of my house was upwards of three feet deep with water, and hundreds of men, women, and children were wading their way up the stream, flying towards the mountains; whilst others were flocking toward the town, not knowing where to go for safety, amidst the most dreadful shrieks and cries that can possibly be imagined. As I approached towards the river the scene became still more awful, the water having burst open the wine-lodges, and their contents being swept into the sea, whilst the streets in the neighbourhood were all overflowed with water, and the inmates of the houses escaping by ladders and over the roofs of the buildings. Upwards of two hundred houses have been destroyed or become untenantable by this disastrous flood, and the quantity of wine, corn, &c. &c. swept into the sea and destroyed, is very great. The rain continued to fall during the night of the 24th; but the following day gave signs of the weather moderating; and in the afternoon it was fine, but with a strong breeze from the south-east, which continued until three o'clock P.M. on the 26th, when it blew a hurricane from the south, the sea rushing over the beach, and entering into the streets in the lower parts of the city. The wind being dead into the bay, most of the vessels lying off at anchor dragged their cables, and ran on shore; but owing to the generous exertions of the inhabitants, few lives were lost. The storm was general all over the island, and numbers of people were carried into the sea. The damage has, however, long since been repaired, and the equality of the climate restored."

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boats a different method is pursued—these, laden with wine or merchandise, to the amount of several tons, are also hauled up high and dry by a capstan, worked by bullocks and placed some way up the strand. The whole scene along the beach is one of great animation; the water literally swarms with human beings of all ages, and nearly naked, either floating pipes of wine ashore, or engaged in pushing up some of the lighter boats; and the shouting of the men, the plashing of the waves, and the creaking of the lazy windlass, add much to heighten the effect.

Our friend, Mr. Shortridge, kindly offered us the use of his house, which we accepted: it is one of the best in the town, and is a good specimen of an English merchant's Funchal residence. The houses are constructed much after the Spanish fashion, and entered by low gateways leading into extensive yards, surrounded by offices, where the wine is stored, and the different processes of treatment are conducted. The under-part contains cellars, offices, and counting-house—above that are kitchens, and servants' rooms looking towards the street; over these are drawing-rooms, their windows shaded by cool verandahs, or opening upon platforms that command a view of the lovely and picturesque sides of the mountains. These balconies are, so to speak, green-houses in the open air: the *hoya carnosa* clothes the walls; the *passiflora quadrangularis* hangs its glowing blossoms from the trellised roof; the *cobœa scandens* and other creepers twist round every cornice; geraniums of every hue burst through the railings in wild luxuriance; and the *heliotrope* and *olea fragrans* perfume the adjoining rooms. Above the drawing-room suite are the dormitories, and the whole is crowned by a high turret, which commands the sea-view. The houses of several of the merchants have towers of this description, containing good telescopes, to sweep the sea, and catch the first view of any vessel bound for their port, or in which they may have an interest. They are, generally, the coolest and the best rooms in the house: for, being raised above the neighbouring buildings, they catch whatever sea-breeze may blow. Besides these, there are Quintas, or country houses, situated in the hills, at higher or lower elevations, so that the climate can be had of any temperature in those delightful retreats.

The town of Funchal is clean and well paved, with an air of bustle and business; it has a fine cathedral, one good square, and

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some handsome public walks. The wine which is landed from boats is carried in barrels, or, to speak more correctly, pipes, to the stores, on a rude narrow piece of wood, which acts as a sleigh, and is drawn by bullocks. The men run before with wet cloths, which they throw in its path, to facilitate its slipping over the smooth pavement, and prevent its catching fire; and in order to quicken the paces of the animals, they keep up fully as discordant a howl as that maintained by the wooden axle-trees of the carts I have already alluded to in Spain. Both here and at Teneriffe, a small carved horn of bone is hung on the forehead of the bullocks to preserve them from the influence of the evil eye. A quantity of the wine, which is the staple commodity of this land of the grape, is carried in skins from the interior, which look, when slung over the backs of the men, as if they were the carcases of so many dogs, pigs, and goats, &c., with their legs and necks sticking out in an extraordinary manner.

But we must turn to objects of greater beauty, and admire the lovely scene, in the midst of which we have taken up our residence. Never was a spot more formed to cheer the sufferings of the invalid, to heal the wounded spirit, to re-animate the sinking frame, and pour renewed life and vigour into every thought or action. The dry and balmy air which produces this never-ending spring, soon makes the step buoyant, and raises the hopes of the sufferer, who a few days before left the choking fogs, the rains and chilly damps, of the Thames or the Medway. Here all is beauty, sunshine, and tranquillity; the waving palms, and green bananas, with their beautiful feathery tops, tell him he has bid farewell to Europe, and landed in a tropical clime; the orange trees hold out to him their branches laden with golden fruit—

> "Green all the year, and fruits and blossoms blush
> In social sweetness on the self-same bough."

Plantations of coffee trees fill the spaces between the houses; the splendid coral tree hangs its gorgeous blossoms over his head; and the snowy bells of the graceful tulip mingle with the scarlet plumes of the hibiscus. If he wishes for exercise, he has the most inviting walks, and the most tempting shades to shelter him: while wide-spreading plane trees, and willows of gigantic growth, bend their slender arms over the streams that murmur from the hills. If he leaves the town, and begins to ascend, the beauty increases, and the sea-view opens to his sight. The roads, though

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steep, are well paved, and the horses trained to an easy pace. On one, and sometimes on both sides of the road, there is a little channel a foot broad, the *Levada*, by which the water is conducted to the different plantations from the hills, murmuring gently as it ripples by his side. He rides through a perfect vineyard, where, in many places, the vines are carried on trellises over the road, and the large bunches of delicious grapes hang within his reach. Hedges of geraniums, fuschias, and heliotropes, border those narrow paths, and shade him from the sun; myriads of insects with golden wings sip the nectar from these delicate flowers, and add the music of their tiny wings to the melody of the surrounding woodlands. The breeze is perfumed with the fragrance of the myrtle, and the high vault above him smiles the azure of undying summer. The *ficus indicus* clothes the cottages, which are shaded by the most magnificent chesnuts; the *salvia fulgens* and the Guernsey lily sprinkle the vineyards; the beautiful *capillus veneris* creeps through the walls; and the magnificent *camellia Japonica*, now in full bloom, adorns every Quinta.

As he ascends, the scene becomes still more varied, and expands beneath his eye. The deep valleys and hollow gorges are covered with the luxuriant light green foliage of the Inhame, or Eddo of the West Indies (said to be the *arum peregrinum* of Persoon); the aloe and the agave border the enclosures of sweet potato (the *convolvulus batatus*); and the New Zealand flax, or *phormium tenax*, grows here to a great size; rows of enormous hydranges flourish at this height, but, instead of their natural pink colour, are blue, owing in all probability to the ferruginous soil, and to their elevation. Small dragon trees and cedars appear among the quintas; and heaths and pines rise to the highest elevations. Huge prickly pears (*cactus opuntia*) grow along the cliffs and lower parts of the island; and so inherent is the vitality in this singular plant, that it is only necessary to lay a single leaf, with a few stones over it on a wall, and it will commence growing; its fruit is much eaten by the inhabitants.

The large zebra spider, peculiar to this plant, weaves its immense thick ropes from thorn to thorn; its cocoon, somewhat in the shape of a kettle-drum, is hung in the centre of this suspension bridge, and the insect incubates at night, sitting on the flat side of it; the cord of which its web is composed is so thick as to procure for it the name of *epiera fasciata*.

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The cochineal has been tried by Mr. Veitch, at his little Quinta of the Gorgulho, but has not yet been found to succeed. At this pleasing little spot, the botanist will find the *lotus glaucus*, *lavandula pinnata*, several of the *asparaginiæ*, *barilla*, and the *gnaphalia crassifolia*, among the rocks—with the *hyoscyamus Madeiranensis*, and several species of *capsicums*, besides numerous *acacias*, the *hibiscus*, and the *datura arborea*. But to specify the thousand exotics that perfume the air, and clothe with their luxuriant vegetation every garden, would be to enumerate the choicest of our hot-house plants growing in a state of nature.

The magnificent fruit-market of Funchal is beautifully situated in a grove of noble plane trees. Here, besides the usual fruits of Europe, the orange, lemon, grape, green figs, and pomegranates, &c., we have bunches of the most delicious bananas, (*musa Paradisiaca*,) piles of guavas, custard apples, and alligator pears—this latter is the fruit of the *laurus Persea*—it grows to a great size, and, when eaten with pepper and salt, is most delicious. The water and Valencia melons, with gourds and pumpkins of enormous growth, and the numerous tribe of curcurbitæ, which cost hardly any trouble in their cultivation, give the market a singularly rich appearance. Here, for the first time I tasted the fruit of the *cactus triangularis*; it has a pinkish rind, grows to the size of a pear, the pulp nearly transparent, studded with black seeds, and has a most exquisite flavour—but it requires to be thoroughly ripe. The Cape gooseberry, the fruit of the *physalis edulis*, so much admired when carried as a preserve into Europe, grows in every hedge, and is one of the *solonecæ* with which this island so much abounds; and we must not forget the *Sechium edule* or Tchoo-tchoo, which is one of the finest and most delicate vegetables ever eaten.

I never saw a fishmarket equal to that of Madeira. The rival tints of the tenants of the water have often been contrasted with those of the air, by their respective admirers; for my own part I must give the palm to the fish—there is a glowing metallic lustre to be found in the scale rarely to be met with in the feather. A choicer spot could not be selected by the icthyologist than Madeira, as it combines all the fishes of the Mediterranean, with many of those of the West Indies, and the coast of Africa; and its insular position catches, on their way, many migratory shoals, besides the regular frequenters. The *murenæ*, so much esteemed by the

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Romans, are caught here of a great size, and the manner of taking them is peculiar. The fisherman seats himself on a rock, when the tide is coming in, singing, as he says, to charm the fish; as the water reaches the hole where the eel is, he comes out, when the fisherman captures him with a pair of large wooden nippers. Much as they were valued by the ancient Heliogabali, we tried them in every possible way, but could not liken their flavour to any thing but singed wool. The tunny fish, of immense size, often amounting to several cwt., are daily exposed in market. These, both fresh and salted, form a favourite food of the lower classes, and large quantities, cut up in junks and pickled, are sent into the interior—it has something the taste of coarse beef-steak, but makes a most admirable dish when corned. It is not, however, my intention to say more of the fish of Madeira, or enumerate the several specimens I have carried home with me, as a work upon the subject has just appeared, from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Lowe, who has been long resident in the island, and whose capability of producing such a book is already known to the scientific world.*

Oct. 31. I set out at an early hour with a friend, to visit the bluff headland of the "Brazen Head." The morning was delightful, and the groups of peasantry, coming into market, which we met along the picturesque roads, made the scene quite enchanting. Companies of eight or ten, in some places, sat under the umbrageous shadow of a pine, eating their morning's meal, or completing their toilette, before entering the town;—others hastened along, loaded with the various produce of their gardens, consisting of enormous pumpkins, piles of the most delicious grapes, bunches of yellow bananas, or strings of crimson pomegranates, and others carrying fowl, firewood, skins of wine, or fish, to Funchal. Each little party was preceded by its guitar player;—the instrument is small, with wire strings, and much in use among the natives. At times the performer accompanied it with his voice, and the whole group joined in the chorus. The Madeiranese, both men and women, are a fine race, much more so than those of the mother country. The men were well dressed, somewhat in the costume of English sailors, with little caps, not unlike inverted funnels, called *carapucas* on the tops of their heads; these

* For a new method of preserving fish, see Appendix A.

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are worn more for ornament than use, as they could not be the least protection against the weather; this crowns the head-dress of the women also, being placed over the white muslin handkerchief which covers the head and hangs down over the shoulders. The gay chintz gowns and scarlet pelerines of the females gave them an air of lightness, and added much to the picturesque appearance of the groups.

The road is, in many places, very precipitous; and here and there the rugged sides of the ravines afford opportunities of seeing the stratification, which breaks out occasionally in horizontal layers of scoriacious basalt, with bands of tufa rising in terraces; between the interstices of these, springs the most luxuriant vegetation—the *asclepium* and *globularia longifolia*, now in full blossom; higher up, the myrtle and the dwarf olive; and immediately at our feet the harefoot fern, and that species of house-leek common to the island, (*sempervivum glutinosum*,) the glutinous juice of which, when boiled into a jelly, is used by the fishermen to coat their nets, as a preventative against the rot. As we proceeded into the

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hills, the *cassia bicapsularis* covers the fields, making them gay with its light yellow blossoms; the beautiful *convolvulus altheafolia*, and that elegant purple feathered grass, the *paniculum repens*, creeps through every wall and hedge-row; and the *oxalis purpurea* mingles with the Madeirian violet. Thousands of the rarest plants and most beautiful flowers adorn the landscape, and open one of the widest fields for the botanist and the lover of nature. Farther on, and at a greater elevation, the country becomes more barren, a red ferruginous earth taking place of the green verdure of the valleys we had left, and masses of scoria, covered with origanums, burst through the surface. The attention is here arrested by a number of natural walls of basalt, rising to the height of eight or ten feet above the surrounding level, covered with white lichens, and having small stunted plants of shumac creeping among their chinks and crannies; their irregular outline makes them look like so many castellated forts running along the hills. The soil is here so poor that it only affords a crop of rye every third year, and as soon as the grain is reaped, the ground is sown with broom, which, when well grown, is burned to manure the land for the subsequent crop. Clumps of those beautiful alpine monarchs, the *pinus pinea* and *pinus pinaster*, start up around you as you ascend, and the seed of the latter is much eaten here, as well as in Portugal. In the midst of the barrenness of this high elevation, an occasional cottage will present itself wherever a stream of water from the hills can be led amongst its orange groves—the walls coated with tomata, little gardens of sweet potato spread before the door, and figs and olive trees surrounding the enclosure, which is walled in by the impenetrable fence of the agave and prickly pear. The vines are raised from the ground on light trellises of cane placed horizontally—in many cases supported on stone pillars.

At length we reached the head, which juts out boldly into the sea, with a perpendicular face of rock several hundred feet high—a narrow ridge, with barely room for two to pass abreast, joining it to the mainland. The view from this point was very grand. The hills of Madeira rose in the back-ground, and the mists that hung upon them during the morning, like a great gauze curtain, were now either dissolving before the bright rays of the infant sun, or curling in wreathes along the ravines, as the light sea-breeze crept up the mountains. Funchal, embosomed in its rich evergreen foliage,

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lay before us—the ships in the harbour riding proudly on the swell, or spreading out their sails to dry, like so many birds of the ocean about to take wing. The fishing-boats below us appeared the merest specks; and the shoals of enormous porpoises that gambolled round the rocks, looked but the breaking of a tiny wave. A transitory shower hanging over the distant Dezertas* gave us a lovely rainbow; and the different light breezes that darkened at times the azure blue of the clear water beneath us, appeared so many things of life engaged in sham fight as they coursed along its tranquil surface. Large flocks of rock pigeons wheeled round our heads; they exist in prodigious numbers on the island, and are considered a great delicacy.

The face of this enormous cliff presents an extraordinary appearance, with the different layers of red and yellow tufa, black scoriæ and columnar basalt, intersected by extraordinary dykes at different elevations. Caverns of great size run along the coast, into which the sea washes with tremendous fury. The roofs of these are coated with scoria and small pebbles, although the sea, at the highest, never reaches to within many feet of them; this seems to me one of the proofs that the sea originally washed these parts, and has since receded, or, to speak more correctly, the land has risen; a further confirmation of which is the following—a high pillar, intended originally for shipping wine, now distant fifty-four yards from high-water mark, is to be seen on the Funchal beach; it was built about forty-six years ago, and the water then washed its base. At the foot of it will be found several plants of the *solanum Sodomeum*, or famous apple of Sodom.

Great quantities of eels are taken upon this part of the coast, and we met several of the natives returning from fishing. My companion, a German botanist, well known in Funchal, purchased some, but having already filled all his capacious pockets with the wonders of the vegetable world, he, without a moment's hesitation, placed some six or eight of the live eels in the crown of his large straw hat, and, to keep them down, bound it under his chin with his pocket-handkerchief. Poor good-natured man, his costume and appearance were at all times a source of ridicule and amuse-

* The Ihlas Dezertas are three small and uninhabited rocky islands lying to the S.S.E. of Madeira.

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ment in the island; it often raised a smile which I found much difficulty in coaxing from a loud laugh; but when he turned round to me, with the heads and tails of half a dozen slippery eels protruding themselves from beneath his hat, and twining over his broad glowing face teeming with perspiration, I acknowledge that my laughter knew no bounds; and but for the good-humour that beamed in his expanded Hanoverian countenance, I should have likened it to that of the Gorgon. However, he took it all in good part, and pushing them up every now and then, set forward at a pace such as few pedestrians I ever met could long keep up with; and I should soon have been left behind, but that suddenly calling his attention to a lump of basalt that lay by the road-side, he inquired if I considered it valuable. Having gained a few minutes' rest in descanting upon the qualities of the specimen, which weighed about ten or twelve pounds, the simple-hearted man stated his desire to carry it with him the remaining four miles of our journey, in which, as may be supposed, I readily encouraged him, for, acting as a drag upon the powers of the German, it enabled me to keep pace with him to Funchal, which we reached late in the day. I need hardly state, that the story of the stone became a tender point to the naturalist for some time after.

This gentleman was sent out to Madeira by subscriptions collected among some people of fortune in England, on condition of his sending them home collections of seeds and plants. This trust he has faithfully fulfilled; and it now behoves our botanic and horticultural societies to keep in employ a person who, whatever may be his botanical abilities, must be allowed to be a most indefatigable collector, and whose services both here, in the Canaries, and Cape de Verde isles, would be of the greatest value to our out-door, as well as our exotic Flora.* Dr. L. has since left Madeira for the Azores and the Brazils.

The steepness of the roads precludes the possibility of wheel-carriages being used, so that the horses are the principal means of conveyance, and they are excellent. There are several public stables throughout the town, and as soon as it is known that a party want horses, they are beset on all hands. Each horse has

* See Appendix B.

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its attendant burriqueiro or horse boy, who, as soon as you have taken your seat, inquires your destination—lays hold on the horse's tail—goads his flanks with a short pike, which he carries in his right hand—shouts a Portuguese curse, and starts him off at a most dashing pace, up roads that one of our English horses could not face; indeed so steep are they, that steps are sometimes cut for the animals to place their feet in. These boys are most indefatigable, holding on up hill and down dale for the length of a day. For ladies, or invalids unable to ride, palanquins, carried by men, are used.

The serenity of the climate always permitting out-door exercise even to invalids, the most frequent source of amusement consists in country excursions, pic-nics, and pleasure parties, to which the many delightful walks and rides in the neighbourhood of the capital, and amidst the most delicious scenery, always fresh and novel to the English eye, ever invite. The weak and debilitated may stroll leisurely along the coast, or be carried in their palanquins among the gorgeous and brilliant vegetation that surrounds the town and its shady suburbs, where *Summer* reigns eternally. Others, with more bodily health and vigour, form cavalcades to visit the lovely Palheiro, with its groves of giant camellias, or ascend to the walnut, vinhatico, and chestnut forests that rise around and above the mount church, or the bold precipitous crags of the Cabo Giram—the regions where the freshness and elasticity of *Spring* rests all the year round. A few more daring and adventurous spirits, better able to endure the cold of a *Winter* climate, or having neither the fear of fogs and mists, nor the advice of Dr. Renton before their eyes, ride to the ice-house, or climb into the wild, solitary, and magnificent *Serra*, and the mountain tops, where the heaths and arbutus spring from the fissures of the naked igneous rocks, and alpine grandeur gives a gloomy and impressive, nay, sublime character to the scenery.

One of the most delightful spots in the island is the Jardim da Serra, or garden of the desert, the beautiful country residence of Mr. Veitch, our late consul-general here; and as I intended visiting the Coural, I took advantage of his kind offer of a bed at this mountain villa on the night before my descent. We left Funchal in the evening, and shortly arrived at one of the most beautiful districts on the south side of the island—the valley of the Cama de Lobos, the richest vine country in the island. The soil is a rich, dark loam, kept up by small retaining walls; the

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vale itself looks like the dried-up bed of a great torrent, as the sides are almost perpendicular; the bottom is studded with cottages peeping from out groves of bananas, with their long light-green plumes and feathery foliage, waving in the evening breeze. Before us lay the Cabo Giram, one of the highest headlands in the island, rising beyond the valley, with the fringe of pines that crowns its towering summit gilded by the setting sun, and mirrored in the wave beneath. Having passed the valley, we commenced ascending through the finest district in the island; here the vines are all trained on trellises that stretch over the road, and the houses become more frequent. We passed numerous groups of the peasantry who, having disposed of their fruit or wine at Funchal, were returning home, laden with preserved fish of the most wretched description, and salted gulls, which latter are caught on the rocks called Salvages, and pickled and packed in barrels for inland consumption. But in general the poorer people eat no meat, their principal food being porridge made of the meal of the Indian corn, with fruit and vegetables; and yet we see what a stout, healthy, hardy race they are, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue. The land is held by the tenant for one half of the produce, be it more or less; on this they live, seemingly both contented and happy.

The moon rose in most imposing brilliancy as we entered the mountains through which the narrow bridle-path now led, amidst the most romantic scenery; and as we traversed the deep ravines, the dark shadows of the impending cliffs above were occasionally relieved by full streams of silver light thrown across the gloaming. Perhaps in no place is the witchery of moonlight scenery so much enhanced as in the forest and on the mountain. The hushed repose of nature among those proud battlements of the land, calms, while it elevates the mind. Below us rested the ocean, placid and serene, without a wave to ripple its silver bosom; and the very surf, usually so high along this bold and rocky shore, had scarcely power to sing its own lullaby; while in the valleys the crickets kept up a most incessant chirping among the tall reeds. I love the cricket; it reminds one of the days of home and childhood, when we sat by our own fireside to listen to the tale of wonder, and watched the little insect as it peeped forth at us from the hob.

During the day it was rather cold, and there was much wind at Funchal; but we found none of it whatever on the hills, where

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it was much warmer. It is not an uncommon occurrence, in the lower parts of the island, to have some wind at the heat of the day, dying away towards evening. It is said to arise from this cause:—in those ravines which intersect the higher and internal parts of the island, the morning sun, acting on the confined atmosphere which settles in those gorges, greatly heats the air, and necessarily rarifies it, forming a tendency to vacuum; then the wind from the sea rushes towards the centre of the island, to fill up the spaces where this draught is created, until an equilibrium is established—this creates the day breeze. At the elevation of the Jardim it was piercingly cold during the night.

Next morning I had a better opportunity of examining the beauties of this garden of the desert. It is, indeed, a lovely spot; so wild, so calm, and so perfectly shut out from the rest of the world; the hills, on either side, forming an amphitheatre, with but a single outlet, where you get a glimpse of the sea. The immediate sides of the vale are clothed with groves of magnificent chestnuts, their autumnal liveries well contrasting with the fresher tinting of the leafy evergreens; in the bottom, which is watered by a gentle rivulet, the vine grows even at this elevation, and the numerous class of cucurbitæ—the melons, gourds, and pumpkins—form graceful festoons, as they wreathe from branch to branch of the young chestnut and orange trees—their golden blossoms and enormous fruit, hanging by a single stem, so light and graceful, look as if suspended in mid-air. Numerous plants of balm scent the air, and the fuschia and hydrangia grow to a size almost incredible. Small white cottages, neatly thatched with rye-straw, with the villagers seated before them grinding the quern for their morning meal, give life and animation to this fairy scene.

Mr. Veitch, to whom much credit is due for his endeavours to introduce the tea-plant, showed us his plantation here. It is situated on a sunny terrace behind the house; the plants were then looking exceedingly healthy, and in the most luxuriant state of vegetation, the greater number being in blossom; they were then twelve years old. The original plants are small, and principally kept for seed, which is now ripening on them, and they are also laid down in layers for the next year. The first generation that was procured from these was in a still more flourishing condition, proving the advantages of acclimatization, and the value that might be made of Madeira for introducing plants into

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Europe. Here we find both the green, black, and gunpowder; the leaves are gathered in May, when fresh and tender, but must be kept a year before using. We partook of some of it for our breakfast, and, though hardly strong enough, it was of a fine flavour, and had not that coppery taste perceived at times on the tea at home. Mr. Veitch is in the habit of mixing with it the flower of the *olea fragrans*, which adds considerably to its quality. The fresh leaf has little or no taste, and so much of the flavour is the effect of the drying process, that it must be some time ere we can arrive at the perfection of the Chinese in tea manufacturing, while they are so anxious to prevent our receiving information concerning it.

Emerging from the valley of the Jardim, and proceeding through the village, a troop of guides soon collected, who each disputed for the honour of conducting the Signor Inglese to the Coural. I was led to the top of the hill surmounting the Jardim; the guide assumed a mysterious air, and holding my horse by the bridle—lo! the Coural opened to view—so suddenly, indeed, that I started back in horror at finding myself on the very brink of a precipice upwards of 1300 feet in depth. This immense abyss stretches across the island, far as the eye can reach. It is a series of valleys inclosed on all sides by enormous perpendicular precipices, some of which are the principal heights of Madeira, as Pico Grande, the Torrinhas, and the Pico Ruivo, 6237 feet in elevation,—the bottom and sides being a forest of the noblest trees. The height of the surrounding mountains—the roaring torrents which dash through the hills—the azure sky, and the wild sublimity of the spot, have justly procured for it the title of the Switzerland of Madeira. From the place where I stood, the white cottages that sprinkle the bottom looked like so many egg-shells; and the stream that swept through the valley, and the rivulets upon the mountain sides, appeared so many veins of molten silver, as the sun glistened on their changing surfaces. I know not how long I might have remained fixed in admiration of this scene, had not my guides, each supplicating for a pistarine, reminded me that I had still farther to go. These I dismissed, and trusting to the guidance of my burriqueiro for the rest of my journey, commenced the descent.

A narrow path leads off to the left along the edge of the Coural, over dry barren tufa, where a few stunted brooms show

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the only trace of vegetation; but farther on, the arborescent heaths appear and grow to a great size. The path now leads over a ridge of mountain that divides the Coural from the Serra d'Agoa, a valley similar to that of the Coural, and in my mind no way inferior, except in being more inaccessible. Here the path is very steep, being supported merely by the jutting cornice of a rock, and in some places so rugged and uneven, that it is with great difficulty a horse can be led over it. The *laurus Indicus*, the vinhatico or mahogany of the island, clothed with its dark foliage the sides of the cliffs, growing at a great elevation, whereas the chestnut is scarce, and principally confined to the bottom and the lower parts of the island, being an introduced tree.* The day was one of the finest we had for some time—not a cloud or mist could be seen throughout the Coural, nor in the sky above us, save an occasional "woolpack" floating at a great elevation, which was for an instant caught in its transit by one of the highest peaks, as if to remind one of their elevation; but it would soon pass away, and all would again become serene and spotless in the intense azure of the canopy above. The descent was difficult, and took us until three o'clock. As we neared the bottom, vegetation increased; many of the splendid laurels around us were covered with a beautiful white feathery moss, (*usnea barbata,*) that made them look as if clothed with hoar-frost. The ragged scoriæ along the banks were draped with numerous lichens; and where a fissure occurred in the basalt itself, large bunches of the Madeirian house-leek sprouted out like so many cockades. I did not see a single arbutus in this region, nor could I find the *arnica montana*, described by Bowditch, but this may be owing to the season of the year. The

* Bowditch, one of the most talented and interesting of modern travellers, and who has so graphically and at the same time so scientifically, described the scenery, botany, and geology of this garden of the Hesperides, divides the regions of vegetation into—First, The vines, which will grow and give fruit as high as 2700 feet, but will not produce *wine* higher than 2080, the bottom of the Coural. Second, The region of the brooms, in which, I think, may be also ranked the pines, together with the ferns and some chestnuts—this ascends as high as 3700 feet. Third, That of the vaccinium and laurels, to 5600. Fourth, That of the heaths, even as high as 6000 feet.

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balm is in great quantity; the *sonchus* grows to a vast size; and two species of saxifrage occupy any spots of moisture that may occur; there are different species of origanum, and numerous heaths, but which a cursory visit would not allow me to examine. Woodcocks are said to inhabit this valley the whole year round. We reached the bottom just as the declining sun had thrown one-half of the Coural into shade. It is rich in every species of vegetation, and although 2080 feet above the level of the sea, the grape produces wine.

The Coural das Freiras, or "sheepfold of the nuns," is so called from its retired lonely situation, and being a place of security to send the women and defenceless to in case of invasion. In the centre of the valley stands the small chapel of the Livramento upon a rising knoll—a pleasing object in that wild and beautiful spot. There is something in basaltic scenery calculated to inspire awe; I never felt it more than to-day, on looking round me in this noble amphitheatre, from which there seemed no possible outlet, and whose hanging crags and perpendicular walls seemed as if they would momentarily crumble and crush me in their ruin. It is a spot whose scenic beauty defies alike the pencil and the pen; the powers of the latter have been frequently tried on it, but have always failed, for nature seems here to have studied the sublime. The heart of man may indeed devise, and the hand may execute what is justly to be admired in its day, but what efforts can bear comparison with such as these? The proudest triumphs of genius—the noblest monuments of the Egyptians—the Grecians—the Romans—where are they now? Fast crumbling into their original elements; while this picture in the book of nature's landscape smiles on unchanged and unchangeable for ages, and tells of Him from whose master-touch the very dead creation assumes a mimic life.

It seemed to have but one want—that of the deep autumnal tints, that add so much variety to our scenery, and which are never to be seen amidst the evergreens of the Coural. The road leading out of the valley is of frightful steepness, and, as I looked back upon the scene I had left, its parting glance seemed even yet more transcendently lovely than before; for now the fast declining sun, as it topped peak after peak, looked as if a crown of glory shed down its golden rays upon those stupendous crags of fluted basalt, that appeared like so many vast cathedral

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pillars;—the memory of that day's excursion is even yet a solace in the hour of gloom or sorrow, and bids me still remain

> "The adoring child
> Of nature's majesty, sublime or wild."

Scenes no way inferior to the Coural, in depth of verdure, variety and boldness of outline, and magnificence of colouring, and fully equal to it in the sublimity of their impressions upon the tourist, are to be met with in other parts of the island, particularly on the northern side, where

> "The orange tints that gild the greenest bough,
> The torrents that from cliff to valley leap,
> The vine on high, the willow-branch below,
> Mix'd in one mighty scene, with varied beauty glow."

Many of these have since my visit been faithfully represented by Mr. Picken, in his beautiful and graphic work, "Madeira Illustrated."

The value of Madeira as a climate suitable to invalids, is daily more appreciated, because daily becoming better known; and the year I visited the island numbers could hardly find accommodation. Besides hotels and boarding-houses, families (and many are now resident there) can procure houses for the winter season, although at rather a dear rate. These can be had either in the town itself, or in some of the beautiful suburban retreats, which, if not situated at too great an elevation, will be found very advantageous. Unless for those who go early in the season, it will be necessary to write beforehand, in order to procure good accommodation of this description. So great was the demand in the year 1837, that the Portuguese, as might be expected, took advantage of it to raise the prices of their houses. It is much to be regretted that some enterprising merchant has not erected a number of small comfortable dwellings in the different sheltered spots near the town, or in the valley of the Cama de Lobos, for the reception of invalids, who, with their friends, last season (1842–3) amounted to nearly four hundred, and generally number upwards of two hundred; and they, with very few exceptions, are all English.

There are three descriptions of accommodation at Madeira, viz.: furnished houses either in the town, or quintas in the vicinity, such as the Deanery, Palmeira, the Quinta de Sanat

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Luzia, &c. &c., amounting to upwards of twenty-five at present, each capable of containing a moderate family, and varying in expense from 60*l.* to 100*l.*, 150*l.* or 200*l.* for the season —that is, from September to June. These, at least the principal ones and the better class, which are mostly the property of the English residents, it is necessary to bespeak some time beforehand; and independent of the many comforts they afford, they supply a home to the invalid immediately on landing, without the necessity of going to a hotel or boarding-house. Linen and plate, with easy chairs, musical instruments, books, and such other luxuries of that description as can be afforded, are recommended to be brought out by persons taking furnished houses in the island. One English servant will be sufficient; and when ladies go, I would always recommend a female one, for I have invariably found that invalids suffer much more in foreign countries from the want of bed-room comforts than from any defect in either the accommodation or the cuisine. A sufficient number of Portuguese servants of passing honesty, and who speak English fluently, can always be procured for all other purposes; and in marketing, the *douceur* exacted by these servants is invariably less than the impositions that would be practised on an English one, or any visitor not thoroughly acquainted with Portuguese dealings.

The second mode of accommodation is in family hotels, where small families may be entertained, in separate apartments, at from forty-five to fifty dollars a head per month, and servants at ten dollars. There are now, I understand, five such establishments, and at the period of my visit Solden's and MacGuinn's were the most esteemed.

The third, consists of boarding-houses, conducted much on the same plan as similar descriptions of establishments are at home, with a *table-d'hote*, or general dining-table. There are six such boarding-houses now in Funchal, all conducted by English people. Their terms are something similar to the former; but for ladies or small families they are less preferable. Independent of all those, private lodgings can now be obtained at the houses of the natives, and several Portuguese families receive boarders.

When the first edition of this work was published, the duty on all English goods, even to wearing apparel, was quite exorbitant; during the past year, however, this has been entirely struck off, and strangers can now carry into the island free of duty, besides

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their wearing apparel, whatever else they choose, upon signing a bond at the Custom-house to pay the regular duty on all such articles left or disposed of in the island at the end of eighteen months. It may be useful to families going out to know that the furniture manufactured in Funchal is both cheap and appropriate. By means of steamers plying directly between Southampton and Funchal for the express purpose of invalids, by the regular West Indian vessels touching at the island, and by Brazilian packets sailing from Falmouth, as well as by English and Portuguese traders, the communication is now both certain and agreeable. It is constantly urged, however, that though it may be easy enough to get out, it is often difficult to return; this, however, as will be seen by an examination of the various modes of transit specified in the following notes, and the information which I have derived from the latest and best authorities, is very much exaggerated.* English letters can be answered within a month.

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* In connection with the subject of invalids, I here beg leave to offer some information upon the different modes of transit, derived from the most authentic sources, and brought down to the present time. During the last two seasons, the Peninsular Steam Navigation Company sent out one of their vessels, the Royal Tar, direct to the island. The prospectus states, that she "will leave Southampton on the 18th of October; and after landing her goods and passengers at Madeira and Teneriffe, will proceed to Gibraltar, from whence she will make two trips to Madeira, leaving Gibraltar, on the first trip, about the 2nd, and on the second trip, about the 12th of November, to convey to the island such passengers as may be desirous of visiting the Peninsular ports (Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar)." One of the same company's steam-ships will go out to Madeira in spring to bring home passengers. The latest and the amended prospectus of this company states, that passengers can be "booked out in the fall and home in the spring of the year. Outwards—passengers have the option of two ways of proceeding, viz.: either by way of the Peninsula, in the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's Peninsular steam-ships, which start from Southampton for Gibraltar, every Saturday, at four P.M., calling at Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, and Cadiz; at any, or all of which places, passengers will have the privilege of making such stay as they require, being taken from port to port by following steamers, without additional charge, and finally embarking at Gibraltar for Madeira, on board the Royal Tar, which vessel will make one or more trips for that purpose, between Gibraltar and Madeira, starting from the former place on or about the 4th of Novembe, on her first trip—or, passengers may proceed to Madeira direct, by the

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Various opinions have been expressed regarding the comparative merits of this island with other situations of like resort; but I think both medical men, and those who have tried it themselves, must now acknowledge that *we have no European climate that can in any way be compared with it*, or that affords the same advantages that it does, as a winter residence for invalids, more especially since steam has brought it within a six days' voyage of England. And as steamers now go out expressly for the use of invalids, the sea voyage itself, which is so generally found beneficial, is therefore not prolonged to the extent it was in sailing vessels, and the accommodation is said to be much superior. Even for those who can well afford the expense, it is a serious thing for invalids, especially for females, to resign their

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company's steam-ship, the 'Royal Tar,' Captain G. Brooks, starting for Madeira, from Southampton, on the 18th of October next.

"Homewards—In the spring of next year, one of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's steam-ships will make two, or as many more trips as may be necessary, between Madeira and Gibraltar, for the conveyance of passengers desirous of returning, *via* the Peninsula, and will return from Madeira direct for Southampton, the same as last spring.

"Rates of passage money, which include a liberal table, with wines, spirits, &c., and also bedding, linen, and cabin furniture of every description—From Southampton to Madeira, first class, £30; second class, £21; children under ten years, half price; children under five, one third; children in arms (with the parent), free. Steward's fees, 15s. each first class passenger.

"Rates of passage out in the autumn, and home in the spring—Direct to and from Madeira, £55; by way of the Peninsula, £50. The Royal Tar carries an experienced surgeon. To secure passages, select berths, &c., apply at 44, Regent-street, Piccadilly; and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's offices, 57, High-street, Southampton, and 51, St. Mary Axe, London."

The royal mail steamers for the West Indies proceed direct from Southampton to Madeira, leaving England the 2nd and 17th of every month. This mode has only just commenced. All the steamers make the trip in from six to seven days.

The Brazil packets still continue to touch regularly at Funchal. The East and West India ships also call there generally; but will only take passengers to or from the island when their berths to their final destination are not occupied; and this in England cannot be known till the last moment, so they are the least to be depended on.

Three regular traders, the Grace Darling, Florence, and Vernon, fitted

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home and friends in search of a milder atmosphere; and few places that we are acquainted with will compensate, by the benefits they afford, for the comforts of the one or the endearments of the other. But if such there be, I am constrained to say that place is Madeira.

Far be it from me to say that the climate of Madeira *can cure consumption;* but this I will say, that, independent of its acknowledged efficacy in chronic affections, it is one that will do more to ward off threatened diseases of the chest, or even to arrest them in their incipient stages, than any I am acquainted with. For such, a dry warm climate, with a healthy and *equable* state of the atmosphere, are, no doubt, the most powerful remedial agents we are as yet acquainted with, especially for parts

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up with very comfortable accommodation for passengers, sail regularly once a fortnight. Many persons prefer them to the steamers; the passage is about twelve days on the average; the expense about £20. Besides these, there are always small Portuguese vessels trading to Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Again, a steamer leaves Falmouth for Lisbon on Mondays, *regularly*. First cabin fare, £15; second cabin, £9 10s., which includes table, &c. A steamer leaves Lisbon for Madeira every fortnight, and returns in a few days after she lands her passengers. Fares from Lisbon to Madeira (at present), first cabin, £10; second cabin, £7, including table; deck, £3. An English stewardess attends. The British mail contract-boats, which sail on Mondays from Falmouth, call at Vigo, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar —touching at Oporto, and return by the same route, which is performed in eighteen or twenty days.

With all these means of access and return, few can now complain of the inability of getting to, or leaving the island.

Persons wishing to leave Rome, or any of the countries bordering the Mediterranean, for Madeira, can always do so, *via* Gibraltar; and there are also Sardinian vessels constantly going from Genoa to Madeira.

For much information upon the subject of Madeira, I would refer the reader and the invalid to a useful little work published by Mr. Driver, "Letters from Madeira;" and in particular to "The Invalid's Guide to Madeira," by W. W. Cooper, M.R.C.S.; and, for a more detailed account of the climate, to the papers of Doctors Renton and Heineken, published in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal; also Clark on the Influence of Climate; and a most interesting and valuable scientific communication, by Dr. James Macauley, on the Physical Geography, &c. of the Island, referred to at page 82.

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upon which such agents only can act. It is a remedy for which, in many cases, we have no adequate substitute, and the discredit into which its sanative efficacy has been brought, "is to be sought for, not in the remedy, but in the manner in which it has been prescribed." And the hearsay evidence, often received from doubtful authority, on which professional men recommend particular localities as applicable to certain diseases and peculiarities, is highly reprehensible. How frequently do physicians in extensive practice regulate the winter residences of their patients by the accounts they have *last* received from some friend or patient who, having been benefitted by the climate, entertained with the society and amusements, or solaced by the friends they have met at Pau, Rome, Nice, or Pisa, have returned loud in their praises of these places. To some, however, the heat of a Madeira summer will be too relaxing, and they will be improved not only by a removal to a lower temperature, but materially benefitted by the voyage home—always remembering, that from the middle to the end of *June* will be the *earliest* period that an invalid, who has spent the winter at Funchal, can arrive with safety in this country. The spring is the season of trial, and as Funchal and the south side of the island are much exposed, a circumstance which adds to their favourable condition at the other seasons, I feel assured, that then the sheltered vale of Oratava, in Teneriffe, would be found preferable in many respects, besides being five degrees warmer than Funchal at this time of the year. The rainy season is autumn, and generally in November; but it lasts only a few days, and seldom rains for six hours together: so that one is always enabled to take out-door exercise. The quantity of rain that falls at Madeira is, no doubt, as great as that in some parts of Europe; but it is not in the town of Funchal, the residence of the invalids, that it falls, but in the higher parts; more of this, however, when we come to consider the subject of the temperature in detail, and the meteorological observations that have been made upon the climate by competent authorities.

Although I believe that a person with healthy lungs will exist any where, yet it is generally acknowledged that vegetable is in some degree necessary to animal life; this arises from the absorption and exhalation of certain gases, which constitute our atmosphere, the equilibrium of which is kept up by the mutual assistance of

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the animal and vegetable. If, then, leaves be a respiratory apparatus, and that trees hibernate when they fall off, independent of the cold of our winter, we lose also the advantage derivable from a continued activity of vegetable life, beneficially modifying the qualities of our atmosphere; whereas, in more tropical countries, the extensive evergreen flora, continuing to flourish throughout the whole year, contributes in no small degree to purify the air, and increase the salubrity of the climate, and consequently the healthy condition of animal life; although a superabundance of vegetation is by no means conducive to health.

It is the great *equability* of temperature that makes Madeira so justly celebrated—an equability that continues not only throughout the seasons, but also through the range of the diurnal revolution. After the most accurate investigation for several years, the annual mean temperature is found to be 65°, and the daily temperature at the period of our visit, (November, 1837,) from 70° to 72°, and it seldom fell more than three or four degrees during the night; and so slight are the dews falling in the town, that clothes are frequently hung out to dry during the night! The lowest point to which the glass was ever known to fall, even just before sunrise, was 50°.* With so little rain and dew, it may naturally be asked how vegetation appears so luxuriant? Outside the town, and in other parts more elevated on the island, very heavy dews fall, and, in addition, vegetation is amply provided for by the quantity of water coming from the hills, which irrigates even the lowest parts of the island.

"The nights in Madeira are," says a recent visitor, "of surpassing beauty. The moon displays a radiance, to the brilliancy of which any approach is seldom made in this country. Venus, too, shines with beautiful refulgence, casting a shadow from objects. The lunar rainbow, a meteor never or rarely seen in our country, is said to be there of frequent occurrence, which indicates a remarkable clearness of the atmosphere. Twice during

* In some letters lately published by Dr. A. Combe, it is stated that on the 10th of February, 1842, the Fahrenheit thermometer fell so low as 44° at half-past seven A.M.; but this is, I believe, a very rare occurrence indeed.

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last winter, I observed the appearance. On one of the nights, in the month of March, it was visible, on mists or clouds, on the mountains for two or three hours, in distinct and beautiful display, while the full moon was not far above the horizon. The brilliancy of the heavens, the serenity of the air, the genial mildness of the atmosphere, render the nights, especially 'when the moon with more pleasing light, shadowy sets off the face of things,' more inviting even than the day to be abroad in. The absence of chillness and damp here, permits one with safety to enjoy this, 'the pleasant time, the cool,' but not 'the silent;' for many of the natives, indolent during the day, then delight in their gardens and terraces; and the air is filled with the music of the guitar, and a sweet little instrument, peculiar to the island, the machettinho. The air is then, too, redolent with the sweet aroma of the orange and citron groves; and heliotropes, daturæ, jessamines, roses, with many a 'flowery odour' besides, unite their tribute to increase the delicious fragrance of the atmosphere."*

Its insular position possesses many advantages over that of a continent, and this is here increased by the height of the mountains that rise in the centre. As the equability and comparative mildness of temperature experienced at sea, is greater than that on land, so is an island such as this in these respects superior to a continent. I said before, that the temperature can be varied by ascending the hills; but this will seldom be required during the winter months, and few invalids remain in the advanced summer when the L'Este or siroc prevails for a few days. It moreover holds out a hope, that no other country can fulfil to the same extent, of LIFE to those remaining members of families, many of whom have been carried off one after another by hereditary Phthisis. Cases of severe and protracted rheumatism may find the West Indies a preferable climate; and, speaking from personal experience, I should say that asthmatic sufferers will not be totally free from attacks; but I must at the same time state, that mine were generally brought on by fatigues encountered among the hills, often

* Dr. James Macaulay on the Physical Geography, Geology, and Climate of the Island of Madeira. Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal.—April to October 1840. Vol. xxix.

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at a very great elevation. No doubt many have been deceived by the promises held out of Madeira, and now rest beneath the cypress and orange grove. But who were they? Patients whose cases were so utterly *hopeless* that not a chance remained for them; and, besides the domestic inconveniences, the effects of their removal were such, that some died upon the voyage, and others immediately after landing. I am happy to say, professional men do not now yield to the importunities of patients, whose cases they look upon as irremediable, by sanctioning their removal to Madeira—an advice as cruel as it is useless.

It would be unnecessary, in an unprofessional work of this kind, to enumerate *all* the diseases for which a residence in this climate would be useful; but I may observe, that for general debility, affections of the chest, the throat, and the wind-pipe, and cases of loss of voice from public speaking, it will be found most desirable; though I must say, that for all complaints in which humidity is to be avoided, when relaxation and increased secretion are present, the Canaries, especially Teneriffe, are preferable, owing, I should think, to their highly volcanic soil, more scanty vegetation, and extreme dryness.

It is no bad test of the mildness of the climate, that swallows do not migrate from the island; the swifts, however, do, as in other places.

Those cases of threatened consumption, either owing to hereditary predisposition, or the sequel of inflammatory attacks, which are sent here with the lung congested, or advanced to solid tubercle, will derive benefit, but not by the mere visit of a few months: in such cases I should say patients ought to continue their residence for a very much longer period, even for years; diversifying their sojourn in this latitude with occasional visits to other parts of the island, or to the Canaries, which will give them the stimulus, in all cases most useful, of amusement, change of climate, and of scene.

The beauty of the scenery upon the northern side of the island has not been yet fully described, nor the value of its climate as a summer residence for invalids duly appreciated. Beyond the Coural and the Serra d'Agoa, which I have already described, lie many sequestered valleys, rich in vegetation, commanding some of the wildest and most romantic prospects in the island, and with a temperature mild and equable. Of these may be men-

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tioned the lovely valleys of St. Vincente and Santa Anna, in both of which accommodation can now be obtained. I am unable to speak from persoual experience of these places, but of the latter writes the graphic author from whom I have already quoted :— "The plantations, and gardens, and vineyards form a paradise of rich and graceful scenery ; and the beauty of the place, like that of the valleys of St. Vincente after crossing the mountains, is the more striking from the contrast with the wild and gloomy grandeur of the scenes through which the day's journey has lain." It is about four hours' ride from Funchal. I may likewise remark of the climate of this island, that it does not exercise that injurious influence upon the health of young children, so frequently experienced in the East and West Indies.

That Madeira can *prolong life*, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, the case of the late lamented Dr. Heineken is a proof. This gentleman came to the island when his case was pronounced, by some of the most acute physicians in Britain, as rapidly approaching to a fatal termination ; yet, under those circumstances, but certainly with the greatest watchfulness, he lived *nine* years in Madeira ; until going one day to collect some fossils on the neighbouring island of Porto Santo, a storm overtook him, and he suffered all its hardships in an open boat ; he returned next day to Madeira, and died that night. He requested a professional friend to examine his lungs after death, and Dr. Renton, the most esteemed English physician in the island, who performed the autopsy, informed me that his astonishment was, how he could have sustained life with so small a portion of respiratory apparatus ; hardly a vestige of one of his lungs remaining, and the other being in a condition such as could not exist in any other climate that we are as yet acquainted with. The death of this gentleman is the more to be regretted, as he had done much to investigate the climate of the island. His life was spent in the furtherance of science—he died in her cause, and bequeathed to her the most interesting legacy he or any mortal can bestow, the tenement of his immortal spirit, that his fellow-man might be enlightened and benefitted by a knowledge of that fatal malady which had hastened him to an early death, as it has but too many of his countrymen.

Of the salubrity of this volcanic island, Sir James Clark has well said, "When we take into consideration the high tempe-

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rature of the winter, and the mildness of the summer, together with the remarkable equality of the temperature during the day and night, as well as throughout the year, we may safely conclude that the climate of Madeira is the *finest* in the northern hemisphere;" and again, he adds, "The steadiness of temperature from day to day also *exceeds that of all the other climates.* In this respect it is not half so variable as Rome, Nice, or Pisa, and is only about one-third as variable as Naples. The degree of variableness from day to day at Madeira is 1° 11′; at Rome it is 2° 80′; at Nice 2° 33′; and at London 4° 11′. Nearly the same quantity of rain falls annually at Madeira as at Rome and Florence; but at Madeira there are only 73 days on which any rain falls, while at Rome there are 117." Compared with the climate of our own island, we may form some idea of the moisture from the circumstance of its having rained in the city of Dublin upon 465 days in two years, or 232.50 days in a year. And in the same meteorological observations it is shown, that during the two years from June, 1839, to June, 1841, only three weeks occurred in which no rain fell.*

The prevailing wind is north-east, but southerly winds generally accompany the rain. In the winter of 1837–8 Madeira suffered, in common with all other places of which we have any account, from the unusual severity of the season; these years are not, however, to be taken as a fair criterion of its salubrity. Last winter also, that of 1842–3, was likewise, for Madeira, remarkably severe; in fact, from all I have been able to collect, it does not appear that the climate has yet fully recovered the shock it received in October, 1842. Yet of this most unusual and untoward winter writes Dr. Andrew Combe—"After having myself spent three winters in Italy and the south of France, as an invalid, I have no hesitation in affirming that the winter just ended here, bad as it is said to have been by all who have resided some years in the island, was, with all its imperfections, incomparably *superior* to *the best* of the three I spent in the south of Europe, in the great requisites of *mildness, equability,* and general fitness for the

* See the Special Sanitory Report upon the Mortality of Dublin, and table of Meteorological Observations in the Irish Census, for 1842, by the author.

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pulmonary invalid. Even here prudence is no doubt required. But no where that I know of will a rational-minded patient find a residence so free from objection, and combining so many advantages to reward the self-denial and sacrifices incurred by him in his search after health. So far, then, as climate alone is concerned, I give a most decided preference to Madeira over Italy for the pulmonary invalid." The weather register, in the accompanying note,* which was accurately kept at the Deanery (not quite within the town, and therefore somewhat colder, being four hundred feet above the level of the sea), from the 10th of October, 1841, to the 23rd of April, 1842, exhibits an equality of temperature such as no European locality could afford. I introduce this table here the more readily, as it thus at a glance affords invalids and their friends an opportunity of judging of the description of climate they may expect at Funchal, even in the worst of winters.

The hospitality of the princely merchants of Madeira has been

* Weather Table.

OCTOBER, 1841.							NOVEMBER.						
Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.	Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
							1	66	68	68	66	s. E.	Fine.
							2	66	67	67	66	s. E.	Fine, cloudy.
							3	66	66	65	65½	s. w.	Rainy.
							4	66½	66½	66	65½	s. w.	Rain.
							5	65	66	66	66	s. w.	Much rain.
							6	65½	65½	65½	65½	s. w.	Much rain.
							7	65	65	65	65	s.	Much rain. [night.
							8	66	67	67	67	s. E.	Much rain, 67 at mid-
							9	68	68	67	67	s.	Much rain.
							10	67½	68	68	67½	s. E.	Rainy.
11	68	71	70	69	N. E.	Very fine.	11	67½	67½	68½	68	s. E.	Fine, windy.
12	69	71½	71½	71	N. E.	Very fine.	12	68	69½	69	67½	s. E.	Fine.
13	70½	71	71	70	N. E.	Very fine.	13	69	70	70	68	s. E.	Very fine.
14	70½	71½		70½	N. E.	Very fine.	14	66½	69	68	67½	E.	Very fine.
15	72	74	73½	71½	N. E.	Very fine. [night.	15	68	69	68	67	s. E.	Very fine. [winds.
16	71	73		71	N. E.	Very fine, 70 at mid-	16	68	69	69	67	s. w.	Very fine, light
17	71		71	71	N. E.	Very fine, do.	17	68	69	68	67	w.	Very fine.
18	70			70½	N. E.	Very fine.	18	68	69	68	66½	w.	Very fine.
19	70	70	70	69	N. E.	Showery.	19	67	68	67	66	w.	Very fine.
20			69½	69½	E.	Showery.	20	68	69½	68	67	s. w.	Very fine, light wds.
21	69	69		68	N. E.	Showery.	21	68		68	66½	w.	Very fine.
22	70	70½		69	N. E.	Showery.	22	68	69	68½	67	s. E.	Very fine.
23	70	71	71	70	N. w.	Very fine. [9 p.m.	23	66	68	67½	66	s. E.	Very fine, windy.
24	70	71	70	70	S. E.	Fine, 68 outside at	24	67	68	67½	66	s. E.	Very fine, windy.
25	71	72	71	70	N. E.	Fine.	25	66½	68	68	66	s. E.	Very fine.
26	70	70		69	N. E.	Very fine.	26	66½	67	67	66	s. E.	Very fine.
27	67½			67½	N. E.	Fine.	27	66	67	66	65½	w.	Very fine.
28	67				w.	Very fine.	28	65½		67	66	w.	Very fine.
29	67			67½	w.	Showers.	29	66½	68	68	66	w.	Very fine.
30	67	68	68	67	w.	Rain.	30	66½	67	67	66	w.	Very fine.
31	65½			65½	N. E.	Very fine.							

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often dwelt upon as a source of great enjoyment to the invalid and traveller, and deserves a repeated expression of thanks from those who have experienced it. The English are not only the principal wine merchants, but the proprietors of the best houses in Funchal. This favoured spot wants now but one blessing to make it an earthly paradise—a free and enlightened government.

There is very little of what is properly termed amusement in Funchal. There is no theatre worth visiting, even if such a place could be visited with impunity by invalids. There are no *caffés*, but a library and reading-room, with a billiard-room attached to it, have been lately established by an association of British merchants, and here every English publication and periodical of merit, besides newspapers, are constantly supplied. Two papers, the "Defensor," and the "Impartial," are published weekly at Funchal. Some few years ago, two or three visitors endeavoured to establish an English "periodical journal of literature and

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Weather Table—Continued.

DECEMBER.						
Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
1	66	67½	67	66	W.	Much rain.
2	67	68	67	67	W.	Much rain.
3	67	68	68	67	W.	Much rain.
4	67	67	67	67	W.	Much rain.
5	67	67	67	66	W.	Little rain, cloudy.
6	65	67	67	66	W.	Fine.
7	68	70	68	66	S. E.	Very fine.
8	67	68	67	66	S. E.	Very fine.
9	66½	68	67	66	S. E.	Very fine.
10	65½	67	67	65½	S. E.	Very fine.
11	66	67	66	65½	E. by S.	Cloudy.
12	65		66	64½	N. E.	Fine.
13	65	67	66	65	N. E.	Very fine.
14	64			65	N. E.	Very fine.
15	64	67	67	65	N.	Very fine.
16	63			63	N.	Fine, cloudy.
17				63	N.	Very fine.
18	63	64	64½	64	W.	Cloudy. [evening,
19	64	65	64	64	S. W.	Fine morning, rain
20	63½	65	64	63	N. W.	Fine, cloudy.
21	61½	63	62	62	N. W.	Fine foren. rain even.
22	61		62	62	N. W.	Wind and rain.
23	62½	63	63	61½	N. E.	Little rain.
24	61	62	62	61	N. E	Very fine.
25		63	63	61	N. E.	Very fine.
26	60			61	N. E.	Very fine.
27	61	63	62	60½	N. E.	Fine, few drops rain.
28	61	63	63	61	N. E.	Fine, few drops rain.
29	61		62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
30	59½	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
31	61	62	62	60	N. E.	Very fine.

JANUARY, 1842.						
Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
1	60	61	61	60½	E.	Rain forenoon, fine
2	61	63	63	61	E.	Fine. [afternoon
3	62	63	63	61	N. E.	Very fine.
4	61			61	N. E.	Very fine.
5	61		63	61	N. E.	Very fine.
6	61	63	62½	61	N. W.	Very fine.
7	61	62	62	60½	N. W.	Very fine.
8	60	62	62	60	N.	Very fine.
9	60	62	61	60	E.	Very fine.
10	60	61	61	60	S. W.	Showers.
11	60	61	60	59½	N. E.	Fine. [afternoon.
12	60	61	61	60	W.	Fine forenoon, rain
13	62	63	62½	61	N. W.	Very fine.
14	62	63	63	62	N. W.	Very fine.
15	63	64	63	62	N. W.	Very fine.
16	62	63	62½	62½	N.	Very fine.
17	61	62	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
18	60½	62½	61	61	N. E.	Very fine.
19	61	62	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
20	62	62	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
21	61	62	62	60	N. E.	Very fine.
22	60			60	N. E.	Very fine.
23	61		61	60½	N. E.	Very fine.
24	60	62	61	59½	N. E.	Very fine.
25	61	62	62	60	N. E.	Very fine.
26	62	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine. [equally.
27	62½	64	63	61	E. by N.	Fine, blowing hard,
28	62	64	63	62		Little rain, do. do.
29	62	64	63	60½	E.	Little rain foren. fine
30	62		62½	61	E.	Very fine. [aftern.
31	62	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.

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science, 'The Stranger,' but from the want of workmen and printing materials at the time, they had to desist, after publishing one small number." We hope to see this, or some similar undertaking, resumed at a future day.

The population of Madeira is calculated at about 116,000, and

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Weather Table—Continued.

FEBRUARY, 1842.

Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
1	60	62	62	60	N.	Very fine.
2	60	62	61	60½	N. E.	Very fine.
3	60	61	61	60	N. E.	Rain foren. fine aft.
4	61	63	62	60	N. E.	Very fine.
5	60½	60½	60½	60½	S. W.	Much rain afternoon
6	60½	61	60½	60½	S. W.	Much rain.
7	62	63	62	60	N. W.	Fine.
8	60	62	62	61	N. W.	Fine.
9	60	60	60½	60½	N. W.	Squally, little rain.
10	61	62	62	61		Quite calm, much rn.
11	61	63	62	60	N. E.	Fine foren., showers
12	62	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine. [aftern.
13	62	63	62	61½	E.	Very fine.
14	61	62	62	61	N. E.	Fine, cloudy.
15	61	63	63	61	N. E.	Fine, cloudy.
16	60½	63	62½	61½	N. E.	Very fine.
17	61	62	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
18	60½	62	61	60½	E.	Showers.
19	60½	61	60½	60	E.	Showers.
20	62		64	60⅝	E. by S.	Very fine.
21	62	64	63	61	E. by S.	Very fine.
22	62	63	62	61½	S. E.	Very fine. [fine day.
23	62	65	64	62½	N. W.	Showers in mor. very
24	62	64	63	63	N.	Very fine.
25	63	65	64	63	N. W.	Very fine.
26	62⅝	64	63	62½	N. E.	Very fine.
27	63	65	63½	63½	N. E.	Very fine.
28	62	63	63	62	N. W.	Rain.

MARCH.

Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
1	61	62	61	60½	N. W. & N. E.	Fine, two showers.
2	62¼	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
3	61	63	62⅝	61	N. E.	Very fine.
4	61	63	62	61	N. E.	Very fine.
5	61	61	61	61	N. E.	Very fine. [aftern.
6	62	64½	63½	62½	N. W.	Showery morn., fine
7	62	63	63	62	N. W.	Fine.
8	63	63½	63	62½	N. W.	Very fine.
9	63	63	63	63	N. E.	Very fine.
10	63	65	64	64	E.	Very fine.
11	63	65½	63½	63	E.	Very fine.
12	63	64	64	63	E.	Very fine.
13	63		64	62½	N. E.	Very fine.
14	63	64	64	63	N. E.	Very fine.
15	63	65	64	63½	N. E.	Very fine.
16	63	64½	64	63⅝	N. E.	Very fine.
17	64	66	66	64½	S. E.	Very fine.
18	64	66½	65	64⅝	S. E.	Very fine.
19	66	69	68	66	S. E.	Very fine.
20	66		66	66	S. E.	Very fine.
21	65	67	67	65	S. E.	Very fine.
22	65	66	65	64	S. E.	Very fine.
23	65	64	63	63	S. E.	Very fine.
24	62	63	63	62⅝	N	Showery. [aftern.
25	62	62	62	62	N.	Showers morn., fine
26	61	62	62	62	N.	Fine. [12 o'clock.
27	62	63	63	62	N. W.	Very fine, 70 outside
28	63	64	64	63	N. W.	Very fine.
29	64	66	66	64	N. W.	Very fine.
30	66	67½	67	65	N. W.	Very fine.
31	66	67½	67	65	N. E.	Very fine.

APRIL.

Days.	Hours. 9	12	4	9	Wind.	WEATHER.
1	65	67½	66	65½	N. E.	Very fine.
2	65	66	65½	65	N. E.	Very fine.
3	64½		65	64½	N. E.	Very fine.
4	63	64	64	63⅝	N. E.	Very fine.
5	63	64	63	62¾	E.	Very fine.
6	62½	63	63	64	E.	Very fine.
7	62⅝		63	62½	N.	Very fine.
8	63	65	64	63	N. W.	Very fine.
9	62	64	63½	62½	N. E.	Very fine.
10	62		62¾	62¾	N. W.	Very fine. [aftern.
11	62½	64	63	63	N. W.	Very fine foren. rain
12	62	61	60	62	N. W.	Showery, gale of wind
13	62	63	63	62	N. W.	Showery.
14	62	63	62	61⅛	N. W.	Fine, shower aftern.
15	61	63	63	62	N.	Fine.
16	62	63	62	62	N.	Fine.
17	62	63	62¾	62⅝	N.	Very fine. [aftern.
18	62	64	63½	62½	N.	Rain morn., very fine
19	63	65	64	62		Fine.
20	63		64	63	S. W.	Showers.
21	62	63	64	63	S. W.	Very fine.
22	63	64	63	62	S. W.	Fine.
23	63	64	64	62	S. W.	Very fine.

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the English residents and visitors together generally number 600 during the winter season. Last year the visitors amounted to 380, of whom nearly one-third were invalids. The extent of the island is said to be 45 miles long, 15 miles broad, and 100 miles in circumference; and the altitude of its highest mountain, Pico Ruivo, as calculated by Mr. Bowditch, 6164 feet, and by Lieutenant Wilkes 6237. Funchal, the chief town, is situated in 32° 38′ 11″ north latitude, and in 16° 54′ 11″ west of Greenwich, being 360 miles north-west of the coast of Africa, and 240 from Teneriffe. Corn is imported from Sicily and other Mediterranean ports; and the chief export is wine. Tobacco and soap are royal monopolies: the former is not allowed to be cultivated on the island; the scarcity of the latter may offer some plausible excuse for the extreme dirtiness of the Portuguese, who seldom soil their faces with water, but substitute dry rubbing instead.

Madeira wine has unjustly fallen into disrepute, for some years past, in this country. I say unjustly, because I believe that *pure old south-side Madeira* is one of the finest and most wholesome of all white wines. What the cause of this may be, it is difficult to say; perhaps it was and is the great scarcity of the article such as I describe; many, however, ascribe it to the fact of wines of an inferior quality having been exported largely for the English market some years ago, on which the article necessarily fell in public estimation. I am inclined to think that *fashion* exercised no small influence in the matter. To many invalids it is a wine particularly adapted, although in diseases of the chest, when a wine becomes *necessary*, or from circumstances unavoidable, I am bound to give the preference to white Lachrymæ Christi, as possessing less stimulating and more nutritious qualities than any other I am acquainted with. Yet, for the generality of patients to whom wine is ordered as a tonic or cordial, I feel assured that good Madeira will be found, on trial, most grateful.

Besides the ordinary Madeira, we have here that most delicious sweet wine, the Malmsey; also the Sercial, or Madeirian Hock; Tinta, the Burgundy; and Bual, a light white wine, of a charming flavour; as well as Verdelho and Bastardo, also white wines, and Negrinho, of a claret colour and delightful bouquet, together with several country wines, both white and red, of little note, and never exported. The total produce of the island is said to

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be from 25,000 to 30,000 pipes annually, but much of this is of a very inferior quality.*

On visiting the governor, I was astonished at seeing a large painting decorating his hall, the subject of which was the discovery of the island by an Englishman. "It is an old tale and often told," yet I cannot forbear mentioning it here as related by Alcaforado. In the reign of Edward III. when the feudal system held unlimited sway in England, and when the line of demarcation between the grades even of nobility was marked and maintained with the strongest hand, Robert Machim, a noble of the second degree, became enamoured of the daughter of a noble of superior rank, Anna D'Arfert, who warmly returned his affection. This was soon made known to the lady's haughty father, whose rage thereon knew no bounds. Upon some slight pretext he had the unfortunate lover cast into a dungeon for his presumption; and, while he remained in captivity, the fair and disconsolate Anna was *forcibly* married to a noble of her own rank, who resided near Bristol. The union proved, as such have ever done, most unhappy. Machim was released, and soon discovered the situation of his still loved mistress; and his faithful friend and squire contrived to have himself hired as groom in the establishment, where he soon found means of informing the Lady Anna that her lover was in the vicinity, and that means were using to get her out of the castle. Their plans succeeded, and she joined him. A vessel was prepared to carry them to France—all was ready—but before the pilot came on board, a violent storm arose, she broke from her moorings, and was carried westward. After twelve days of suffering, they discovered an island, which proved to be Madeira, so named from its being then completely covered with wood; and

* Besides the wine generally known as Madeira, there is shipped in the usual course of business, Tinta, Sercial, and Malmsey; but the other kinds are of rare acquisition, and seldom to be obtained pure, owing to the very minute division of the vineyards not producing a sufficiency of the respective grapes to press separately, or the non-agreement between the landlord and tenant to separate the grapes for the press when the vineyards are more extensive, the produce being divided between the proprietor and cultivator of the soil. It is usual to press all the varieties of the grapes together; and therefore, to keep separate the Bual, Verdelho, and Negrinho grape, becomes a matter of difficulty.

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they landed at a village which has ever since borne the name of Machico. They had scarcely landed when the elements again conspired against them, another storm arose, and tearing the vessel from the coast, drove her across the surging waters, and finally threw her on the coast of Morocco, where she was dashed to pieces, the remnant of the unfortunate crew who had remained in the ship being made prisoners, and forced into slavery.

The hapless Anna, seeing all hope fled, fell ill, and in a day or two died in the arms of him who ought to have been her husband. This is the scene represented in the picture. He shortly after followed her to the grave, and both were enclosed under one green sod, over which was placed, by their companions, a large cedar cross, with a rudely carved inscription, praying of the next Christians who visited that spot to erect a church to their memory.

The remaining part of the crew took to the long boat, which had been preserved, and were also driven on the coast of Morocco, and sold as slaves. It was in virtue of the information derived from those men, that the island was made known to the Portuguese, who sent out an expedition in search of it in 1419, under the distinguished navigators Zargo and Vaz.

The village of Machico is one of the most romantic spots in the island, and its old church is rendered still more interesting by a piece of the cedar cross which is shown, and said to have been that placed over the grave of the unfortunate Lady Anna and her lover. This little romance, so fraught with interest, is not only true in itself, but affords a picture of life even in the present day. The love story of this Lady Anna is not now without its parallels; yet, though that "bridge of sighs" may be, and *is*, crossed by thousands, I greatly fear that we must now look for such purity and devotion amidst the fossil remains that mark the age of chivalry and romance, a leaf from whose chronicles is sometimes torn out, to wrap around the Smithfield huxtery of this age of Mammon, when female human flesh can be bought and sold, as well in the lordly halls of England, as in the slave markets of the east.

Before our departure we visited the convents to procure some of the beautiful artificial flowers, made from feathers by the nuns. No ship ever touches here, without carrying away large quantities of this most ingenious and elegant manufacture, as well as ornaments in wax, dried citron, for which Madeira has long been cele-

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brated, Guava jellies, Cape gooseberries, and other sweet-meats, which are purchased at the convents.

These flowers possess colours that vie with the brightest of the originals; and, when so ordered, are constructed with an accuracy that leaves nothing to be desired by the most fastidious botanist. Besides these, one of the convents has a further attraction, in the fair person of one of its nuns, Maria Clementina, the fair recluse of Santa Clara.

Few strangers that come to Madeira but visit the nun that so captivated Coleridge, and whose sad history every one here is acquainted with. It is short but eventful—how eventful to the life of woman! The parents of Maria resided in the island; she was the youngest and fairest of several daughters, and, like Cinderella of old, suffered from the envy and unkindness of her less lovely sisters, and though without the aid of any good fairy to turn a pumpkin into a coach and six, and a rat into a coachman, some old and rich relative, pitying her unhappiness, left her a handsome fortune. This, instead of removing, increased her misery, and, to fly the wretchedness of her heartless home, she yielded to the urgings of her unnatural kindred, and took the veil while still almost a child. Long time had not elapsed till the constitution was proclaimed in Portugal, and an order of the Cortes arrived permitting all nuns who chose to leave their convents and to marry. Many of the recluses availed themselves of the privilege, and again mixed in the society of Funchal; and amidst that gay and elegant assemblage, none was more admired than Maria. Graceful, beautiful, and young, for she was only eighteen, she could not long remain without suitors. She had many; and though it is said the sisterhood leave outside their convent walls, the world, its follies and its cares—its joys and its sorrows—the ties of kindred, and the affections of the heart—yet there were many whose natural feelings were not dead, but only slept, and now, freed from the yoke of religious despotism, the vine-like properties of fair woman's heart would (as might be expected) soon find some object round which to twine the tendrils of its new-born affections. A young officer, then quartered in Madeira, wooed and won the heart of this daughter of the "pride of the Atlantic." It was soon known that they were to be united, and all looked with an approving smile on their approaching nuptials. To the maiden all was joy, sunshine, and felicity; and

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as she roved with her happy lover through the vineyards, the citron groves, and the Quintas of her native island, she forgot her early sufferings, for the prospect of happiness that opened to her through the vista of futurity cast a veil over the hardships of the past.

The very day before their intended marriage, the church once more assumed her authority, and directed that all nuns should return to their convents. Great was the sympathy for poor Maria; her gaiety and light-heartedness—her extreme simplicity, gentleness, and beauty—had won for her the love and esteem of all in Funchal, particularly the English. There was however no resource;—her head was again shorn of its silken locks, and her gay, yet simple attire, was once more exchanged for the dark robe, the girdle, and the veil. . . .

This morning she met us at the convent grating, and with many a winning smile brought the flowers she had prepared for us. There was a look of calm resignation that added a peculiar interest to her features—the only ones I have ever seen that overcame the severity of costume demanded by her order, and which seemed to us as the weeds of that widowhood of love she is doomed to spend within her convent walls. Poor thing!—her very smile was one that told the heart was ill at ease, for mouldering hope, the blight of early sorrow, and the never-ceasing canker of disappointed love, had spread their mildew over a brow, so late lit up with hope, now clouded by despair.

It was not without regret I left this

> "Delightful province of the sun,
> . . . . . .
> Where all the loveliest children of his beam,
> Flowrets and fruits, blush over every stream,"

and where, for the rich profusion of nature's gifts received, she gratefully restores to those who, wearied, faint, and sad, seek in her fragrant bosom the choicest of all life's varied blessings—the boon of health.

Many a proud form of Britain's sons, subdued by the rough changes of our own variable climes, has left her shores so blest; but not all. Ah! no;—many, too many, seduced by a false and characteristic fatuity, hurry hither but to expend their latest sigh. Too many, and those the loveliest and fairest, yielding in pity to

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the urgent and overpowering fears of their dear connexions, who, in the earnestness of affection, desperately hope against hope, leave their own land, the comforts, the ties, and associations that made for them a paradise of HOME, and voyage to this distant spot, to lay them down to rest beneath the cypress shade.

There is an English church at Funchal, and the garden that surrounds it, shadowed by some noble yews and cypresses, whose deep-spreading gloom, relieved by many a gay and bright exotic flower, renders this not the least interesting and romantic scene within the precincts of this gem of the ocean.

The adjoining burying-grounds also have their beauties, saddening though they be;—here might the weary traveller rest, and be laid in one of the simple, unostentatious cemeteries of Funchal; and though, for him, the rock-sealed fountain of affection, unsmote by the chastening rod of sorrow, might not pour forth her tributary tide, still he should have those mute mourners of nature, the cypress and the willow, to weep over him. Here, though no kindly hand should strew his grave with flowers, it would be garlanded by the fuschia and the orange blossom; and although no artificial incense was scattered over his tomb, the heliotrope and the myrtle would shed the fragrance of their perfume around it. Here, though no measured chant of funeral dirge or loud Uullah, mocked the silence of the dead, the nightingale of the hills would tune her evening lay, and sing a requiem as she nestled in the lemon-tree above his head; and when night had cast her sable mantle over the scene, and no unhallowed sound disturbed the cathedral stillness of the hour, those mystic lamps hung in the blue vault above his sepulchre, would smile upon the sod that covered him.

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CHAPTER IV.

TENERIFFE.

Visit to Teneriffe—View of the Peak—Fishermen—Santa Cruz—Dromedaries—The British Flags—Vegetation—Cochineal—Volcanic Rocks—Birds—Inhabitants—Museum—Guanches—Scenery—Laguna—Oratava—Beauty of the Landscape—Port of Oratava—The Botanic Garden—The Dragon Tree—Ascent of the Peak—Guides—Spartium Plains—Pumice-stone Plains—Magnificent Scenery—Estancia des Ingleses—Extreme Cold—View of the Sunrise—The Cone—The Crater—Smoke Holes—Sulphur—Prospect from the Summit—The Regions of Vegetation—Descent—Climate—Return to Madeira.

To afford me an opportunity of ascending the peak of Teneriffe, my patient and fellow-traveller kindly got our vessel under weigh, and we left Funchal roads on the 5th of November.

On the following morning we had a momentary glimpse of the peak; but the weather becoming hazy, we were unable to distinguish it perfectly until three o'clock, when its bold, rugged outline became accurately defined against the clear azure of an African sky. I must confess my disappointment at its first appearance. It did not at all come up to the expectation I had formed, of an immense spire shooting into the heavens and piercing the clouds, as I had always been led to suppose by description and delineation; and this disappointment I find that I share in common with most Europeans who have seen it. From our present position, approaching Santa Cruz from the north, the figure is not that of a cone, but rather of a block of mountain rising to a great height out of the sea. The sun set gloriously behind it, throwing that peculiar roseate tint around his golden locks, so very different from any thing we know of in more northern climates.

As we neared the island, the wind fell off, and left us rocking in the heavy swell that generally surrounds this iron-bound shore. When the darkness set in, a number of lights suddenly started

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up around us, flitting like meteors over the swollen waters; presently a light breeze sprung up, and we gently pursued our way into the midst of this singular illumination. It arose from a number of fishing-boats, in each of which a fire of the Canary pine was lighted to attract the fish. Around these fires were seated the fishermen, their furrowed faces grimed with the smoke, and, habited in their long scarlet caps and jackets, they looked, as each frail bark sprung to view on the crest of a mountain wave, and then as quickly sunk from our sight in the gulf below, like so many spirits of the mighty deep brewing the tempest. About ten we cast anchor. People may talk of clanking chains and rattling bolts, but to me one of the sweetest of sounds is the clanking of the chain-cable as it is hove up on deck, or runs swiftly through the hawse-hole.

7th November.—Santa Cruz Bay.—Every thing around has the most arid, parched, and burned-up look that can possibly be imagined. The neatly white-washed town looks well, but around it all is barren and desolate. This peculiar appearance, common to all volcanic islands, is now rendered more strikiug by the season, there not having been any rain here for the last six months. Even the large succulent plants, springing here and there amongst its rocks, had lost whatever of greenness they may have originally possessed. Immediately on our right the land is high and broken into ravines, running down to the water's edge, with nothing to relieve the eye but the white line of the aqueduct that supplies the town, as it winds its serpentine course half-way up their sides. To the left, the shore slopes away in one gradual swell to southward, barren of every thing but stones, lava, and basalt. After breakfast we landed at the mole, where Nelson lost his arm in the unfortunate affair of 1797.

If the lovely verdure, the wavy palms, and green bananas of Madeira remind the English traveller that he is out of Europe, how much more do the numerous camels which he sees on first landing here, slowly trudging their way into the town-gate, with their burdens of pinewood or lime-stone, or patiently kneeling down to be loaded, and moving their long necks from side to side, tell him that he is approaching the region of the Zahara and the Siroc.

The dromedary, improperly denominated the camel of the Canaries, and supposed to have been introduced by the Norman

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conquerors, is a large variety, and thrives well in those islands, but from want of care and cleanliness, and being almost devoid of hair, looks very badly. So silently do these animals tread the ground, that the owners are compelled by law to furnish each with a bell, to give warning of their approach. There is a popular prejudice with regard to the natural history of these animals, which, if true, would serve to show how few climates are adapted to the procreation of the species; it is said that, with rare exceptions, they will not breed in Teneriffe, but are transported for that purpose to Lancerotte, which is only a few leagues distant to the southward. They are landed at the proper season in great herds from all the neighbouring islands, and become so ferocious during their stay, that it is then dangerous to land upon the island. A camel-fight is not an uncommon amusement among the people; on these occasions the animals are muzzled, and evince the utmost fury in their engagements.*

In a small place like this, one of your first visits is to your consul; who, assuming all the importance of office, parades you in succession to all the governors and persons in authority, civil, military, and marine. This raises his own consequence not a little, and, to believe himself, vastly contributes to the honour of old England.

The town of Santa Cruz is clean, that part near the water is much more so than Funchal; and in the centre there is a good square, La Plaza de la Constitucion. In this, is the famous statue of the Virgin, our Lady of the Candelaria, of good execution, and of fine Carara marble. It is commemorative of the conversion of four kings of the Guanches in 1392, whose statues are placed as supporters of the pedestal, each with a thigh-bone in his hand, the

* Since the first edition of this work was printed, Mr. S. Barker Webb, so long resident in the island, and so well informed upon its zoology, has written to me as follows upon this subject:—"There is nothing in the climate which prevents the camels breeding in Teneriffe; there is a fine herd belonging to the Marquess of Belgida at Adexa, in the south of the island, and the sale of the young pays the expenses. It is the want of plain land, such as forms Lancerotte and Fuertaventura, that causes this; a level country being, I suppose, necessary to the rearing of the young." Mr. Webb is joint author with Sabin Berthelot of that magnificent work, "*Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canaries*," now coming out in Paris.

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thigh-bones of their ancestors having been used as the sceptres of the Menceys, or the regalia of Teneriffe. They, however, enjoy but one nose amongst them; the three missing ones will probably be found in the collection of curiosities of some of our midshipmen, who, it was not to be expected, could let such an opportunity pass of signalizing themselves for taste, sense, and decorum.

The houses of this Spanish colony are large, well built, and in the Moorish style of the mother country, having courts in the centre surrounded by galleries. In many of those are handsome fountains, playing to a great height, which render them cool and refreshing.

We next visited the church, where are exhibited THE FLAGS said to have been taken in Nelson's attack. We were all anxiety to get a sight of them; but no—our cicerone would have his own way, parading us through the altars, one by one, explaining to us the merits of each in a most showman-like manner. At last he brought us to the spot where hung the remains of those emblems, fast falling into decay, and waving mournfully in the light breeze that blows through the belfry, under which they are placed. One is an ensign, the other a union-jack. I do confess I never found it so difficult a matter to keep my "hands from picking and stealing," as when I saw that flag on which the sun never sets, hung up as a trophy in a foreign land. Upon inquiry, however, we found (and it somewhat cooled our zeal) that they were *not taken* from us on that fatal night, but were merely picked up on the shore where our boats went to pieces.

The batteries here are still very strong, and the surf is tremendous, often preventing boats from landing for days together; yet this does not stop the business-like appearance along the beach, for the barrels of wine are rolled down the steep pebbly shore, and the hardy natives, pushing them before them, plunge into the boiling surge and float them to the vessels, often several hundred yards off.

November 8th. I set out on an excursion into the hills. About the town are some fine gardens of potatoes—a late importation—just now coming into blossom, and promising well. Near the quay there is a handsome public walk, in which grow some splendid plants. The *datura fastuosa*, with its beautiful semi-double flowers of a purpleish colour, attains to a great size, and

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also the *pointinia pulcherrima*, or Spanish carnation, one of the most splendid shrubs that adorns this island. The stramonium (*datura metel*) flourishes along the road-side in great luxuriance, but thicker, more shrubby, more glaucus in colour, and the leaves more succulent, than the species that grows in Spain and Madeira. As I proceeded into the hills, I observed the *Euphorbium Canariensis* growing to an immense size; it looks like so many great candelabra, and this similitude is increased from the quantity of juice which exudes, and crusts over the stalks and rocks beneath with a yellowish wax-like paste. Some idea may be formed of the virulence of the poison of this plant from the following circumstance. I made incisions in some of the plants, in order to allow the milky juice to exude, and laid the point of the penknife I had used for an *instant* on the tip of my tongue: almost immediately I felt an intense heat, dryness, and burning sensation in the fauces, back of the throat, and gullet, and suffered so much from weakness; that I was scarcely able to crawl back to the town. On examination, there was no redness or inflammation to be seen, and the symptoms gradually subsided in the course of three or four hours, leaving, however, a huskiness which lasted several days. Huge plants of the *Cacalia* likewise grow in great abundance through the fissures in the basaltic rocks; but owing to the present great drought, they have a peculiarly shrivelled-up appearance.

The cochineal is much propagated here upon the cacti; and, besides the several close plantations near the town, it has lately been transplanted to the plants growing on the hills, by enclosing one or two of the little animals in a bag of thin muslin, and sticking them on the thorns of the leaves. They were originally imported from South America about ten years before the date of my visit, and promise well; they are gathered every second year, a certain number being left on each plant to continue the stock. It is asserted in the island that it would be more cultivated, but that the fruit of the cactus (the prickly pear) is a favourite article of food with the natives, and it falls off before coming to maturity on those on which the cochineal is reared. The *palma Christi*, or castor-oil plant, is also very common here, and the oil is manufactured in the island.

The basalt in the neighbourhood of the town contains felspar and masses of hornblende. There is no limestone to be found in

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the island; but that useful article is imported from another of the group, Fortaventura. This grey stone contains mica and felspar, but no quartz, and perhaps it was specimens of this that gave travellers the idea that there is granite to be found in the Archipelago of the Canaries. In the hills, where excavations occur in the harder rocks, they are filled with a conglomerate of small, fine-rolled pumice-stone, and quantities of this substance will also be found in all the valleys and ravines. This pumice appears like the effect of an eruption, subsequent to that in which the harder rocks were formed, and which, in all probability, covered the whole country; but, on the occurrence of great rains or wind, it was swept down into the valleys, and filled up these caverns.

On the east of the town, the coast is excessively rugged; the swell rolls in with the greatest violence, even on the calmest day, and the water has formed immense caverns by wearing away the tufa from the harder basalt. Many of them extend a considerable way under the surface, and the approaching wave, meeting the reflux water, and dashing against it, rises in a column often thirty or forty feet high, and falling down in spray on the rocks at either side, forms a magnificent natural jet d'eau. The rock near the water's edge is singular—here the basalt is not columnar nor in regular strata, but appears, while yet fluid, to have formed eddies and whirlpools, which, with a wave-like appearance, became consolidated, and retained that form on the surface.

The bay of Santa Cruz is much better riding than that of Funchal. Vessels have very rarely to put to sea, and on this account it is much to be preferred for yachts, though the swell at times is very great.

Neither the ice plant, (*mesembryanthemum,*) nor any of the plants from which barilla is obtained, were yet up; but large bags of the lichen, which is used as orchil, and collected from the neighbouring rocks, are daily exposed for sale on the mole. As the tide ebbs, numbers of the poorer inhabitants collect upon the coast to catch cuttle-fish—the *sepia octopus*—which are here in the greatest abundance. The mode of fishing for them is to tie one of the animals upon the end of a stick, and push it under the rocks, and in the crevices and pools left by the retiring tide—if one is inside, it instantly makes its appearance, attached to that on the stick, and is caught with the hand. At night the rocks along the shore are illuminated by fishermen, looking for

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these sepiæ; and when they catch two or three, they collect around a fire, and barely heating them, devour them as the greatest luxury. As far as I could see, the fish of Teneriffe correspond to those of Madeira. Numbers of large brown kites, with forked tails, and white under-wing, float in the sultry atmosphere; hundreds of kestrils balance themselves in mid-air, ready to pounce upon the lizards, which form their food. There are but few gulls or sea-birds of any description. We saw no Hoopoes on this part of the island; and as there are no groves, and but little vegetation, it would not be expected we should find many of the songsters that enliven the woody landscapes of Madeira. Canary birds are latterly becoming scarce in this island; and I may here remark, that the true plumage of this brilliant melodist, in its native wildness, is green, yellow being the effect of culture. The Tinto Negro is found here, and was said to be known in the Canaries before its introduction into Madeira; but from the fact of finding it afterwards in Barbary, I am inclined to think that it was an original inhabitant of Africa. It is the *Capipote* of the Canarians; or, according to Mr. Webb, the *Sylvia atracapilla* known in Britain. The red-legged partridge, *Perdix Pethosa*, is now become very plenty in all the Canary islands.

The people of Teneriffe, especially about Santa Cruz, are very good looking. The women were decidedly the handsomest race I had seen since I left England; they are generally tall, and beautifully formed, possessing all the graces of figure derived from Spanish costume, combined with English personal attraction, and having clear olive complexions, and brilliant black eyes. They all wear the mantilla, which is manufactured of the finest white wool, handsomely trimmed with a broad edge of satin, and ornamented with satin rosettes at the corners, which hang down in front. The graceful effect of this is, however, much impaired by all wearing high-crowned hats, black or white, like Welsh-women—some of which were decorated, with parti-coloured ribbons; and even the poorest peasant girl wears silk stockings and satin shoes! The men are a fair, short, athletic race; and, except those engaged in actual labour, or shipping wine, who are generally naked, they are all enveloped in a singular cloak, being nothing more nor less than a good blanket, with a running-string at the top, to fasten it round the throat. This primitive habiliment appears as old as the

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Guanches themselves. A simple cloak seems to have been the first attempt at general clothing made by all nations in their infancy. This we have still in the simple abba worn in the east by the Arab and the Bedouin, over thousands of miles of the sandy deserts of Arabia. Of this description was doubtless the cothamore worn by the ancient Irish; and to this may be referred the burnoose of the Algiereens, the plaid of the Scotch highlander, the blanket of the American Indian, the toga of the Roman, the flowing garment of the Druid, and ultimately the improved cloak of our own civilized people.

We had heard of a famous museum at Santa Cruz, got up by an old Spanish major several years ago. We found it, like many such concerns at home, a collection of *all sorts*—rudely carved ostrich eggs, old cracked china, bits of spun glass, shells spoiled by polishing, and even English toys. The only things of any value were the Guanche remains. The sculls I was shown of those aborigines were decidedly of a well-formed Caucasian race; the forehead low, but not retreating like the negro; the teeth did not project, nor were they filed, or the incisors worn down in any one instance. This ancient race embalmed their dead, and I had here an opportunity of seeing a small female mummy, taken from a cave on the other side of the island some years ago. No sort of antiseptic preparation seemed to have been used except in the cavities, which were emptied of their contents, and then filled with seeds, supposed to be those of the *chenopodium ambrosioides;* and it appeared like mummies of the lowest class which I afterwards saw in Egypt. The body was sewn up in a skin, or leather of some description, but there were no remains of bandaging or linen texture of any kind that I could discover. This people seemed to study the concealment of their dead: the caves in which they are found are almost inaccessible, and those persons who have been let down by a rope to fish up a mummy, speak of the excessive dryness of those caverns. No doubt this atmosphere, as in Egypt, conduced largely to the preservation of those remains. Among other antiques connected with this race, I was shown some rudely constructed bowls; bits of bones, said to have been used as money, which were found in the coffin or mummy case; and also small clay pipes, similar, in every respect, to those found in Ireland in some of our old forts and kistvaens, so that evidently this race were acquainted with the luxury of smoking, though, as

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with us, it may not have been tobacco. Some say that the human remains discovered at Grand Canary are not those of Guanches, from their having been found, not in caves, but enclosed in tumuli of loose scoria; but we should recollect that caves are not to be found in the same number in Grand Canary, and that the broken pumice afforded an easy mode of burial to the people. Were I to hazard an opinion on it, I would say it was only those of the highest rank who were embalmed and buried in the caverns, while the common people were buried in the lava stones and scoriæ of Grand Canary.*

The character of the scenery in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz is remarkably wild and impressive; yet such as our English eyes, accustomed to the green savannahs and forest glades of our fatherland did not at first comprehend. The beds of the largest rivers, and what are at times the most impetuous torrents, were perfectly dry; from the sides of these, the mountains rise up abruptly, void of every trace of vegetation except a few cacti and euphorbia. There is an awful grandeur in this basaltic and volcanic scenery; the scorched tops of those enormous rocks, fluted at the sides into gigantic pillars, rise into every fantastic shape of dome and castle that the mind can imagine; above, the sky is of the most intense blue; beneath your feet is what but a few hundred years ago ran in a stream of liquid fire, burning and hissing down these valleys—a solemn stillness reigns around—not a leaf rustles in the breeze—not a sound to break this most expressive silence—no trace of life—no effort of vegetation—one almost starts at the extreme quiet of those lonely spots where solitude reigns with undisputed sway. But barren though it be, it hath its interest—an interest for the lover of nature, no matter how varied, or where placed—a charm for those who love

> "To sit on rocks—to muse o'er flood and fell—
> To slowly trace the forest's shady scene,
> Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,
> And mortal foot had ne'er, or rarely been—
> To climb the trackless mountain, all unseen,
> With the wild flock that never needs a fold—
> Alone, o'er steeps and foaming falls to lean;—
> This is not solitude; 'tis but to hold
> Converse with nature's charms, and view her stores unrolled."

* For further particulars concerning the Guanches, see Appendix C.

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The native fishermen are often driven upon the coast of Africa, and made prisoners by the Arabs. A ransom is fixed upon them; they pledge their word to return with it, and are allowed to go home, and collect it among their friends. The pledge they have made they keep with religious exactness, and when all is ready, return with it. This speaks well for the faith of the people.

November 11. We hired horses, and left Santa Cruz to cross the island for Oratava, determined, if possible, to ascend the Peak, although the accounts we had heard of its practicability were any thing but cheering. About an hour's ride over a rough road, that bears the marks of an ancient pavement, brought us to Laguna, where we breakfasted. This pretty town had a most forsaken look; there was hardly a person to be met with in the streets, which were overgrown with grass and weeds; and every wall and house-top was covered with a luxuriant crop of house-leek.* Our horses' hoofs echoed through the deserted streets; there was no tuning of guitars—no glancing from the balconies—and scarcely a sound to tell you the place was inhabited. The females of this place seem to be kept almost as close as in a Turkish hareem; and, as many of the inhabitants once ranked amongst the nobles of the mother country, their politics or their misfortunes have driven them hither, where they live in gloom and religious seclusion, seldom venturing out themselves, or admitting others within their thresholds. Here we left those of our party who could not attempt the dangers of the Peak.

The plain of Laguna, which is of great extent, is a perfect flat, or table-land, 1834 feet above the sea level; the soil is rich and fertile, and grows the greater quantity of the grain raised on the island. It is completely hill-bound; the consequence is, that after the heavy rains that occur here, it is constantly inundated to the depth of several feet, compelling the peasantry to quit their houses, and fly to the town, which the inundation seldom reaches; it is owing to this circumstance, that travellers visiting this place at these periods have described the town of Laguna as standing on the brink of a great lake. The water, however, will run off in a few hours; and it is curious, that just

* This species is the *Sempervivum Urlicum* of Charles Smith, and not the *S. Canariense*.

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beside the town there are several wells—salt, brackish, and fresh—all within a few acres of each other. In this plain, we felt the cold very sensibly; at nine A. M. the thermometer fell to 68° in the shade, when it was above 73° at Santa Cruz; but its mean temperature is stated to be 57⅓°. It would be, I should think, a nice place for invalids residing at Santa Cruz to come up to sleep at during the hot season, as it is but an hour's ride, and between it and the intermediate space they could graduate the climate, so as to have it of all temperatures. There are no fences or inclosures on this plain. The wind was brisk, and as the large fleecy clouds floated between us and the sun, their dark shadows, chasing each other across this immense sea of land, looked like the scattered bands of an immense army.

Leaving the plain, we followed a gentle ascent for several miles, amidst copses of daphne, the yellow St. John's wort, and ferns of every description, but especially the beautiful hare's foot, (*davallia Canariensis*). The cactus and the euphorbium had already ceased, and the basalt had become more porous; yet even at this elevation the vine still crept over the cottage, and its large pendant clusters hung round the balconies and piazzas. We had a fine view of the Peak all the day, but the appearance of snow glistening in the sun, and streaking in white lines its venerable head, somewhat cooled the ardour with which we had set out. The distance of Oratava (or Caoro) from Santa Cruz is about twenty-five miles.

Presently we gained the heights above the former, which is rich in every thing the heart could desire, and forms a picture of woodland scenery only to be met with in this famed garden of the Hesperides. The traveller, arriving here for the first time, is involuntarily arrested by the enchanting landscape that suddenly bursts upon his view, and *forced* to admire the extreme beauty of the scene. Beneath him is a valley of great extent, forming one continued vineyard from end to end. An occasional dragon-tree, and a few tall waving palms start up here and there, while colours of every hue,

> "But chiefly thee, gay green!
> Thou smiling nature's universal robe,"

give to the whole a freshness and verdure the more enchanting, that it was both novel and unexpected.

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The little town of Oratava stands in the centre of the valley, and its port at the water's edge. Towards the distant end rise up two mounds—cones of no very ancient origin, and not yet clothed with vegetation. On the right, the bold field of the southern ocean rolls in long and measured swells to the wild and rugged coast, where it breaks with a most tremendous surf. The vessels, not daring to approach the port, lie off at a distance, waiting for their cargoes; and the boats with their white sails form but mere specks of light in that world of waters. The Peak, commanding, gloomy, and majestic, rises in the background; and the lower range of hills that form the steps to this cloud-capt throne are clothed with the rich dark foliage of the *pinus Canariensis*, a tree of exceeding beauty and great value. It forms the principal fuel of the island, as the branches, when cut green, contain much turpentine; and it is admirably adapted for all work exposed to the action of water. It is much to be regretted that it is not cultivated on the highlands of Ireland and Scotland, as, from the altitude at which it grows in Teneriffe, it might be expected to thrive with us.* Those pine-clad hills that surround the valley look as if they had been combed down their sides by numberless lava currents. Beneath these, aborescent heaths, laurels, and arbutuses are embraced by the vine, as it creeps up the sheltered valleys and ravines to meet them. Although it is now winter, no autumnal tints are seen, to vary the landscape, but one universal green, rich beyond description, and of every tint into which a colour can be divided, forming a variety in sunshine and in shade that leaves no room to regret the want of our northern signs of dying vegetation.

The numerous groups of peasantry we met in our ride invariably stopped to beg for something; the boys and children asking for *a bit*, (the one-eighth of a dollar;) the men for a cigar; and the women for a piccaninni! which here means, not a *baby*, as amongst the negroes, but any thing small—a trifle.

About four o'clock we arrived at the port of Oratava—a well-

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* Some seeds of this tree which I brought home with me have been planted in the Botanic Garden of Trinity College, by my friend Mr. Mackay, and are now in a thriving condition.

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built, clean, airy little town. There were few of the people to be seen in the streets, and none of the fair sex. The window-shutters are kept closed during the day, but at the bottom of each there is a little door which the ladies push out with their heads when any thing attracts their attention in the street, but is instantly closed, in high disdain, if you endeavour to catch a glimpse of the curious fair within. We were directed to the Spanish hotel, kept by a quondam actor and an opera-dancer of Cadiz, which, miserable as it was, offered the only accommodation in the village. Here we found two English friends—invalids who had been enjoying the benefit of this beautiful climate for the last month or two.

November 12. The answers to our inquiries respecting the ascent of the Peak led us to think that from the advanced state of the season it would be impracticable, or at least attended with much suffering and danger; and all the people here united in endeavouring to dissuade us from it. The only encouragement we received was—"Why it is just possible that you *may* get up." Nevertheless we determined on making the attempt, and accordingly sent for the guides. They did not appear to relish the journey either, but consented on the condition of their getting an additional gratuity. In summer the usual mode of proceeding is to leave the port about one or two o'clock in the day, and sleeping at a place called the Estançia des Ingleses, (an elevation of about 10,000 feet, and the highest spot to which horses can be brought,) commence the ascent of the actual Piton by moonlight, so as to be on the top at sunrise. Christoval, our principal guide, wished us to wait till twelve o'clock, but it was finally arranged that we should leave at ten P.M. For the last two days I had been suffering from an old enemy, asthma, aggravated by a heavy cold, and I trembled for the result; but it is not every day in a man's life that he stands at the foot of the Peak of Teneriffe, so I concealed my illness both from myself and others as well as I could, and determined to ascend at all hazards.

Having completed our arrangements with the guides, we dismissed them till the appointed hour, and set off to visit the great dragon-tree of Oratava, a distance of a mile and a half or two miles from the port. On our way we passed by the fine botanic garden, established by a Spanish nobleman some years ago, but now allowed to fall into total decay. It was well kept during his

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lifetime, but fearful of its being neglected by his own family, he presented it to the government on his death. This act has had a fatal tendency; for the government, instead of fostering it, tried to compel his own son to keep it up, but having failed in the attempt they left it to ruin. It is now in the hands of a most ignorant Frenchman, who is neither a botanist nor a gardener. Some time ago the Prussian government offered to purchase it, in order to naturalize some of the plants of the western world before they were brought to Europe: but the Spanish, with becoming dignity and pride, chose to let it fall to ruin in their own hands, rather than allow it to flourish in any others! A garden such as this would be a great acquisition to the English—foremost as they are in the cultivation of every minute, as well as great and noble scheme by which knowledge can be increased, and man rendered happy in its possession—to such, it would be a great desideratum, for the experiment of acclimatising exotic plants, so as to render them hardy enough to bear our northern temperature, might here be tried at a trifling cost. Surely such a one ought to be here or in Madeira, where the plants of the varied climes of India, Australia, Africa, and South America, could meet a congenial atmosphere; and might in time be introduced into Europe. How many horticultural societies could well afford to retain an intelligent gardener or botanist in this cheap country, and with a rich reward.

The town of Oratava not only looks deserted, but is so in reality. Many of the houses are perfect palaces, and were originally the residences of the aristocracy of the island—the real "blue blood," as the Spanish nobility were wont to call themselves; but the moss is fast creeping over the proud escutcheons that still decorate their entrances.

This place is beautifully situated, and has a small stream of water running through each of the streets, like the Lavadas of Madeira. We were directed to the garden where the Dragon-tree (*dracæna draco*) stands; and found it in much better preservation than we could have expected, and still very like Mr. Williams' faithful representation of it. The species of tree to which this belongs has an odd and grotesque appearance: it is characterised by a short, thick, leafless trunk, branching out at top into a number of diminutive arms, not unlike a candelabrum, each crowned with a tuft of leaves. The measurement of this

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specimen is forty-seven feet nine inches in circumference above the roots; the trunk is partly hollow, and the opening, which is built up with stones, is thirteen feet in the clear; it must have increased since Humboldt's time, who made the circumference but forty-five feet. The branches are propped up with a number of poles, which look like so many crutches supporting its old age; it is, however, going fast to decay; two young shoots have sprung out of the hollow, and although it still produces leaves, it has not borne flowers or fruit for some years. Beside it waves one of the finest date-palms I ever saw, which rears its tall majestic form as if in mockery of its tottering neighbour. One feels a degree of veneration on standing beside such a patriarch of the vegetable world, which has withstood the suns and storms of centuries. It is supposed to be one of the oldest trees in existence, and is a fit associate for the Cowthorpe oak—the great chestnut of Tamworth—the olives of Gethsemane—the plane tree of Frauhenstein—the Castagno di Cento Cavalli, at Etna—and the still older Baobabs mentioned in Macartney's Embassy to China. The combined ages of a few of those would bring us to the first dawn of life upon our planet.

Towards evening I became quite excited and restless, between the desire to proceed and the fear of failure. We had provisions and water packed for several days in case of accident; as should we be caught in the snow, or overtaken by a storm, our only chance would have been to remain in some crevice of a rock until it had passed over. Our consul kindly sent us a present of wine and brandy, that of the town being most wretched stuff. At nine o'clock, the moon, then within one day of the full, rose in the most tempting splendour. We put on a double suit of every thing; and besides a pair of great coats, and a large cloak, a couple of blankets were provided for each. At 10 o'clock, P. M. the guides made their appearance, with four horses, two of which were for our use, and two to carry the provisions.

At half-past ten o'clock every thing was ready, our cigars lighted, and we started. Our cavalcade consisted of my friend Mr. William Meiklam and myself, on horse-back, preceded by our principal guide Christoval, on foot; then came the two sumpter horses, and lastly our two other guides, an old man and a boy, who formed our rere-guard; and we had also with us a magnificent black spaniel. The night was very fine and warm;

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we set off in high spirits, and commenced our ascent almost immediately on leaving the town. We soon, however, began to feel the effects of the cold, and were obliged to add to our clothing, and the men to put on their blankets. Our guide Christoval, generally known by the soubriquet of El Gomero, pleased us much; he was one of the finest models of a man I ever beheld, and although of Herculean form, he had all the grace of a Spaniard, and a countenance of extreme intelligence. He is not the usual guide to the top, but provides horses as far as the Estançia; having offered, however, to become our guide to the summit on giving him the usual additional allowance of four dollars, we gladly accepted his proposal—and I would advise all travellers to do the same, as they thus give him an additional interest to get them to the top, besides making him hasten on the horses so as to bring them to the Estançia in proper time; for many have gone thus far, and, from useless delays, have been obliged to return without accomplishing their object. We found him a good guide in every respect. Our older guide seemed to suffer much from the cold, and rode the greater part of the way on one of the provision-horses. "The boy," as he was termed, was about twenty-five, and quite astonished us—he was a light-hearted, good-humoured fellow, of powerful build, though low-sized. The greater part of the night he sung a loud chant, in the chorus of which the others joined. His indifference to the cold was surprising, although his dress was like that worn by the Madeiranese in summer; it consisted of a coarse loose shirt and breeches of linen, the latter reaching but half-way on his thigh—from this downward, he had no covering of any description except shoes—a hat and vest completed his costume, and, although he had a blanket he did not use it, but threw it on one of the horses, or carried it across his arm. Our small white nags perfectly comprehended their business, never once missing the path, though to us it was often imperceptible; they were exceedingly hardy, and all we could do would not make them go out of Indian file, or from the place that custom had made their own.

As soon as we got into the open country, our dog commenced beating, and continued the whole night, enlivening the solitude by his short quick bark as he started a goat or a rabbit across our path. Having so often descanted on the grandeur of moonlight scenery, it would be now going over old ground to touch upon it

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again; but here, by the extreme clearness of its silvery lustre, we were enabled to distinguish every trace of vegetation with the greatest accuracy. We had already passed the regions of the vine, the fern, and the heath, which, with the pine, the arbutus, and the broom, form successive belts around the lower parts of the Peak, rising one above another perfectly distinct, and with lines between of the most accurate demarcation.

After this we entered upon the vast plains of spartium (the broom) where the ground is more rugged, and the path so broken as to permit but a very easy walk. The cold increased momentarily as we gained the summit of the range of hills that encloses the vale of Oratava, which lay beneath us, slumbering in the most death-like stillness—the towns, the snow-white cottages, and the silvery sea, presenting a grand and most imposing diorama. At half-past two o'clock we stopped to feed the men and horses at a place called the "Black Rocks," where we remained about half an hour. The thermometer was 40° Fahr.; the men seemed rather inclined to rest, and would have delayed here had we allowed them, in order to avoid being at a very high elevation at the coldest part of the morning, which is just before sunrise. Strange to say, that long before I had reached this, and when at an elevation of scarce 500 feet, I found my breathing improved; when two-thirds of the way up, I was perfectly free from all trace of asthma or cough; and subsequently I was the only person of the party, including the guides, who did not suffer from the rarity of the atmosphere at the top. We resumed our way at three o'clock, fortifying ourselves with a little brandy, a cigar, and what we found still more acceptable, a few Cayenne lozenges, which I would strongly recommend to all persons exposed to extreme cold.

We now commenced crossing "the pumice-stone plains," which lie at the foot of the actual Peak, and here it was that the novelty and sublimity of our situation most forcibly impressed us. The pumice-stone plain is a term applied to a gradual ascent of great extent, composed of exceedingly small grey lava and volcanic ashes, stretching far and wide, as distant as the eye can reach along the comparatively level surface immediately at the base of the Peak. From this, rise up occasional masses of dark obsidian, of immense size, and some scattered plants of retama, (a species of broom,) the only vegetable that exists in this barren waste. At the commencement of the plain it grows in great strength and

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luxuriance, but gradually it becomes more detached, and at the higher extremity it is scattered few and far between in stunted bushes. There was a peculiar wildness in the hour and the scene; the night was truly propitious—not a cloud was to be seen throughout the intense azure of the starry vault above us; not a breath of air stirred around us; the full moon shone forth with a splendour the most dazzling, as she sailed majestically through the broad expanse of blue, barely allowing the stars to appear as they twinkled in her path, whilst an occasional planet would now and then start up, as if to challenge her borrowed radiance, but soon fade before her approaching brightness. Before us lay the clear and boldly-defined outline of the Peak, frowning in all the grandeur of monarchy; and the great rarity of the atmosphere showed every break and unevenness that bounded our horizon as it cut sharply against the cold blue sky beyond; all was wrapped in the most solemn stillness; the deep silence seemed to impress each of us, not a little increased by our momentarily decreasing temperature, which had now completely silenced even our melodious muleteer. The tread of the horses made not the slightest noise, as we wound our way across that weary plain, where for the first time I felt sleep come heavily upon me; indeed I did dose for a few moments, and it was on suddenly awaking that I so forcibly perceived our loneliness and the true magnificence by which we were surrounded. We rode in front; then came our provision horses; the three men in their long white cloaks closed the line, stalking along like so many of the ancient Guanches, who had come out of their caverns to speed us on our way; and the great masses of obsidian rose like huge antique castles, which assumed every fantastic shape the imagination could picture, and cast their long dark shadows across our path.

At the end of the plain our horses were forced up a steep and rugged ascent, for about half an hour, when we arrived at the Estançia des Ingleses—"the resting-place of the English;" it was now half-past five o'clock, and although so closely muffled, our sufferings from cold were extreme, and our hands perfectly benumbed. This is the highest point where horses can possibly get up, and we only wondered they had ascended so far. We expected to have found some sort of a resting-place here, but it was only a small enclosure, made by the fragments of some enormous rocks which nature has piled around it—and one of the

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most dreary spots that can be well conceived. The men set about kindling a fire with some bits of retama which they had carried up with them. The mercury in the thermometer was 36°, and falling rapidly. We now had recourse to our blankets, in which we closely enveloped ourselves; and, reclined against the sloping rocks on the outside of the cavern, with our faces anxiously turned towards the east, we watched the glorious scene that momentarily opened upon us. In our then almost petrified condition, we looked as like as could be to a pair of lifeless Egyptian mummies laid against the rock.

Sunrise.—The moon was still full up, but she had thrown the shadow of the Peak over where we stood; and as soon as we had taken our places we perceived a thin, vapoury, rose-coloured tint to stretch along the eastern horizon; and as we continued to gaze steadfastly on this first blush of morning, it every second increased, especially towards the centre, extending likewise in length along the horizon. This hue soon deepened to a pink, and then followed such a glorious halo of colours, in which the flower and the metal lent their most dazzling lustre, as to baffle all attempt at description; and the hazy undefined light that ushers in the day began to chase the moonlight shadows from the plain beneath. At six o'clock the thermometer stood at 18°, the light increasing, the cold intense, and the heavens presenting a scene, such as we read of being formed in the arctic regions by the resplendent glories of the Aurora, but with this difference, that the most brilliant colours gathered here as it were into a focus. Presently the whole east presented a lustrous semicircle, which, if you took your eyes off for a moment, seemed to increase tenfold. Between the horizon and the spot on which we stood, there floated a confused sea of clouds, which seemed the shrouds of night now passing to another sphere, or attending on another dawn; this, we at first sight took for the ruffled bosom of the ocean, but it turned out to be a thin white mist, through which the morning's light was struggling. At a quarter past six the temperature fell as low as 15°, and our sunrise took place a minute after—there was no twilight, no grey of the morning, but he rose as if in a moment, and his whole red disc was almost immediately clear of the horizon. It was a glorious sight, one never to be forgotten, and cheering after all the cold and suffering of the preceding night, to see the great centre of light and heat come

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up to speed us on our way. I have often tried to form to myself a comparison between the beauties of sunrise and sunset, but on this occasion I settled the question in favour of the former.

Our guides now reminded us it was time to re-commence the ascent, and, to fortify ourselves for the task, we breakfasted. Every thing we had carried up with us was frozen; and the eggs were perfect balls of ice; but having contrived to heat a bottle of coffee, which we had also brought with us, it proved the most grateful of all our refreshments.

We left the old man to guard the horses, and again set forward. Large masses of pumice, lava, and scoriæ, continue some way farther up, to the small platform of Buona Vista, where there is a plant or two of stunted retama, and here the domain of vegetation ends. From this we climbed up a steep ascent, composed of detached masses of sharp rock, basalt and obsidian, some loose, and others with a coating of scoriæ; it reminded me of a magnified rough-cast. The exertion and fatigue was now extreme, and our halts, as might be expected, were frequent—at half-past seven o'clock, during one of these stoppages, I found the glass had risen to 33°. From the moment the sun rose the heat began to increase, making us throw off our extra garments, and leave them on the rocks in the ascent.

With a good deal of difficulty we at last reached the base of the *Cone*, which crowns the summit; the effect of the last irruption. It is much smaller and more perpendicular than that of Vesuvius; it stands upon a level platform, somewhat broader than its base, and rises like the great circular chimney of a glass-house to the height of about sixty feet. Here, our extreme difficulties commenced, for the fatigue we had already gone through left us but little strength, commensurate with the ceaseless efforts which were to be put forth, and the energy and exertion the task demanded. The external coating is composed of loose stones, lava, pumice, and ashes, into which we sank ancle-deep at every step, and which obliged us to rest every few minutes. We had each to strike a separate line in our ascent, as the composition is so loose, that if once set in motion, large quantities would come *powdering* on the heads of the persons who have the misfortune to be beneath. Here and there a few reddish volcanic rocks jut out from the surface, and afford a resting-place; but there are other whitish looking stones that seem equally inviting,

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but which are nevertheless far from being hospitably inclined, as a young friend of mine wofully experienced, for having sat on one of these "sulphur stones" for a few minutes, and feeling it rather hot, he rose up—exactly in that condition which excited the wrath of Aunt Tabitha against poor Humphrey Clinker—a not very agreeable predicament at such an elevation, and with so keen a breeze.

We reached the top at half-past eight o'clock, and my first impulse was to crawl to the highest pinnacle upon the wall or margin of the crater, on the south-east point, whence it slopes on both sides towards the west.*

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* During a recent visit to Berlin, my distinguished friend, the Baron Alexander von Humboldt, stated to me one morning, in the course of conversation, that Baron Leopold von Buch would be glad to receive me, as he had some question to ask me relative to some of the countries I had visited in 1837–8, and more particularly, those on which he had himself written many years ago. A day or two after, I knocked at a small green hall-door in the *Hinter der Zeughaus Strassa*, for at least a quarter of an hour, without admittance. When about, however, to give up the attempt, the door was partially opened, and held ajar, while a small squeaking voice within demanded my name and business. Having answered the former, and stated that my business was with the Baron, according to appointment, the same voice answered in a still more impatient voice, "Oh! yes, I know —you are the man who says, with Alexander von Humboldt, that there is a *wall all* round the crater of Teneriffe." In return, I said, that what I had observed and written was, that there was a raised up edge, like a wall, of white hard lava, at one corner of the crater, but that it did not surround it entirely. "I can tell you, then," returned the voice, for as yet I saw no one, "that Teneriffe is a remarkable exception, and although there is the rise you describe toward the south-east, there is no wall such as Humboldt wrote of—if that is all you said, come in"—and on pushing open the door, I followed a little old man in his dressing-gown to an inner room, and sat down beside the great traveller and naturalist himself. Those at all acquainted with this eccentric man's habits will not wonder at this strange colloquy; and those who have seen him slowly pacing his way under the lime trees of Berlin, with his hands immersed in a fur muff, will scarcely credit (though such are facts) the extraordinary stories related of the feats of endurance, and the wonderful pedestrianism still at times performed by this indefatigable and most distinguished geologist.

Von Buch looks upon the Peak as a great chimney, or outlet for the vapour, &c. &c., which would otherwise break out through the sides of the mountain and other parts of the island.

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The view that awaited us on the summit amply repaid us for all the toils of the ascent. The morning was beautifully clear, and without a cloud; the finest that had occurred since our arrival. The whole island of Teneriffe lay in the most vivid manner, like a map at our feet, with its sea-washed shores, its bold rocky promontories, its white towers and secluded villages, its vine-clad valleys and pine-crowned hills; all as distinct as if within a single league.

Immediately around the Peak, the mountains form a number of concentric circles, each rising in successive heights, and having it as a centre. It is this appearance that has not inaptly gained for it the simile of a town with its fosses and bastions. These are evidently the walls of former craters, on the ruins of which the present has been reared. What a fire must have come from the first of these, which enclosed a space of so many miles! Or again, how grand the illumination that once burst forth from the place whereon we stood, a height of nearly 13,000 feet, and which it is calculated would serve as a beacon at a distance of 200 miles at sea on every side. The crater or circle next below us appears to rise to the height of the Estançia des Ingleses—10,000 feet.

There are a number of smaller cones scattered irregularly over the island, looking like so many molehills, with their red blistered summits glancing in the sun; the largest is towards the west, it rises to a great height, and is the most elevated point on the island next to the Peak itself. Towards Santa Cruz the marks of recent volcanic action lessens—the stratification becomes more perfect—there is also less appearance of lava or pumice, and the basalt assumes more of the columnar form. We could perfectly distinguish the vessels that lay opposite the port of Oratava, a direct distance of thirteen miles from where we stood, while the ascent is calculated at about thirty; and so clear was the atmosphere, that our friends at the port could observe us distinctly with the glass. They had been anxiously looking out for us, and hoped, more than expected, our accomplishing the ascent. The archipelago of the Canaries seemed as if stretched at our feet; Grand Canary was particularly plain, being immediately beneath the sun. Palma and Gomera appeared so near that you could almost grasp them in your hand: and far away in the distance, Heiras seemed to mingle with the horizon. Our

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attention was now called to a vast body of clouds that brooded over the sea to the east; they were at first perfectly still and motionless, and of that description commonly called wool-pack; they then advanced towards the island, passed immediately beneath us, and finally rested over the heights of Grand Canary.

This solfatara (or half-extinguished volcano) was more active than usual this morning—large wreaths of smoke proceeding from numerous cavities and cracks in the bowl of the crater. This was smaller than we expected, not being more than a hundred feet in the widest part; shallow, of an oval shape, and the edge very irregular, having a margin of dense whitish lava. We descended into it, and found the opening, from whence the smoke issued, was near the south-west corner, and encased with the most beautiful crystals of sulphur. On opening up these with a stick, we found them enlarged into little chambers, encrusted with the same crystals, the substance on which they rest being a kind of mortar, crumbling in the fingers, but hardening on exposure to the air. Some of these crystals are singularly beautiful, of the greatest brilliancy of colour, and varying from a deep golden orange to the palest straw colour.* The largest of these holes

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* I am indebted to Professor Kane for the following note on the analysis of this crystalized sulphur from the crater of Teneriffe:—

"I have examined the mineral which you sent me, from Teneriffe, which, it appears to me, is of a very interesting species. In chemical nature it is identical with the form of gelatinous quartz, which has been found cementing the sandstones in some parts of the south of France, and which differs from the opal only in possessing some traces of crystaline structure, which is absent in the real opal. It is amazingly porous; its specific gravity, when freed from air by exposure for several hours in water, in vacuo, is 2,014. Its chemical composition I found to be—

Silica . . .	91,0
Water . . .	9,0
	100,0

Lime a mere trace.

Its formula is, therefore, 2 Si. $\frac{O}{3}$ + H 0, which gives

Silica . . .	91,13
Water . . .	8,87
	100,00

The crystals on it were pure octohedral sulphur."

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was about the size of both my hands; from this, and two or three other similar ones, a loud boiling noise was heard, even when standing on the edge of the crater. Large fissures intersect the crater in different directions; the crust between them vibrates under the foot, and produces a deep hollow sound. Besides the sulphur encrusting round the chinks and holes, large quantities, also crystalized, occur both within and outside the crater, forming nucleii embedded in a compact and glistening white substance. The fume or smoke was of a dense whitish appearance, and quantities of a watery vapour proceeded out of the larger holes; but, although the sulphureous vapour is so much complained of, and that some of our party suffered from it, I was able to remain in the crater fully five minutes. The thermometer, when plunged into one of these apertures, rose to 90°.

Although we had met small detached flakes of snow collected in the crevices of the rocks, and a good deal around the crater, the air felt comfortably warm on our gaining the summit; presently, however, a light breeze coming from the southward made the temperature fall very suddenly, and our guides wished us to hasten our departure. At twenty minutes to ten o'clock the thermometer was as low as 39°; but by an observation made in the town at the same hour, the temperature was 72°; so we filled our cases and pockets with sulphur and other mineral specimens, and at ten we reluctantly began our descent; I say reluctantly, for those only who have witnessed that glorious prospect can understand or at all enter into the feelings that take possession of the beholder standing on that spot!—the recollection of what this vast smouldering cauldron once was, and what the smoke and noise of the different cracks and crevices tell you it still is, call up sensations of no ordinary character, that lose nothing of their force and impressiveness from the conviction that the thin crust that forms the bottom of this crater, and which trembles beneath your feet at every step, is all that separates you from a vast furnace, connected, in all probability, with the earth's central heat; and who can tell the day this may not again break forth? The cause and the origin of those fires carry us back to the time when this was all one mass of flame, vomiting forth those huge masses of obsidian and other rocks now scattered for miles around, and the overflowing of whose liquid burning now forms the cliffs that bound

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its sea-washed base — but how, or in what age did all this occur?

Our descent was rapid in the extreme; on our way we visited the Gueva de Hiebo, or ice-house, a cave of great size, the temperature of which is always so low, that although far below the region of perpetual snow, the ice and snow that collect in it during the winter remains frozen all the summer. About twenty feet from the surface we perceived one vast sheet of ice, the exporting of which to the different parts of the island forms the occupation of a particular class of people. The man is let down by a rope, and it is a most arduous and dangerous employment; many lives are lost yearly at the ice-house itself; and several having been overtaken by a storm have perished miserably in those elevated regions. At eleven o'clock, we reached our horses, the temperature being then 38°. Here we dined and rested an hour; the wind soon became very cold, and we were glad to set forward on our further descent.

We had now an opportunity of more closely examining our last night's path; in many places the crevices and apertures in the rocks forming the most elevated point, are filled with small whitish ashes, as if the effect of the last puff of the volcano. Although the contrary is stated, we could find no traces of basalt toward the top; and as we descended, the lava became less vitrious and of a darker colour.

On the pumice-stone plains the *retama* (which is the Spanish term applied to all the broom tribe generally, as *retam* is the arabic*) first commences. The species of broom growing here is the *spartium nubiginum*, exciting our wonder how it could gain nourishment from the scanty soil amid the dry lava and volcanic ashes. On these plains we also met large wild cats. This region of the broom extends as low down as the top of the range of hills that surrounds the vale of Oratava. We next came to the heaths, and here we had a better opportunity of seeing the marked difference between the different zones of vegetation; one set of plants

* It is generally but erroneously stated that the *spartium monospermum* grows on these "pumice-stone plains," as well as along the coast. It is believed that it was under a plant of this description, the רתם, that Hagar and Ishmael sat in the desert after the expulsion of the bondswoman and her son.

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scarcely infringing even by a single straggler upon the domain of the other. Of all the regions, the heaths are to my mind the most beautiful; these tall arborescent shrubs, almost approaching the size of trees—and the light green of whose young shoots make this part so very beautiful—grow so straight and regular, that you cannot divest yourself of the idea that the hand of man has been amongst them, they look so like a trained plantation, and well deserve the title given to this height of Alta Verde. The species are the *erica scoparia* and *erica arborea;* and along with them we find the laurel and the arbutus, mixed with St. John's wort, the latter rising almost into a tree. After these come the ferns, the common brake, (*pteris blenchium,*) and others, now scarcely discernible at this advanced season. In the ascent of the Peak the path does not cross the pines or junipers; these are situated in other parts of the island. De Candolle thinks the Canary pine would flourish well in Scotland, from the temperature of its zone being so similar. The height at which it flourishes here is from 4 to 5000 feet, but it comes much lower down, especially on the mountains which form the sides of the vale of Oratava. I have been informed however, that a plant of this description twenty feet in height was killed in England by the frost of 1838. Lastly came the vines, which we reached about four o'clock, and at six o'clock we arrived at Oratava, thus completing our journey in twenty hours—a less time than it has ever been accomplished in by European travellers. It is a task in which many have failed, being always one of considerable labour, and often of much danger. For myself, I cannot look upon it as a feat of physical strength, but must ascribe it to that energy, firmness of resolve, and power of enthusiastic excitement, which can carry men over difficulties that would, under other circumstances, appear insurmountable. Shortly afterwards the Crusader hove in sight, and took us aboard about nine o'clock.

The climate of this island is, in my mind, no way inferior to that of Madeira; and I have no doubt that it is much drier. During our stay the glass ranged about 72° in the heat of the day. Two observations made with the hygrometer on two several days marked the dew point 41°, thermometer 75°, giving 34° of dryness, a state only once remarked by Dr. Heineken during a nine years' stay at Madeira. The day after it marked 40°; this latter is a rarity, but the former is very common throughout the year. I

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should think it admirably suited to bronchial affections, with much expectoration, or to those states of relaxation of the mucous membrane of the throat and fauces so common amongst us a few years ago, either as the sequel of diptherite, and other similar affections, or occurring to persons suffering from much public speaking, singing, &c. in which the parts engaged become highly relaxed.

The towns are infinitely cleaner than Funchal; wheeled carriages can be used with greater ease; and here also you can easily vary the climate by ascending some of the neighbouring hills. It wants, however, that greatest of all wants to an invalid—good accommodation. There are but two inns on the whole island, and the poor Spanish gentry are too proud to set their houses. It also wants the orange groves, the chestnut and coffee plantations, and the glowing vegetation that surrounds Funchal; the Courals, the Jardins, the Palieros, and above all, the hospitality and the society of Madeira. The extreme dryness here is owing, in all probability, to the highly volcanic soil, and there being less vegetation than at Funchal. The enchanting valley of Oratava possesses the most desirable peculiarities for the residence of an invalid, viz. it has a dry, warm atmosphere; is large enough to permit a free circulation of air; possesses a sea aspect; is surrounded by hills that shelter it from the blast of winter, or cool the siroc of summer; and if it has not as good an aspect as Funchal, it has the Peak between it and the African desert; and the coast itself, except near the port, is surrounded by minor hills, that temper the north wind from the sea. The annual mean temperature here is 70° 9′, and at Santa Cruz, 71¼°, but Oratava is in my opinion in every way preferable for invalids, and it is moreover more equable.

The quantity of rain that falls in this island is less than at Madeira, but the climate altogether is said to be not so equable. A resident medical man, and good accommodation, with facility of access, would, no doubt, soon raise its character for salubrity.

Speaking of the vegetation, I must not be understood to say that the Flora of Teneriffe, or of any of the Canaries, is not so extensive as that of Madeira; on the contrary, it is richer and more varied; that is, its true indigenous one, while Madeira owes more to cultivation and naturalization.

Having been greatly exhausted by the trip, we were delighted once more to take possession of our berths; and having with us

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some of our English friends from the island, we set sail on Tuesday, the 14th November, to visit our old quarters at Funchal, previous to our setting forward towards the Mediterranean, where we purposed wintering.*

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* Since the first edition of this work appeared, I have been informed that several beneficial changes have taken place in the island, with regard to the living and accommodation, &c., and that a medical man has likewise gone to reside there. The means of access are, by most of the outward-bound vessels from England watering at Santa Cruz—the special Madeira steamers as explained at page 77, and occasional vessels trading between Madeira and the Canaries; the distance being but 200 miles.

The following table of "observations made with a register thermometer by Mr. Charles Smith, who has resided several years on the island," will be examined with interest by those seeking a dry, warm, equable climate :—

Months.	Mean Minimum	Mean Maximum.	Mean Temperature.	Mean Variation.	Months.	Mean Minimum.	Mean Maximum.	Mean Temperature.	Mean Variation.
Jan.	55	68	61¼	13	August	67	78	72½	11
Feb.	56	65	60½	9	Sept.	66	77	71½	11
March	59	69	64	10	October	65	77	71	12
April	60	71	65½	11	Nov.	62	74	68	12
May	63	75	69	12	Dec.	60	71	65½	11
June	65	77	71	12	Mean one year.	62	73	67	11
July	66	78	72	12					

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CHAPTER V.

GIBRALTAR.

Departure from Funchal—Sea-sickness—Means of preventing—A Calm—Life on Board a Yacht—Shores of Africa—Gibraltar—Appearance of the place—Batteries—Market—A Street Scene—A Grave-yard—The Alamada—The Evening Gun—Society—Officers—Private Theatricals—Helen Macgregor—The Galleries—Capers—Smugglers—Climate.

SATURDAY, Nov. 22nd.—We left Funchal roads, but the wind blew so hard outside, that we were obliged to return, and remained "off and on" the island all night. On Sunday it moderated somewhat, and we put out again, although the sea ran so exceedingly high that our consort, the Fanny cutter, was obliged to put back into harbour. Notwithstanding the sea had lulled, it still blew a stiff breeze, and the Crusader rolled and tossed upon the huge topling waves of the Atlantic in such a way, that I was again sick; but having some little experience of what genuine sea-sickness really is, since crossing the Bay of Biscay, I managed to avoid much of the unpleasantness I then suffered, principally by the following means, which I would strongly recommend to all landsmen. If you feel sickish, or know by experience that you will be sick, go to bed, close your eyes, and remain lying on your back, if possible without motion; abstain from food, but not altogether; I would rather say, eat sparingly, and of some solid, such as a little broiled meat, or biscuit, as I have known most alarming consequences arise from "total abstinence," to say nothing of the violent straining and fruitless retching it occasions. Drink sparingly of cold water, or brandy and water in *sips*, but taste no hot liquid of any kind. In keeping the eyes shut, I would remark, that the effect of vision and its sympathy with the stomach are not enough attended to; for though at rest in the berth, the swinging backwards and forwards, and motion of the vessel and things around, are often sufficient to produce what we so much wish to avoid. There is, however, one point at which emesis

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becomes inevitable—it is, when the mouth fills with saliva, and then the sooner it takes place the better.

We remained under the shelter of the island of Porto Santo all night, and the next day (Monday) bent our course once more towards Europe. After a storm comes a calm; the wind suddenly fell off, and then what little remained became "dead on end."

Thursday.—The wind has sunk into a perfect calm. Oh! the horrors of a calm—the rolling sluggish motion of the ocean—the flapping of the useless sails—the creaking of bulk-heads and spars—the wailing of cordage, and the listless inactivity of all around. Not a ship—not a bird is to be seen, a cloudless sky above, a sultry atmosphere around, and the glossy surface of the vasty deep beneath, are the only objects to engage attention. The sailors lean over the vessel's side to watch if we make any way, or go occasionally aloft to try and catch the first view of a distant sail, or the rising of a cloud to windward; and the master holds his cheek to the breathless air, or scans the horizon with his practised eye; but nothing breaks the undulating mirror of the waters, except the gambol of a porpoise, or the "breaking" of a mackrel. Still there is a daily something to do;—we breakfast at eight, walk or read, or watch the Portuguese men-of-war* coming up to stretch their thin blue sail to the sun till near twelve; then all come upon deck, the master, mate, &c. to "take the sun," and find what way we have made; then examine the chart, and count progress—strike the bell eight; men's dinner; starboard-watch set, and so proceeds the daily routine. The men, if not required in working the vessel, are engaged in mending sails, splicing ropes, and such other naval employments. We dine at three; then enjoy our cigar on deck; watch the glories of the sunset; speculate on the morrow's weather, and sup at seven, after which, books, chess, and conversation close the day. But not *every* day—Saturday comes; the day of sweethearts and wives; old Scotch Jem the boatswain, tunes his fiddle, and the doctor, (ship's cook,) produces his tambourine; the men dance on deck, and the forecastle resounds with many a song of "Nelson and Benbow." Dibdin's beauties, too, call forth a chorus; toasts go round, and

* A popular term applied by sailors, not to the physalia, but to the *velella limbosa*.

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many a "Black-eyed Susan," or girl at "the back of the point," is remembered in our "march upon the mountain-wave."

The wind has again sprung up; we are nearing the shores of Africa, and a spanking breeze is driving us along; it freshens into a gale, and on the night of the 4th of December we had a squall of several hours' duration. The morning found us within sight of the old Moorish city of Tangier, the wind cold, and the prospect dreary.

December 5th.—We entered the straits, and "standing in" between the two continents, shortly after anchored in the bay of Gibraltar. The rain has fallen in torrents all the early part of the day, and a misty cloud hangs over this great artificial volcano.

With a first view of The Rock I was more astonished than pleased. Fancy a huge barren mass, several hundred feet high, in form resembling a lion *couchant*, connected tail-ward to the main-land by a narrow strip of sand, that rises but a few feet from the level of the water. Toward the land the rock is perfectly perpendicular, and studded with apertures from the galleries; tier after tier of guns point from endless batteries along the water's edge; above these, peeps the town of Gibraltar, climbing some short distance up the ascent, and crowned by the old red Moorish gateway and tower, now used as a civil prison. Beyond this a few consumptive-looking gardens are coaxed into bloom, and then the brown, blistered surface of the naked rock, crowned by an old tower, called O'Hara's folly, and the signal and demand staffs, cuts clearly against the thin blue sky of the Mediterranean. Numbers of Spanish latteen boats, having English papers, and hoisting the British flag, crowded into the small harbour; steamers, men-of-war, and vessels of every nation occupy the deeper water outside.

Near the landing, wherever the eye rests, enormous guns frown upon it, peeping like so many chained bull-dogs from behind the grating of the embrasures; and the occasional red coat of the sentry, with his bright arms glancing in the sun, attracts the attention at any curve or turn in the scarp, counterscarp, or bastion.

Having received immediate *pratique*, we were not long in availing ourselves of it, and stretching our limbs on shore.

Passing the outer gate, we enter at once into a scene of great variety and interest—the market, which, for arrangement and

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supply, is not to be surpassed any where. Meat of the very best description, slaughtered for the garrison; fowls from Barbary; fruit and vegetables from Spain and Tangier; and fish from the Mediterranean, all separate, and placed under sheds and awnings; while the picturesque dresses of the Moors and Spaniards—the squeeling of apes and monkeys—the harsh music of Brazilian parrots—the noise of sailors—the authoritative tone of the messmen—and the clatter of soldiers' wives, with squalling children in their arms, are not a little astounding, upon the very first step you make upon land. Another draw-bridge is then to be passed, and you are within one of the strongest forts in the world.

The scene which now presents itself is of the most singular description, and such as I can liken only to a fancy-ball. The stiff, erect person of the English soldier, buttoned to the throat, and his neck stuck into a high regimental stock, meets you at every turn; and as officers on duty, or on lounge, parade every second street, the walk of the private is one continued salute from beginning to end. How ill our men contrast with the noble bearing, the stately gait, and fine athletic person of the swarthy Moor, clad in his snow-white flowing hyke, red slippers, and wide-spreading turban! Thousands of the children of Israel, dressed in their dark blue gowns and small black scull-caps, crowd the busy streets, hastening, with downcast eyes and plodding faces, intent upon some new speculation, or planning some untried method of gain or interest. Spanish contrabandistas, with their swarthy features and coal black hair, and adorned with their high-peaked hats, spangled jackets, yellow leggings, and embroidered vests, swagger past you wherever you go; and merchants' clerks, with sallow English faces, half Brummigem, half West Indian, bustle into the counting-houses in white jackets and upturned cuffs, while the fumes of tobacco, smoked in all shapes and forms, issue from every mouth. The shops are numerous, dear, and filled with French frippery and pinchbeck jewellery.

The trade of this small place is very great, and consists principally of the wares of Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester, to be sent into Barbary, or smuggled into Spain. The manufacture of tobacco is also considerable—almost every second house is a cigar shop, with from two to six persons at work, and

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they make the best-looking cigars I ever saw, but in flavour they are lamentably deficient, as the leaf is generally Virginian. It is said that upwards of two thousand persons are engaged in making cigars; some of the good workers will make six hundred a day, and earn three shillings. But we must hasten onwards to one of the greatest magnets here—the post-office. On our right is the town-hall, and behind it a small square, closed by the hotel, formerly the officer's club-house, and on the left, the Roman Catholic church, provided with a Tipperary chaplain by the government—a most intelligent and well-informed man. Then comes the governor's residence, with its squad of orderlies, aides-de-camp, and liveried grooms holding horses; and if you can poke your way through files of marching and countermarching, the tilbury of the old major, the prancing steed of the lordly ensign, and droves of waggons, provision and wash-carts, you get to the gate at the other side of the town, where the deep valleys on both hands contain the ashes of the soldier, and the many classic tombs tell tales of the early death of many a gallant officer or tried veteran, who, having braved the storm and the fight, fell beneath the hand of lingering disease, or sudden pestilence, upon this parching rock. But though distant from their fatherland, the marble or the elegy has not been forgotten by their sorrowing brothers.

A lane, walled by piles of guns and mortars, and mountains of ball and shell, leads to the only fertile or pretty spot on the rock—the Alamada, a fine square esplanade, rising above the batteries, open to the sea, and surrounded by well-grown trees; above this are terraces laid out with great taste, and filled with numbers of beautiful shrubs, among which the scarlet geranium holds a conspicuous place. Agaves of great size border the parterres, and serve as retainers to the soil; and crimson aloes, the finest I have seen, blossom in great luxuriance. The numerous seats and alcoves in this lovely mall command a view of the sea, the different vessels passing the straits, the distant rock of Ape's hill, and the heights of the African coast beyond, stretching far away into the bold range of the Atlas. On one of the upper terraces a bust of Wellington surmounts a low pillar, on which is hung a shield, telling of the deeds of the Peninsula, and before it stands a fine brass gun, taken from the Spaniards. This is the promenade of Gibraltar, as well as the review-ground of the troops;

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and whether it be the contrast with the surrounding barrenness, or its real beauty, I cannot say, but to me it appeared particularly charming. Still farther on are hospitals, barracks, out-stations, and the Mediterranean stairs, where a view of great splendour opens upon you as the eye catches the first burst of this midland sea, with the shores of Europe and Africa deploying from the narrow straits on either side, and the blue water, studded with the many white sails that daily crowd this great naval thoroughfare. All vessels passing in or out of the Mediterranean during the day, are challenged from the demand station at the top of the rock, and answer this inquiry by exhibiting their national flags.

As the gates shut at five o'clock, and none are allowed to remain in garrison without permission, we hasten on board, where, after dinner, we all came on deck to see the evening gun fired from the signal-house at the top of the Rock. It is a striking ceremony, especially when the night is dark or misty, as this one happened to be—the minute arrives—the town clock strikes—the flash bursts forth like a ray of most vivid lightning, and ere the boom that follows has ceased to echo, the bugles from the fort send forth their startling notes; the drum-roll follows—and then a single stir is no more heard.

No quarters that I have yet heard or read of are more heartily detested by our troops than Gibraltar, and in no place is the difficulty of "meeting the enemy" more complained of. Verily *ennui* is written in the discontented phiz of every sub and captain cooped up within this great lobster-box. That there is reason for much of this I do not doubt; but much of it is owing to the course pursued by those Heautontemorumenoi, or self-tormentors, as there is not only no intercourse between the military and the civilians, but very little friendly intercourse exists between the military themselves, except at the mess-table. All the English residents are merchants; no others would come to settle; and as such they are without the pale of military society; there is consequently little or no return of civilities between them and their red-coated countrymen. But England has been termed by one who felt too sorely her superiority, "a nation of shopkeepers," and long may she continue to boast so honourable an appellation.

The principal amusement here is hunting, which was formerly carried on with much spirit; but discord has of late sprung up

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among the Nimrods, and there is now an opposition pack; but as we partook not of the politics of either, we hired horses, and one day joined the opposition harriers. The governor, his sons, and staff were on the field, and the navy officers, mids, mates, lieutenants, and commanders, all in full uniform, scrambling over the ditches, afforded even more sport than the unfortunate *bagged* hare. I soon, however, found a more rational and interesting amusement in visiting the ruins of the old Phœnician town of Cartago, which lies about a couple of miles from Gibraltar, towards the Spanish town of St. Roque.

As the hour of shutting the gates approaches, we must push on the nags;—many a race takes place over the neutral ground to gain admittance, and if a red coat happens to be your companion, you will surely hear "that beastly hole," "so confounded stoopid," and such other endearing epithets, applied with a hearty good-will to the mass of battery you are hastening into.

Sunday bull-fights at Algeziras; visits to Tangier and Tetuan, pic-nics at the cork woods, with excursions into Spain; hunting, drilling, dressing, undressing, guard-mounting, and private theatricals, form the yearly business and amusements of the garrison.

December 11.—The theatre opened to-night. Great were the preparations, and still greater the expectations formed from the known histrionic talents of the *dramatis personæ*. The play was Rob Roy, and the efforts made by the performers to *amuse* was quite successful; and as, with one or two exceptions, no one of the performers knew a single word of their parts, it required a tolerable flow of ready language and native wit to compose an extempore conversation or address. But the admirable tone and look of a Scotch paymaster, and the humour of an Irish doctor, filled up the vacancies of a Bailie Nicol Jarvie, and a Master Owen, the only characters that deserve mention, except Helen M'Gregor, who was personified by a tall herculean captain, dressed in a soldier's plaid forage-cap, surmounting a formidable *mob-cap*, with the ends brought down under his chin, so as to form a great-coat to a tremendous pair of black whiskers—these jutting out on either side of a very red face, gave it much the appearance of that of a monkey's, when he has stuffed his pouches till they can hold no more. His petticoat, of dark drab

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calico, was adorned with three flounces of different colours, to represent, I suppose, the Macgregor tartan. Whenever this *damsel* made her appearance, the laugh was sure to become boisterous, for, after the first sentence, she always came to a dead stop, and then, shaking her head with great solemnity, slowly retreated to the prompter's corner. I was informed by a gentleman next me, that this performer was never expected to know his part, as he fulfilled the numerous avocations of stage-manager, scene-painter, and arranger of costumes. A fat drum-boy played a striking impersonation of Diana Vernon! The embracings of ensigns, adjutants, band-boys, and corporals, were most amusing. The only actors who played their parts without a single mistake were the sentries; but then they have pretty constant rehearsals. The scenery was in keeping with the acting; whenever a cottage-gate, a stile, or a tree, was to be introduced into the background, the scene-shifter walked in, put it in the proper place, and there remained, holding it up till it was no longer wanted. I must not forget one most admirable view: the back-scene suddenly fell down, the green-room opened to sight, and afforded us a *tableau vivant* I shall not easily forget. But I must let the curtain drop upon my notices of this evening's performance; for it was honoured by the presence of the governor and court, graced by the beautiful and elegant Lady Woodford, and being under the patronage of the garrison, is consequently an Almack's—above the powers of criticism, and beyond the influence of public opinion.

The next day we visited the galleries—a work of great labour, although, as a means of defence, the power of the guns placed in them has been much overrated, for being so high, they must be necessarily pointed at such an angle that the balls do not *ricochet*, but sink *at once* into the sand, when fired at an enemy approaching from the neutral ground. Some of the holes cut out of the solid rock are of great size, and contain several large carronades. Altogether there are 646 guns on the rock, mounted, and fit for instant use; but upwards of a thousand could in a very short time be put in operation. The views from some of these rock portholes are remarkable for their great beauty, and the telescopic effect produced by the narrowness of the aperture is exceedingly curious.

Emerging from the galleries, we ascended to the flag-staff and demand station, which crowns one of the highest points. Through

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the crevices of the stones grows the palmetta, or, as it is called, the "monkey bread," also the asparagus and the caper plant. This latter is now preserved for use, and reminds me of a story I heard the other day of a gentleman who, for some trifling wager, was fool-hardy enough to get on the slanting point of one of the batteries, overlooking the sea, and dancing there for some minutes, till the neighbouring sentry remonstrated with him, and ordered him to desist; but finding him still persist in his antics, he presented his musket at him—this brought the young gentleman to his senses, and the sentry to a court of inquiry for exceeding orders, in preventing the hero's disposal of his life as he liked best. The man (an Irishman, to be sure) replied that he had followed the orders of the governor, that "no one but Dr. —— should cut capers within the fort."

But to return—the prospect from the top is well worth the toil encountered in climbing the steep road to the artillery station. This great elevation affords a distinct view of the works beneath, the different forts, bastions, screens, curtains, scarps, and counterscarps. Europe and Africa approaching almost to a kiss; the blue waters of the Mediterranean below; the town of St. Roquè; the distant eyrie-placed city of Ronda, and the plains of Andalusia, on the one hand, and the snow-clad mountains of Granada on the other, are objects in a landscape no where to be equalled for grandeur and sublimity.

Returning by the Mediterranean side of the rock, we inquired the use of some long guns and small batteries occupying positions lower down, where no landing could possibly be made, and were not a little astonished at the answer, that they were placed there "*to protect the smugglers against the Spanish guarda-costas!!*" These smugglers are becoming daily more intrepid, and have had frequent skirmishes with the protective force of late; they have well-built, fast-sailing boats, with enormous latteen sails, which run closer to the wind than almost any other craft, and during the squalls so frequent here, they offer pictures of great interest, with often upwards of twenty men out upon the long bending yard, the top of which frequently dips into the boiling sea. They are solely employed for transporting English goods and tobacco into Spain, and the trade has succeeded surprisingly, as, from the present unsettled state of that unfortunate country, the guarda-costas are few and badly managed; indeed some are afraid

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to attack the smugglers. These latter watch their opportunity, and when the guarda is out of sight, put to sea, and when chased, run in under our guns; and as they all carry the British flag, we are bound to fire on the guarda, a circumstance of daily occurrence, but done more to frighten than hurt, one or two shots being sufficient to make them give up the pursuit.

12th.—We dined at the governor's, where the society of some of the fair daughters of England enlivened the monotony of the eternal red coats.

One of the principal wonders of this nest of *scorpions* is the magnificent library and reading-room, arranged with great taste, notwithstanding that but *one* Irish newspaper or periodical could (then at least) gain admittance, and that as a great favour towards an Irishman of the committee.

But we have remained here long enough; it has rained every day since our arrival, and the cold is very trying after the genial temperature of Madeira;—59° is now the daily *maximum* heat. As far as I have yet seen, I must say, that this is no place for invalids requiring a warmer temperature than England, and pulmonary complaints are the principal cause of death among the troops, when epidemics do not prevail. From this time, till our return to Gibraltar, I established a table of the daily temperature, at the different places we visited in the Mediterranean, which will be found in the Appendix.

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CHAPTER VI.

ALGIERS.

Enter the Mediterranean—Luminosity of the sea—Coast of Barbary—City of Algiers—Quarantine—The Ramadan—Phosphoric lights—Health officers—Narrow streets—Fountains—Bazaars—Trades—Costumes—Moors—The Hyke and Burnoose—Kadees—Jews—Their government—Costumes—The Sarmah—Henna—Turks—Arabs—The Swauves and Spahees—Their dress—French soldiery—Black Moors—Bedawees—Kabyles—Algerine ladies—Negroes—Chierology—Decay of the kingdom—The Ottoman empire—Census.

DECEMBER 14.—We left Gibraltar, and commenced our voyage up the Mediterranean, intending to make Algiers our first resting-place, not merely on account of the interest excited by that extraordinary spot, or to view its condition under its present masters, but in the hope of finding a climate suitable to invalids —to us a matter of no small importance. During the whole of this day, the wind was favourable, but it headed us during the night; and on awakening on Friday morning, the 15th instant, instead of finding ourselves half-way to Algiers, we were beating along the coast of Spain, beneath the lofty snow-clad mountains of Granada. We felt the cold much, as the thermometer was not above 57° at any one time during the day; still we were much amused with the scene, which was rendered interesting by the shoals of vessels around us—often from twenty to thirty in sight, all taking advantage of the change of wind, and running down to "The Gut." Among the rest was an English corvette, towing the wreck of a Prussian brig, dismasted and water-logged; its shattered spars, the remnant of some shivered sails and broken cordage streaming in the wind, formed a most melancholy object amidst a scene of so much animation. On the following day, we passed the white point of Cape de Gat, having, as usual, a head-wind. On the 17th it was nearly calm, and although still "standing on" the Spanish coast, we were sensible of a great change for the better in the climate.

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18th.—A fair wind during the night has taken us to the African coast, along the low undulating shores of which a light wind, right aft, is stealing us on our course. The thermometer was 62°; and we were cheered in the evening by the first truly Mediterranean sunset we had yet witnessed. The night was truly beautiful, the air balmy, and the sea quite luminous, spreading out in waves of spangled light from beneath our cut-water; while behind it formed an eddying sheet of silver foam, as it fell from the rudder like the tail of an immense comet. Venus rose in great splendour, and her "wake," as sailors express it, was thrown upon the waters, in one vast pillar of light, little inferior in brilliancy to that afforded by *our* moon.

The next morning we were all expectation to get a view of Algiers, but the wind falling off, it required studding sails alow and aloft to carry us along. This part of the coast of Barbary is a series of small hills huddled together, without a spot of land that could be called a plain. All is covered with underwood, and behind rises the bold range of the Atlas mountains. At last we came in sight of the town, which at some distance has more the appearance of a large white chalk-pit on the side of a hill, than any thing else I can compare it to. Towards the town the hills are more broken, higher, and studded with numbers of large white buildings, embosomed in groves of evergreens, formerly the country residences of the wealthy Turks, and now occupied by French officers.

The town, every thing in which is white, even to the roofs of the houses, rises up a steep from the water's edge, and is much smaller than we anticipated—nor could we have formed an idea of a place so exceedingly close and compact.

It was dusk when we came to anchor; the noise and shouting, the beating of drums, and sounding of bugles, tell of our vicinity to a large army. Here we had to endure that abomination of travelling, a five days' quarantine; for, although there was no sickness at our last port, the great intercourse Gibraltar has with other nations, the French say, renders this precaution necessary. Had we, instead of coming direct, remained a few hours at Algeziras, this unpleasant detention would have been avoided.

We were not allowed within the Mole, but stuck in limbo alongside the lazaretto, behind all the dirty craft in the harbour, and a Maltese guardian quartered on us to prevent communica-

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tion with our filthy neighbours. On three sides were the high dead walls of the city, and the number of vessels in front completely shut out our sea view; many of the old Roman sewers emptied themselves in our immediate vicinity, an annoyance which even our love of the antique could not make tolerable. Those only who have experienced the miseries of quarantine themselves can form a notion of our disagreeable situation; yet, even here we were not without some amusement. The Musselmans squatted on the walls and roofs of the houses around was something new; it was then the time of the Ramádan, or Mohammadan lent; at sunset, a gun was fired for the faithful, and a small dirty flag hoisted from the minarets of the mosques, three of which were then in sight. The mooeddin or crier then mounted the turret, and ran rapidly from corner to corner, shouting for the faithful to come to pray, or rather, I should say, to feast, for as the true followers of the prophet eat nothing from sunrise to sunset, the greater number take their meals in the mosques after evening prayers. These mosques remained illuminated the whole night, and the minarets also were hung round with small lamps, which had a very pretty effect. The call to prayer occurs three times a day, at sunrise, noon, and sunset. On Friday, the Mohammadan sabbath, instead of the dirty white flag, the green banner, the sacred colour of the Turks, is hoisted. Some fifty years ago, however, our position would have been rather a dangerous one, and probably a worse misfortune than that of performing quarantine would have awaited us.

The water here is particularly phosphorescent; the wake of the boats through the harbour during the night look, at some distance, like so many great luminous worms skimming along the surface, and the whole harbour is at times brightened up as those "lightnings of the wave" break upon the different vessels and buoys. I collected large quantities of the water, and always found the light to result from the innumerable ova of fish floating through it, as well as those little animals called lancelets.*

As we were sitting at dinner on the 22nd, a message arrived from the health-office to say, we should instantly make our appearance at the lazaretto for examination. The medical atten-

* See Appendix, D.

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dant was very wrathful at having been delayed a few minutes; if ever he had any French politeness, he must have left it at Marseilles. This farce consisted in parading all the ship's crew at the same time in a railed-in space, like a parcel of wild beasts in a cage. We were then conducted back to the vessel, and told if we remained in good health until morning, we would get *pratique*. Next morning the health-officers came on board in order to fumigate the vessel; a purification so stifling, that we were nearly suffocated, and determined to resist. A fierce dispute arose; the officers insisting that unless we allowed the stiflification to go on, we should remain in durance vile; but a gentle hint that they also were then in quarantine, and should remain so until we were released, settled the matter, and the purificator, to save his conscience, first lighting his combustible on deck, bolted with it over the vessel's side, and set us free. We soon took advantage of our liberty, and landed at the far-famed mole of Algiers, the haunt of the pirate, the terror of Mediterranean commerce, and the scene of unheard-of atrocities for centuries.

This day was the most exciting I had experienced since I left England. Nothing can exceed the variety and incongruity of costume, and the appearance of the people you meet with in the narrow streets of Algiers. These so-called streets, some one says, are only twelve feet broad; but this is a great exaggeration, as few are more than eight, and you can span most of them with your extended arms. All the houses project from the first story upward, which, in more social countries, would have afforded the inhabitants on opposite sides of the street a comfortable *tete-a-tete;* but here they are barricadoed with shutters of close-set lattice-wood, admitting little air, and less light. In many places there are perfect arches of stone thrown across the streets, opening here and there to admit a gleam of light, but we were often obliged to grope our way in perfect darkness, with out-stretched arms, and pacing cautiously along we received into our embrace same portly turbaned Turk, had our toes crushed by the splay-foot of an enormous camel, or were almost squeezed to death against the wall by a heavily-laden donkey. I could not have believed that so many human habitations could be crowded into so small a compass. The French have opened a few of these streets, leaving a colonnade on one side, and say they intend

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doing so to all. There is one good open space opposite the fish-market battery—the *grand place*, where some fine houses have been lately erected. This narrowness of the streets, however, has its advantages, in affording some protection from the intense rays of the sun, which would, under other circumstances, be concentrated into a focus on the heads of the passers, owing to the reflection from the white-washed walls. There are fountains in all the better sort of houses, besides which numbers are placed in the walls throughout the town, each consisting of a small marble basin, having a verse of the Koorán written above it, into which the water flows, with a brass or copper bowl attached for the convenience of passengers.

Our walks through the city constantly presented scenes of exceeding interest and variety; and from their un-European character, particularly in the bazaars, had for the first few days the effect of keeping our wonder on the stretch. Here the shops, about the size of good dog-kennels, are ranged on either side of the street, with the Moors and Turks squatted cross-legged in them, surrounded by their respective wares or implements: all tradesmen pursue their avocations in the open air, and many trades have particular bazaars. Tailors are the most numerous class of artizans here, as they are in all Mohammadan countries, and rank first in the state; tailors, watchmakers, and barbers correspond to our three learned professions—divinity, law, and physic. Before the French regimê some of the first people were tailors: amongst them were many of the Deys; and the eldest son of the late admiral was a tailor. The janizaries, from whom the Deys were chosen, had all trades or shops, which they regularly attended during the day, when not engaged in service; but at night they returned to the Kalseira, (their barracks,) near the palace of the Kassauba, or citadel, at the south-west corner.

The dress of some of the people is very beautiful, especially that of the Moors, being covered with gold lace and braid. It consists of a highly-ornamented jacket, generally of blue or scarlet cloth, and some of silk, stiff with gold or silver, and several vests covered with embroidery; a rich Eastern shawl girds the waist; the limbs are covered with wide-bagged trowsers, descending to the knees; the legs are generally bare, and the feet incased in red slippers, worn down at heel. The head is covered by a turban, expressive of the rank and condition of its wearer; in some it is

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red, but in the greater number white; and those who have performed the pilgrimage to Mekeh wear a green one. Over all is thrown the wide-flowing hyke, a white scarf of the finest wool, from five to six yards long, and about two broad, fringed at the ends, and worn much in the same manner as the plaid of the Scottish Highlanders, but not so tight. At times this serves as a cloak, and when wound gracefully round the body in loose folds, it presented to us at once the Roman toga, and is, in all probability, a remnant of the Mauritanian conquest. It is a very beautiful piece of dress, and almost peculiar to Barbary, which has always had immense manufactories of this article, as well as of the burnoose, or white cloak, which is occasionally worn, and consists merely of an oblong square piece of fine, thin flannel, doubled and joined together at the top; the hood thus formed is thrown over the head, and the folds are drawn about the body. The manufacture of both those articles of dress is peculiar, no shuttle being used in the weaving, which is performed much in the same manner as is exhibited in the figures on Egyptian monuments.* Might it not have been such a dress as this that was worn by our Saviour, being "without seam, woven from the top throughout?"

These Moors are a noble-looking race of men, with fair and rather florid complexions. Several of those whom we met spoke English, and more plainly than any foreigner I ever heard, with a good pronunciation, never once misplacing a word, and finding no impediment from that stumbling-block to our continental neighbours, the *th*. The Moors are the principal natives here, and fill several places of trust—the judges, or kádees,† still sit in their own courts, and decide the civil and religious differences of the Moóslim population. Some of those old kádees, with their long silver beards, formal turbans, slow-measured gait, and patriarchal eastern costume, always reminded me of the early days of

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* See Appendix, E.

† In the orthography of this and other Arabic terms, I have endeavoured to retain, as much as possible, the *true pronunciation*, in accordance with that adopted by Mr. Lane, at the same time avoiding the repetition of the same sounds as expressed in the letters *kh* and *ch*, &c. For this I have been already severely criticised; yet I feel the day will come when we shall know and acknowledge no other.

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Scripture history, and brought vividly to my recollection the magnificent picture by Guerchino, of Abraham turning out the bondswoman and her son, the first really good painting I remember to have seen.

Whether from their connection with Gibraltar, or in remembrance of Lord Exmouth, the natives hold the English and every thing belonging to them in the greatest veneration.

The Jews form a large portion of the population of Algiers, amounting to between three and four thousand; but at the census taken in 1823 the number was 5,949. The cause of the decrease since that time is owing to a number having set forward to Jerusalem with French passports. Strange it is, that though the politician, the statesman, and the soldier, look with a curious eye on the late conquest of Algiers, few would have thought the subjection of this place would have thus contributed towards the fulfilling of a prophecy, by restoring to their promised land nearly *three thousand* Israelites.* You now meet them in every quarter of the city, where they hold a high head, being admitted to all the privileges of Frenchmen. Barbary was always a great resort of this people, and up to the period of the conquest they were the most despised, hated, and oppressed race of all in Algiers. Christians were always preferred by the Turks; yet, although compelled to be the executioners, and to hold the lowest menial offices, the Jews were the money-changers and bankers of the community. Heretofore they were only allowed by their Osmanli masters to wear black, and to ride on asses, and that too outside the walls; but now they seem to make up for past restrictions, by wearing the most gaudy dresses, and assuming a haughty air and insolent manner. Although still subject to all the civil regulations of citizens, their own petty differences and religious disputes are settled by a person called the king. This office has been of long standing in Algiers, and was one of considerable profit to its possessor; for, although he paid a large sum for it to the reigning Dey, yet his exactions from his brethren more than compensated for the tax. The principal part of the female population met

* Isaiah xi. 11, 12; xiv. 1; xviii. 7; Jeremiah xii. 14; xvi. 14, 15; Ezekiel xi. 17; xx. 34, &c. &c.

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with in the streets are Jewesses; they wear no veil, and are not remarkable for personal beauty; they dress inelegantly, though their garments are covered with gold lace and braid. The girls wear the hair in long plaits hanging down behind; the head is tied up in a handkerchief, the ends of which are twisted up with the plait, and reach below the waist.

From what I have observed amongst the numerous Jews, first at Gibraltar, now here, and further on throughout the east—of the many thousands I have seen—a peculiar colour of the hair is so striking as to seem characteristic of the nation. Amongst *us*, Jews almost invariably have hair of the deepest black; but this is a light auburn, of a tint I have never seen before. *If* the letter to the Roman emperor may be relied on, such was, in all probability, the colour of our Saviour's.

There is one striking peculiarity in the dress of the Jewish matrons at Algiers; this is the *sarmah*—a most extraordinary head-tire, consisting of a taper cone of silver filigree, from two to two and a-half feet in length, open at the back for about one-third of the circumference, where it is closed by a loose bag of black silk. It is fastened on the head by a tight-fitting cap of silk or velvet, and projects out behind, very like, to use an odd simile, the spanker boom of a man-of-war. Over this is thrown a black net or gauze veil, which hangs down nearly to the ground. The fitting on of the sarmah forms no inconsiderable item in the toilette of a Jewish matron; and a lady who has been long resident in Algiers assured me that, rather than be at the trouble of undressing, they frequently sleep with them on. Although peculiar to the Jews here, I have seen some few Moorish ladies wear ones of gold, but covered over with the usual thin, white muslin veil—white being still the distinguishing colour between the Jew and the Mooslim. It is probable the sarmah was introduced from Syria, a similar ornament being used by the women of Mount Lebanon, but with them it is worn in front, projecting forwards like the horn of a unicorn—the flowing veil that covers it acting equally as a protection against the sun, and preserving the modesty of the wearer. By some of the Druses, among whom it is called the Tantoura, it is worn on the side of the head, and resembles a small trumpet. It appears to me that those passages of Scripture relating to the exaltation of the horn, were in reference to this or some similar

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ornament, which may have been originally worn by warriors as well as women. Altogether it struck me as being a very beautiful piece of dress.

The eye-brows of all the Jewesses are stained a brownish red, with henna, which gives them a formal arched appearance.* In the married females the arches are prolonged, and meet in an angle some way down the nose, but among the maidens a space is left between the brows; with these also the palms of the hands, the tips of the fingers, and the nails, are stained a deep orange. The Jews inhabit a particular quarter of the city, and are by far the dirtiest people of the community, for with all their tawdry finery they look filthy. Their dwellings are miserable; their extreme parsimony makes them purchase the refuse meat and fish, and, as might be expected, they are the most unhealthy part of the people; so that when an epidemic breaks out, they are sure to suffer severely. A few years ago, when cholera prevailed here, three thousand people were carried off in a few days, the greater number of whom were Jews. I have often met groups of Jews, both male and female, many of whom were in a state of intoxication, going to mourn over their friends outside the city.

There are but few Turks now in Algiers, as the French policy compelled them to return to their own country. This seems neither a wise nor a necessary step, as they were a much superior race to the Moors, or the Kabyles, and other tribes who have been permitted to remain.

The next class is the Arabs; these are distinguished from the Moors, in that the latter follow traffic, and live in towns, while the former inhabit the tent, and rear flocks and herds. They do not remain in the city at night, but pitch their tents outside the walls, and form a small encampment beyond the Bab-el-Oued gate. Many of them are now in the Swauves and Spahees, (the native regiments employed by the French,) and form the most valuable troops in the territory, combining the activity of desultory Arab warfare with the discipline of European tactics, as was lately proved at the taking of Constantina. They are

* "For whom thou didst wash thyself, *paintedst thine eyes*, and deckedst thyself with ornaments."—Ezekiel xxiii. 40.

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officered by Frenchmen, and although of every shade of colour, the skilful management of their horses and Franco-Turkish costume give them a very martial appearance. The officer's dress consists of a very rich scarlet jacket, embroidered with gold, wide blue Turkish breeches, reaching to the knees, long cavalry boots, and a white wide turban, composed of volumes of gold-spangled muslin; to these are added long flowing beards and most formidable mustachios. From their knowledge of the country, the Spahees or infantry make most valuable and enterprising skirmishers and pioneers; their head-dress is the small red turboosh or Turkish cap, and they are some of the finest men in the Algerine army.

It seems extraordinary that a European nation should thus dress up their soldiers in the eastern costume, while the Sooltan and Mohammed Alée are training their armies to European tactics, and dressing them in Frank costume.

The horses of the native cavalry are all Arab—small, but of high metal, and capable of undergoing the greatest fatigue. I cannot admire the French soldiery—their long bed-gowns must be a great incumbrance in action, especially in a hot climate like this; and the clothing, accoutrements, and general appearance of the troops are by no means so neat, orderly, or soldier-like as ours.

There is a race of jet-black Musselmans here who dress like the Moors; a fine, handsome, well-made people, with European or Caucasian faces. It must have been from this race that Shakspeare took the colour of his Othello, which is perfectly consistent with truth, in spite of all that has been said by critics to the contrary. Several of the Moors of Morocco are black, and it was in Algiers alone that any number of white Moors were to be found, owing to renegadoes, and the intermarriages of the natives with the female captives of fair complexion, or the remains of the Kolooglies, who were sons of the Turks resident at Algiers, and against whom the bar of intermarriage with the natives did not extend.

A few Bedawees are occasionally met in the town, who come down from the mountains, mounted on camels or horses, to sell game or charcoal. They are more wretchedly clad than any of this numerous tribe I have seen in the east, their sole garments consisting of a pair of loose drawers, and a dirty, ragged bur-

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noose, with the hood kept over the head, and bound round with a rope of camel's hair, which, as far as this extensive tribe wanders over the desert, is their distinguishing dress. They are a most ferocious looking race of men, generally of large size, and well made, with swarthy complexions, and straight noses; but although muscular, they are remarkably lean, the flesh being as if dried up by the tanning influence of a powerful sun. Their black beards are short and grisly, and their eyes of extreme brilliancy, and cunning expression. The occasional visit of a few of this nomadic race, is at present the *only* communication the French have with the interior, so that but for the supplies of the mother country, the garrison positively would starve. After any little *fracas* with the natives who come thus far, and the soldiery, the market is quite deserted for several days, and the merest necessaries are obliged to be imported from Marseilles.

These Arabs are the true descendants of Ishmael, and the very signification of the word Bedawee is a fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation, "a man dwelling in a tent." These children of the desert, in common with the other Arabs of Africa, are a resentful race, and when offended by the French intruders, frequently revenge it by sending a present to the governor of Frenchmen's heads; fifteen of which, tied up in a sack, have been left at one of the gates in a night! None of the natives are allowed to carry arms, and although I believe it is a necessary precaution, I regretted it much, for picturesqueness sake, as a Turk or Moor looks only half-dressed without his yatigan, pistols, and dagger, peeping out of the jewel-studded girdle.

The Kabyles, or Berbers, from whom the country takes the name of Barbary, are the true aborigines. They are the worst class here—low, mean, deceitful, and despised equally by all; they have been, for a series of years, the principal cultivators of the land, and vast numbers are now to be found in the city, where they generally act as porters. Their garments consist of a simple flannel tunic, reaching to the knees, a girdle, and the red turboosh, unadorned by a turban. They live chiefly in hordes, scattered over the plain, inhabiting *gurbies* or huts, formed of hurdles, daubed with mud; and they do not wander like the Bedawees. They have still preserved the language, and a certain degree of national character, under the Carthaginians and Romans, the Vandals, Saracens, and Turks; and the character of the Numidian answers, with little variation, throughout the

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successive conquests of a Belisarius, a Barbarossa, and a Count de Bourmont.

"In person," says Dr. Percival Lord, "they are of the middle height; their complexion a clear brown, often verging on black, from constant exposure to the weather; their hair dark and smooth, in some rare cases fair: they are all thin, but extremely powerful and nervous; their slender body is symmetrically formed, and presents a gracefulness and elegance, such as is now only met with in ancient statues. Their head is more globular than that of the Arabs; their features less prominent, but still sufficiently well marked; the whole air has something wild, and even fierce; they are extremely active, and very intelligent."*

There are no Turkish ladies in Algiers, and but few Moorish females to be seen in the streets; these are invariably old and ugly; and all that you are permitted to see of flesh and blood are their red ferret eyes, peeping over the tightly drawn yashmac, or face-cover. Their wide Turkish trowsers are gathered tight round the ancles, the feet are encased in handsomely embroidered slippers; and the eyes are painted as the Jews, but the line is prolonged from the forehead down on the nose. Being completely clad in white, they look like so many tenants of the grave stalking through the streets in their winding-sheets.

There is a vast concourse of negroes here—the most lazy, impudent rascals in the community. Freed from the yoke of the Algerines, and rejoicing under the cap of liberty, these fellows have become absolutely rude and insolent, taking pride in insulting their former masters on every occasion. They are mostly from the interior of Africa, and their tribes are distinguished by the difference of tattooing on their faces.

In our walk one day through the city, we were introduced to a very notable personage—the ex-captain of an Algerine frigate, and the most daring pirate that had been known for many years. He was an old man, and going about seemingly in great poverty. In the course of conversation he told me that he did not at all admire the present state of things under the French, and shrewdly concluded with the usual Turkish sign of rolling the hands round each other, intimating that the course of events were moving

* For further particulars concerning the Berber race and their language, see Appendix, F.

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onward, and that the present state of things could not last. Chierology is a silent and expressive mode of communication among the Turks, and would naturally be expected to arrive at a great pitch of perfection in a town like this, whose walls had ears, and where a word might gain the speaker the bowstring or impalement. Thus, two Algerines meeting in the morning, inquired after the state of affairs, by twisting the extended hand on the wrist rapidly up and down. If matters were well, the palm in reply was turned up; if ill, it was turned down, and the communicants passed on their different ways in silence. The crescent, with an open hand, is engraven on a white marble slab over every gate, battery, fort, and mosque in Algiers: underneath this, the masonic sign of the double triangle, with a verse of the Koorán, or the name of Allah, in large Arabic characters, is invariably to be seen. The terror of the evil eye is also very great—and its preventative, the pointing of the middle finger, is much used by the people, and is moreover engraven on the walls;—and a text of the Koorán, or some talismanic writing, is generally sewed up in the dress, or hung round the necks of the children, as "gospels" are in Ireland.

It is much to be regretted that more has not been done to mark the habits and usages of this extensive nation, now fast crumbling into a débris that will be scarcely recognised amongst the strata of succeeding generations. Of this large territory—extending from the river Malua, on the west, to Lacata, on the east; running in a parallel between the Mediterranean on the north, and the Atlas mountains and the Zahara, or Great Desert, separating it from the interior towards the south; five hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from fifty to two hundred—the only parts now remaining in possession of their original owners are Tripoli and Tunis, and how long they will continue is very uncertain. Many of their manners and customs differed from those of other Mohammedan nations—being a mixture between the Turk and Arab, the Moor and the Bedawee.*

* To those who would be further informed upon the history and past condition of this most interesting country, I cannot too strongly recommend the perusal of the work of the late lamented Dr. Percival B. Lord, "Algiers, with notes of the neighbouring states of Barbary." London. 1835.

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The present state of this country is but another proof of the downfall of the Ottoman empire—perhaps we may say, of Mohammadanism. In Egypt it is accomplishing by the introduction of Frank manners, customs, and literature, under that extraordinary man, Mohammad Alée. Persia is daily dwindling into insignificance; and the hardy, conquering soldiers of a Cyrus, Xerxes, or Darius, are no longer to be found. As to the Porte itself, whose sultan is looked upon like the pope, as the prophet's successor, and Mohammad's vicegerent on earth, it is doubtful if the present be not the last; and even now, it is but the diplomacy of European powers that maintains the kingdom in his hands, which keeps Russia at bay, and Ibrahim Basha from crossing the Hellespont, and knocking at the gates of Constantinople.*

Those who have at all considered, or have even been engaged in computing the numerical force of any country, must be aware of the many difficulties by which the subject is surrounded, and upon what slender data writers express their opinions on matters concerning population, and similar statistical investigations. I give, therefore, the following abstract of the number and the varieties of the inhabitants of this country, as they have been set forth by the most competent authorities, or were assured to me by creditable persons at the period of my visit in 1837.

In 1732 Dr. Shaw calculated the population of the city of Algiers at no less than 117,000; but this seems almost incredible within so small a space. Before the conquest, and after the plague, which carried off 20,000, it was said to be 40,000. The census taken in 1833 makes it 23,753. It is now about 30,000, of which 7,000 are French troops in garrison. The numbers are thus divided:—Military, 7,000; Moors, 2,185; Negroes, 1,874; Foreigners, 1,895; and, according to the French account, nearly 30,000 Turks were sent from Algiers after the conquest. The total population of the Algerine state is said to have amounted to

* Four years have now passed over us since the above passage was first printed; and during that time we have had ample proof that, but for "the diplomacy of European powers," Ibrahim Basha, with his conquering Syrian army, would have crossed the Hellespont, and Mohammad Alée have sailed through the Bosphorus with the very navy of his sultan.

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1,870,000, independent of the negroes, about the period of the French conquest. They were thus divided: Moors and Arabs, chiefly agriculturists and artisans, 1,200,000; Wandering Arabs and Bedawees, 400,000; Berbers, or Kabyles, 200,000; Jews, 30,000; Turks and Renegadoes, 20,000; and Kolooglies, their descendants, 20,000.*

SWAUVE. JEWISH MATRON. KABYLE.

* See "Annales des Voyages."

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CHAPTER VII.

ALGIERS.

The Dey's palace—Executions—Moorish houses—Their Analogy to Syrian—The British Consul—Political Agents—A market—Public works—Cultivation—Colony of Del-Abreem—Plain of Metijiah—Intercourse with the Natives—Colonisation—Produce—Society—A Ball—The Opera—Visit to a Mosque—Religion—Moostapha Basha—Commerce—Peculation—Hospitals—Climate—Invalids—A shooting excursion—Game—Occupation by the French—Benefit conferred upon the country—Want of confidence—Achmet Bey—Expense of the Settlement—Expedition of 1830—History of the Campaign—The naval attack—Comparison with Lord Exmouth's—Animosity towards the French—Position with regard to England—Concluding observations.

On the 25th we visited the Kassaubal, or Dey's palace, which stands at the upper western extremity of the town. It is the highest spot in Algiers, and was fortified as well toward the town as the outworks, and could have been advantageously used towards quelling any sudden insurrection within the city. It was his last retreat before the French entered; and here were signed the terms of the capitulation, of which the British consul was the mediator. This is now turned into a barrack, and most of the public offices in its vicinity form wine-shops. It is a large pile of building, with a court in the centre, surrounded by a colonnade: in this the exhibitions of wild beasts and the great wrestling matches took place before the Dey and his suite. It is stated that in one of these fetes, the prowess of an athlete so captivated the daughter of the reigning Dey, that she demanded him of her father in marriage;—her modest request was complied with, and he was forthwith raised to one of the highest offices in the state! The presence-chamber was a little square wooden box, projecting from one of the galleries; and the hall of waiting for the European consuls was a most miserable hole, not larger than a dog-kennel. It was here the janizaries met to elect the Dey.

On our return, in passing through one of the steep narrow archways, we were pointed out the spot to which unfortunate

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victims were hurried to be strangled. It has dungeons ranged on either side, and is now used as a civil prison. The executioner, a most cut-throat looking rascal of a Moor, is still retained in office; we were informed that he was the greatest adept at the garotte or the bowstring in Algiers; and, far from disliking to be questioned on the subject, he appeared to relish it of all things, and explained, in a most scientific manner, the mode of adjusting the rope, and imitated the struggles of the unfortunate criminals with horrid satisfaction. It was on this very spot that no less than seven Deys—a whole *week* of them—were once strangled between sunrise and sunset; and their white marabutts, or tombs, are still to be seen outside the wall, near the Bab-el-Ouetta gate. With such an example before his eyes, it is a wonder they got an eighth to fill the Dailik; but it did not always depend on the will of the individual, who was chosen by his fellow janizaries, and who was often carried from his huxter's-shop to the throne. The last Dey was not only the longest in office ever known, but the second who is recorded to have died a natural death. Another dreadful punishment here in former times was, that of flinging the unfortunate criminal down a slanting wall, from which projected hooks, which, penetrating his body, retained him thus in agony till released by death.

Although the houses appear so mean and prison-like externally, within, they are constructed with great beauty, elegance, and adaptation to this warm country. The outer door, which is generally very plain, though of great strength, leads into a small square hall or reception-chamber, made more gloomy by being completely lined with dark blue tile. This apartment is generally occupied by servants, and, except on very urgent business, farther than this a visitor is seldom allowed. The interior presents a square area or court, with a marble pavement—in the centre of some played a fountain, the spray of which rising high, and caught in alabaster vases, gave a grateful coolness to the whole. This court is surrounded by a piazza, supported by twisted columns of snow-white Italian marble, the arches of which are of the true Saracenic, forming nearly two-thirds of a circle. Colonnades of a similar description rise to two, and sometimes to three stories, having handsome balustrades protecting each of the galleries, the fronts of which are ornamented in mosaics of coloured tiles. All the windows and doors of the

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houses look into the court. The rooms are long and narrow, richly carpeted, and surrounded by a deewan, or sofa, on which are placed cushions of the most costly velvets; and the walls and ceilings are beautifully ornamented in stucco. The domestics inhabit the lower story, while the upper is allotted to the master and the hareem. On top, the roof is flat, and protected on both sides by a parapet about breast-high, that looks towards the court. As the city is built on a hill, most of those house-tops not only enjoy a view of those around them, but have a charming prospect of the bay, the shipping, and the lovely villas in the neighbourhood of the town. The arrangement of the house was like that of the ancient Romans, and the present style of architecture in Spain was, no doubt, left by the Moors. The twisted pillar seems to be peculiarly Saracenic; some are double and united, having the twist or roping in opposite directions; the capital, a corruption of the Ionic, is long and taper, having a bunch of grapes or flowers hanging from the volute, and a leaf of the acanthus rising on either side from the module on which it stands. During the heat of summer there is an awning over the open space at top; this shuts up like an umbrella, or is drawn across from the inner parapet wall. The learned Dr. Shaw conceives that it was from coverings of this kind arose the expression of the psalmist and the prophet Isaiah, of "spreading out the heavens like a curtain."—Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22. And as this was, in all probability, the description of house used in Judea during the days of our Saviour, and not the present dome-roofed house which the constant warfare of that country has made necessary, in all likelihood it was the removing of such light covering as this that is spoken of in the Gospels, when the people uncovered the house to let down the paralytic.

The residence of the British consul-general is a good specimen of a Moorish house, and many will be the opportunities afforded to the traveller at Algiers of visiting its hospitable interior. I feel that in saying this much I shall but echo the sentiments of my countrymen, when speaking of Mr. St. John and his family. Independent of his character, as an educated English gentleman, much of his attention to strangers is, no doubt, owing to his being one of the few of our consuls who are not engaged in traffic, or bound up with the commercial interests of the country in which they reside. The merchant, who is engaged by ties of pecuniary

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interest towards the natives, or perhaps with the government of the station he resides at, cannot have the same feelings towards the country he represents. Were it otherwise, and that our vice-consuls and political agents received an adequate compensation for their services, it would add much to the efficiency and respectability of the office; masters of traders would not have so many causes of complaint of a thousand unnecessary delays and exactions practised on them, especially throughout the Mediterranean; and the dignity of the British flag would be better preserved.

Nothing can exceed the incongruous mixture of nations, tongues, people, and costumes, that Algiers at this moment presents. Turks, Moors, and Koolooglies, Arabs, Bedawees and Kabyles, Jews and Negroes, of the former inhabitants, are here all huddled together with French, Spaniards, Germans, Italians, Maltese, Mahonese, Poles, and Genoese. The colour and expression of the different countenances vary from the fair French or German, to the tawny Bedawee or Kabyle, or the shining black of Timbuctoo. Perhaps no two nations more opposite in character could have come in contact with each other than the gay, volatile Frenchman, and the grave, phlegmatic, taciturn Turk—the contrast reminds one of a monkey riding on a bear.

I have always made it a rule to visit the markets early in the morning. Independent of the productions of the country there exhibited, they show more of the life and character of a nation than any other place I am acquainted with. The daily market of Algiers is held in the *Grand Place*, and presents a group of motley figures perhaps unequalled; with the various wares exposed for sale—the eternal jabbering of negresses and monkeys—the eloquence of two-penny showmen—Genoese boys grinding hurdy-gurdies—toy bazaars—gaming tables—mingled with French soldiers, swarthy Arabs, scowling Bedawees, dirty Kabyles, and Jewish shoe-blacks—through all which the Moor stalks with the utmost gravity and contempt.

Fish are in great quantity, and fruit and game plenty at present. The vegetables are some of the finest I ever saw; the cauliflowers of a size that would not be credited by our English gardeners, and the oranges of Bleda are, I believe, the largest any where to be found.

Steamers go twice a week to Marseilles, and London news can be had on the sixth day.

On the 24th we rode out to the settlement of Del-Abreem, or

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Deli Ibrahim, the locality of the principal attempt made at colonization by the French. Some of the roads about Algiers are admirably constructed, particularly those leading towards Dowera and Boufaric; they are made on the English plan of Macadamization, and do great credit to their engineer, the late Col. le Merci, and are the only works of *permanent* utility made throughout the country by the French, since their arrival seven years ago.

Our track lay through a fine open country beyond the immediate vicinity of the town, which is hilly and intersected by deep valleys and ravines. The soil is a rich dark loam; but little, I may say *nothing*, has been yet done by improved cultivation to try its powers. The corn is now tolerably well up, but speaks little for its mode of culture, as the plough still in use is the original rude implement of the Arab, being a simple beam, and a coulter attached to a cross-stick, which is *tied* to the beam—the same, in fact, as that used in Galicia. The consequence is, that the subsoil, often the most valuable, is never turned up. So much might be effected by clearing, draining, and all the modern improvements in agriculture, that I have no doubt it could be made as productive as any land in England. The only perfect meadows I saw since leaving home were in this day's ride. The French are neither an agricultural nor a commercial people; and the few cultivators here are Spaniards from Majorca and Minorca, and some Maltese. In other hands, what a splendid country it could now be made, with English capital, Scotch overseers, and Irish labourers!

This small colony of Del-Abreem was not in a very flourishing condition; the few wooden houses were in the most wretched state, the roofs decayed, and the surrounding palings broken down. It was under the protection of a strong garrison of 1500 Swauves and Spahees, and two forts, on each of which were mounted three field-pieces. With all this, a band of Arab cavalry, belonging to Abd-el-Kadir,* the renowned prince of Maskara, made a descent from the mountains, not twelve months ago, rushed in during the broad daylight, and carried off the greater part of the colonists; and this, within five miles of the walls of Algiers!!

Within view of this village is the range of block-houses forming

* For an interesting sketch of this remarkable man's career, see *Dublin University Magazine* for June, 1843.

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the French lines. These are supported on large wooden posts; and as the Arabs are frequently lying in wait to have a chance shot, the fifteen men they each contain are often a week without stirring out, and are obliged to be supplied with water and provisions once a fortnight.

From this spot there is also a good view of the plain of Metijiah, the garden of Algiers, and one of the most fertile spots in this part of Africa—fifty miles by twenty in extent; but now completely neglected, as, though within the so-called *conquered* territory, the Arab still feeds his flock, and the Bedawee pitches his tent there with impunity. The French have established no intercourse or commerce whatever with the interior, for even if the tempting hopes of gold induced any one tribe of the natives to bring their produce to market, so great is the antipathy still existing towards the new-comers, that they would be sure to be robbed by another tribe on their way, and the French dare not attempt the mountains, or cross this plain without a force of five or six hundred men, as an ambush would certainly await them amongst the enormous reeds and underwood that its neglected condition has suffered to spring up.

On our way home we passed through some of the villas occupied by the French officers. Nothing has yet been done towards clearing, and vast thickets of wild olive, mastich, dwarf-oak, palma-christi, and palmetta, clothe the valleys, or spread over the former inclosures. The wild olive is large, and tolerably good to eat, and the gentleman who accompanied us had found that engrafting the cultivated one on the wild fully succeeded. The government have planted the mulberry near the town; but the trees do not look in a very healthy state, though the climate promises well. The cactus, or prickly pear, grows to a great size, and its fruit is a great favourite with the natives; the French tried the cochineal on it, but, as might be expected in a country of rain and occasional frost, it failed, and has been abandoned in despair. The rows of *agave Americana* form impenetrable fences to the inclosures, and when in blow present a scene of great splendour. The French soldiers, with their usual ingenuity, have turned the fibres to some account, and manufacture them into purses and work-bags; and it would, I should think, form a cheap and durable ship-cordage. Near the town are some wide-spreading date-palms, and the process of fecundation is a ceremony of much interest throughout

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Barbary, and attended with great rejoicing. There are a few bananas, (*musa paradisaica*,) but the fruit is not at all so large or well-flavoured as that of Madeira. Wheat, barley, Indian corn, beans, and a small description of millet, are the principal grain produced here; but, at present, in quantities so small, that it would not supply a tenth of the demand for half the year. As yet the grain has to be supplied from the mother country, so that a well-regulated blockade along the coast would soon starve the garrison into capitulation.

Considering the number of officers and their families at Algiers, there is not so much society as might be expected, but this may be owing to the smallness of their pay; there are, however, many agreeable little soirées among the upper classes, which cheap and convenient mode of seeing friends, without the formality of daily invitations, is worthy of imitation.

The military governor, the chief man here, sees no one; but the intendant-civil opens his house once every fifteen days for dancing, and *eau sucrè*, administered upon the homeopathic plan. One of these sugar-water and lemonade *re-unions* occurred during our stay, and we accompanied our consul to it. The scene would have been one of particular animation, but for the narrowness of the rooms of the Turkish house; the heat was intense, and the crushing of the ladies' padding and buckram really terrific. None but the married ladies are permitted to waltz! On asking a lady to dance, she referred me to a little ornamented memorandum-book in her girdle to see what set she was disengaged for, and in something of Newmarket style, booked me for the fourteenth! Several Easterns and officers of the Swanves were present, and all the military lions of the day exhibited, whose prowess here is looked upon as absolutely beyond any thing the French army has achieved for centuries, and their orders and decorations were most dazzling.

There is an opera, besides a *petit Champs Elysée*, and minor theatres without number; but so thoroughly disgusted were we with them, and the former in particular, that we shall not inflict a description of them on our readers.

One of the stipulations on giving up the town was, that the Mohammadan religion should be protected; and although the French have turned one of the mosques into a chapel, they are erecting another near the mole.

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Under the guidance of Moostapha, the consul's dragoman, we were gratified with a view of the principal mosque, before which was an open court, with a handsome fountain, where the pious Moosselmans were making their ablutions. We had to leave our shoes at the door, and then entered a large oblong building, divided by two rows of square pillars, supporting those peculiar Saracenic arches, whose sides, if prolonged, would meet in a point at the ground. The floor was matted as well as part of the pillars, and a magnificent crimson carpet ran along the principal side, in the centre of which was the Kiblah (or Mehrab)—the sacred spot —the holy of holies—a small semi-circular space, like a niche left in the wall, also matted and carpeted, but without any thing whatever within. There was no image, no ornament or decoration of any kind in this place, which faces Mekeh, and where the immediate presence of the Deity is supposed to reside, and none enter its precincts. On the wall, on either side of this, were hung tablets, with verses of the Koorán or the name of Allah inscribed in large characters upon them; and beneath these sat two remarkable old Moolahs or priests reciting the Koorán. In front of them a number of youths, squatted on their toes and knees, formed a semicircle, repeating the responses in a loud though not unpleasing chime, prostrating themselves, and touching the ground with their foreheads, whenever they mentioned the name of Allah. Throughout the building were scattered individuals praying beside the pillars, apparently in deep devotion. The chanting of the boys is kept up during the entire Ramádan; this latter is really a fast, really a privation, compared with that of other religious sects, as from sunrise to sunset the pious Mooslim never tastes a morsel. They deny themselves the greatest luxury, that of smoking; nay, even a pinch of snuff, or a drink of water, unless in a case of extreme urgency, is forbidden.

The external architecture of the Algerine mosques is perfectly plain, and the minarets are simple square towers, without any of that beautiful stalactite-like adornment I afterwards saw in Egypt, and throughout the East.

The only ornaments of any description within this building, were its numerous lamps, hung by long bronze chains from the roof, and a number of ostrich eggs, the usual adornment of mosques and all other sacred places of the Mohammadans. They hold the second commandment to the letter, and the graven image of any

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thing having life is their greatest abhorrence. This will often account for the destruction of many a valuable antique, when mere wantonness has been attributed to them. An instance occurred to me in proof of this. I was informed by a friend that a handsome white marble bust, said to have been dug up here some time ago, was in possession of one of the Moors. I hastened to the spot, and requested permission to see it, but its late owner told me that, "thank Allah," he had just broken it up for lime! The images in the French places of worship excite their contempt as well as their hatred; and in speaking to us of the English and their religion, they frequently put their fore-fingers together, intimating that they were alike; a compliment some of our divines would not be very willing to receive. They have no faith in the French; and the Turks being proverbial for keeping their word, they often quoted to us the Persian proverb—"An Englishman never tells a lie."

One day we visited Moostapha Basha, the son of the last Dey but one; he received us kindly, but was a silent old man, and seemed particularly cautious in speaking about the French. His house is one of the finest in Algiers, but his hareem being still in existence, we were unable to procure admittance farther than the usual reception-room. The few Mohammadans of distinction here are difficult of access now, as during Ramádan they confine themselves to their houses, engaged in their devotions.

Port dues are very high, and the duty on English goods, in particular, is raised to eight and in some instances even to sixteen per cent. Still we undersell all, and our manufactures, especially of soft goods, are preferred by the natives. I made accurate inquiry into this matter, and find that the French conquest has *materially injured* the trade we formerly had here. Had the French made it a free port for even a few years, it would certainly have been much to the advantage both of the town and colony; but peculation is the order of the day, each person in authority taking what he can lay hold on. This may account, in some measure, for there having been no less than *seven* governors since the conquest seven years ago, and at this moment (December 1837) there are two French generals under arrest for exacting illegal taxes in the provinces; and one has just arrived, and is now in prison, it is said, for entering into a league with Achmet Bey to assist in restoring to him Constantina, the site of so much hidden wealth; and it

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was only at the intercession of an Englishman that an *officer* was saved from the pillory, prior to being sent to the galleys for scraping silver off five franc pieces!!

The civil hospital is small and crowded to excess. The principal diseases now are intermittent fevers, caught from the miasma of the plains. They are of all types—quotidian, tertian, and quatertian, and sometimes what is called a pernicious or irregular rigour will carry off the patient suddenly. It is remarkable, that although some get well for the time being, and health seems perfectly restored, yet are they liable to relapses again and again, often after an interval of several months, and that without any fresh exposure to infection. Diarrhœas, anasarca, subacute dropsies, and enormous enlargement of the spleen, are the usual sequents of this disease, which is the principal epidemic of the country, and by which the French have lost great numbers, especially on the out-stations. The treatment consists in quinine, given in exceedingly large doses, even to twenty grains; and at times this has the effect of completely cutting short the malady. Continued fevers are fortunately of rare occurrence, and I did not see four cases of ophthalmia, although its effects are every where visible among the native inhabitants; but affections of the skin are very general. Inoculation has been long practised by the natives.*

The military hospital is an immense establishment, and beautifully situated in the former garden of the Dey, about a mile from the town, near the sea. It was admirably clean, airy, and well regulated, and has around it the finest orange groves in this neighbourhood. A portion is set apart for the officers. The Sisters of Charity act as nurses, and are highly serviceable among the sick. Besides the numbers here suffering under the wounds and operations resulting from the late attack on Constantina, were many labouring under the fever of the plain. On my way to it the road led from the Bab-el-Ouetta gate, through

* Some diseases have been introduced by the French, which were almost unknown before; when these did occur, they were of mild character, and the natives treated them on the purest antiphlogistic system, keeping the patients on raisins and water for thirty days. I learn that perfect success attended this practice.

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the former burial-ground of the Mohammadans, whose feelings have been much outraged by having their tombs and marabutts destroyed to form the material of the road.

With the climate of Algiers I was, I confess, disappointed. No doubt, in comparison with England, and the north of Europe generally, it is far superior; but it cannot be spoken of as approaching, in any way, to that of Madeira or the Canaries. The daily temperature ranged during our stay from 57° at 9 A.M. to 63° at 3 P.M.; the average mean temperature during the day was about 60°; but the nights were cold, falling as low as 54° or 53° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The dews are very heavy, but the people all congratulate themselves upon the fineness of this season, rarely remembering a Christmas without heavy rain. In the summer, the heat rises from 85° to 90°, and it has been observed even as high as 100°, and when southerly winds prevail the climate is very trying; the most wholesome are the north and west. The rainy season is November, and the coldest months January and February, when there frequently is a white *frost* on the ground in the mornings; but spring has already far advanced by the end of February, and from then to the end of June, the climate is said to be delightful.

The society and amusements, so necessary to an invalid, are not to be found here, and its present unsettled condition and want of accommodation render it by no means so attractive as other spots in the Mediterranean. You have not the same power of varying your climate as in those insular mountain countries I have already described, and the glare of the whitewashed houses is very disagreeable. I have no doubt, however, that if the French retain this country a few years longer, Algiers will be extolled as a place of repute for the invalid, especially when it possesses all the luxuries of France; besides being the only available spot on this part of the African side of the Mediterranean.

On the 26th, we crossed the bay to the river Haratoh, at the entrance to which the French have erected two forts. With much difficulty we forced the boat over the bar, and proceeded some way up this muddy stream, which was scarcely deep enough to float our yacht's gig in. The banks were clothed with underwood, willows, oleanders, reeds, and cacti; and game of every kind was in the greatest abundance. We left our boat at a bridge some way up, and commenced our shooting excursion

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on the plain of Metijiah, that part of which bordering Algiers has been portioned out to the French, who so far from being able to cultivate, dare not even *visit* it without an armed escort! The marshes along the border literally swarm with snipe, which got up in flocks of hundreds; but the walking was very fatiguing, being up to our knees in water, with a scorching sun overhead, and suffocated by the reeds and bushes around, which prevented us seeing twenty yards in any direction. There were red-legged partridges, larger than any I ever saw before; plover in great quantity, a small bustard called *poule de Carthage*, and two descriptions of woodcock, a large and a small, bearing the same proportions to each other as the jack does to the common snipe. I inquired for, but could not hear of the double or solitary snipe being found in this part of the Barbary states. Prodigious flocks of starlings rise from the reeds; flamingoes are occasionally got in the marshes; and I observed two or three specimens of the tinto negro here, as well as at Teneriffe, being, in all probability, a purely African bird; I saw two land-rails, and was informed that they did *not* emigrate. Teal, widgeon, and other water-fowl are in the greatest abundance. In the more upland country we met several chacals, (or jackals,) and also the ichneumon and porcupine; the latter are considered a great delicacy, and exposed in the meat-markets, as at Rome. Wild boars abound in the thickets, but though we saw numerous tracks, we were not fortunate enough to meet with any. The greater part of the plain we passed over is covered with the yellow narcissus, as well as the squill and asphodel. While in the jungle, a herd of small cattle, with a fierce buffaloe aspect, started up, and completely surrounded me, bellowing loudly, pawing the ground, frisking their tails, and showing every disposition to mischief. Some Arabs in the neighbourhood, scarcely less savage in appearance, came providentially to my rescue, and beat them off. Probably no country in the world presents greater inducements to the sportsman than this. In addition to the minor game, there is said to be lion and panther shooting along the borders of the Atlas mountains, and wolves and hyenas are very common. The dromedary is a smaller and darker breed than that of the Canaries.

The rocks are chiefly micaceous schist, but the houses and public buildings are constructed principally of bricks; the French

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have, however, opened a quarry near the town. I was much struck with the ingenious manner in which the Algerines had constructed the mole. A number of large, square, wooden cases were filled with a concrete, composed of the finest mortar and stones, broken as small as those used in road-making. It remained in this state till it hardened, when the cases were removed, and the mass, which measured ten or twelve feet square, was left exposed to the air some time longer. Levers were then placed under it, and it was shoved down into the sea, without ever breaking.

It is time to ask ourselves the important questions—"What have the French done for Algiers?—and how has its change of masters affected England?" To the first, I think, every conscientious writer must answer, *nothing*. The eyes of Europe have been turned upon it for some time past, anxiously waiting the result of this vaunted conquest. The French, to be sure, have made a great noise about its capture, and their valuable possessions in the north of Africa; but it is already beginning to appear, even to themselves, a bad speculation. No doubt they were called on to resent the insult offered to their consul, whom the Dey struck in the face with his fan, as well as other aggressions of the natives. But as to their expressions of philanthropy, and cant about abolishing slavery, it is sheer bombast and nonsense; it being a well-known fact, that since our treaty in 1816, and subsequently enforced in 1823, there has been little or no Christian slavery in Algiers. They now have been in possession nearly eight years, during which time they have put a new lantern on the light-house—made one or two roads—widened a few of the streets—and erected a small pillar opposite the Lazaretto, to commemorate their glorious victory!! Confidence, however, has not been restored; there is no faith between the natives and the invaders; no intercourse whatever with the interior; and during the period of my visit, Abd-el-Kadir was on the hills with large bands of Arabs, threatening war unless he was allowed to have the American consul his political agent at Algiers—a trick worthy the wily Arab, who thus hoped to possess the means of ascertaining the French movements, without the chance (in case of war) of his agent being obliged to depart. True it is, the towns of Boojeiah and Constantina have fallen into their hands, but are they in possession of the territories attached to

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those places? No; they have conquered the cities, but not colonized the country of Algiers. At the period of my visit, Achmet Bey, the powerful chief of Constantina, was still in existence, but his treasure (one of the greatest in the world) lay buried in the citadel of his late city, he having concealed it according to the method most approved here—by cutting off the head of the slave employed to bury it. The outlay of this colony is immense, nearly a million and a half annually—an army of 30,000 men, and an incalculable loss of life—without the return of a single franc. Even the coral fishery at Bona, one of the most valuable sources of profit, has been completely neglected; and as yet (1844,) no return of any description has been received from this most favoured and fertile region.

By three ways could the conquest of Algiers have been made advantageous to France:—

First—by opening a commerce with the interior. Secondly—by the improvement and colonization of this splendid country itself. And thirdly—by the improvement and better regulation of the coral fishery. But in no one of these have they succeeded. I shall not dwell on the atrocities committed on the inoffensive Jews and natives by the soldiery, during and since the siege. The horrors of war must always bring such, and the French have never been famed for their clemency; but nothing can justify their treatment of the people of Bona, whom they deserted, and left to the mercy of the Arabs and Kabyles, after persuading them to take up arms for France. There has not been a single manufactory established, and nothing done to *better the condition* or conciliate the good-will of the natives.

The French speak of the taking of Algiers as one of the proudest feats in the annals of their history. Let us now see how this was was effected, and that from the pen of *their own* historian,* who tells us that they fitted out an armament of 34,184 men; and that the fleet consisted of 10 ships of the line, 24 frigates, 14 corvettes, 23 brigs, 9 gabanes, 8 bomb-boats, 4

* See the work published by Rozet, one of the officers engaged in the expedition, and now resident at Algiers. See also United Service Journal for 1830, which makes the estimate 11 ships of the line, 23 frigates, 23 brigs, 4 barges, 4 bombs, and 3 steamers, which seems quite under the mark.

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schooners, 7 steamers, and 357 transports. This fleet entered the bay in June, 1830, and landed the troops, *unopposed*, at a place called Sidy-Ferruch, or Turretta-Chico, a small promontory some ten miles to the west of the town. The Algerines had a very inconsiderable force in the field, as the greater number of the Arabs and Bedawees, from want of pay and provisions, were totally disorganised, and returned to the mountains after a few days' service, while the Turkish army in the town and its vicinity did not at any time amount to 7,000 men. The Dey, an infatuated old man, offered comparatively little resistance, either relying upon the impregnability of his town, from the many assaults it had already successfully resisted—or worked on by his faith in predestination; so that when asked by one of the consuls why he did not oppose the French landing, he returned for answer—"And if I did, how could I cut off all their heads?"

The French advanced *cautiously* through the broken country to the town, through places where the Bedawee cavalry, the chief stay of an eastern army, could not be of any service. The works and redoubts thrown up over every inch of ground where they advanced, certainly speaks well for the caution of their leader. In about eighteen days after, they arrived near the city, and erected a battery opposite the Emperor's fort, one of the strongest works, and completely commanding the town, from which it is not half a mile distant. This was silenced after a few hours, and the thousand men it contained rushed tumultuously into the town, leaving it occupied by a couple of negroes, who gallantly sacrificed their own lives, and set fire to the magazine, which blew up with a tremendous explosion.

From that moment Algiers was in the power of the conquerors, as Fort L'Empereur and the neighbouring heights would have soon battered it to atoms. Indeed, one only wonders that the land-defences of this stronghold were so weak, as there is hardly a height in the neighbourhood by which it could not be commanded; but a land attack was never expected, every such previous attempt having failed, principally owing to the obstacles presented by the coast itself, and the violence of the sea; of which the unfortunate attempt of the emperor Charles V. is a well-known instance.

The Dey being at last persuaded of his imminent danger, sent in great perturbation for the English consul, who honestly told

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him that further resistance was impossible, and that the town must surrender. At the Dey's earnest solicitation he became the mediator; a *carte blanche* was forwarded through him to Bourmont, and signed by him next morning; and the French entered Algiers on the 5th of July, 1830, the Dey being allowed to remove all his personal property, amounting, it is said, to about £2,000,000 in jewels and specie. How far the property of more private individuals was respected, I shall not now say. On the Dey's departure, he presented his gold-sheathed yatagan to our consul, Mr. St. John, for his valuable services.

So far for the land attack. In the meantime the immense armament I have described was cruising in the bay, but never once ventured within range of the batteries; and although it kept up a fire, few shots ever reached the shore. "The whole French army," writes Mr. Lord, "who, from the heights they occupied, were spectators of the entire manœuvre, cried shame on their pusillanimity." This so emboldened the Algerines, that they sent out a couple of brigs, and two or three rotten schooners and feluccas, to attack the whole French fleet. Their going out was an instance of extraordinary daring—perhaps we might say of infatuation; but what was still more wonderful, they came back safe and sound; so that the whole damage done by the French fleet was, according to their own official documents, estimated at seven francs and a half! And for this the admiral Duperré was made a peer of France! As Ries Omar, who commanded in the Mohammadan fleet, said to me, "An English frigate would have blown us out of the water." The contrast is so forcible, and the result so different, that I could not help looking back on Lord Exmouth's gallant attack on this place—when the spanker-boom of the old Queen Charlotte actually knocked the pipe from the mouth of one of the Turkish artillerymen, who was sitting at a gun, fuse in hand, at the tremendous mole battery;—and with the Dutch fleet, sustaining one of the hottest fires ever known for upwards of six hours;—and when he had destroyed all the stores, ships, and batteries, and was knocking the town about the Dey's ears, and every thing was in his power, what was his answer to the terms of capitulation offered by the Dey: "England does not war for cities, and is unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants."

Animosity against the French was long cherished here, and the

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want of faith in that people was instanced so long back as 1720, in the answer of Mahomet Basha to the French consul, and which reply tells also the condition and education of an Algerine Dey—"My mother sold sheep's feet, and my father sold neats' tongues, but they would be ashamed to expose for sale so worthless a tongue as thine."

I think I have shown that the present condition of affairs here has injured English commerce. We are now at peace with France, and long may we continue to cherish the present feelings of amity towards so brave and enlightened a nation; there is, however, a *possibility* of our being again at war, and then Algiers would be a very dangerous post in the Mediterranean; and if it be true that the French have long coveted Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, standing midway between this place and Marseilles, their position would be doubly dangerous, as a line of communication would be then formed across this part of the Mediterranean, thus separating Gibraltar from Malta, our two most important stations, and materially interrupting our communication with India, whether by the Red Sea or the Euphrates.

With all this, Algiers has its use. The soirees at Paris sing the praises of Mareschal Bourmont; it forms a pabulum for public excitement, so necessary to the existence of a Frenchman; and may serve to keep down the fever of another revolution. It is the "refugium peccatorum" of all France; its wonders swell the pages of the *Revue Afrique*, and it gives something more to think about than inventing infernal machines, or cutting the throat of the citizen-king, to say nothing of its influence on the all-important subject of dress, as appears from a late number of the *Petit Courier des Dames*, which observes, that "the taste of the Parisian dandies is more warlike than that of the ladies, the favourite colours being 'Abd-el Kader,' 'sand of the desert,' and 'gris d'Afrique.'"

This great conquest reminds me strongly of the story of the canny Scot, who, having sold a horse to his friend, and the money being paid, was requested to tell the purchaser if he had any faults, "Why, he has gotten but jist twa," said he; "the first is, that when turned out to graze, he's no very easily cacht." "Oh! as to that," replied the friend, "I can easily manage it—but the other?" "Why, the other is, that when he is catched, he's no worth a bawbee."

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In concluding the few observations I made during my short stay in this delightful country, I must say, that the foregoing remarks are not dictated in an unfriendly spirit; my only feeling is that of regret, that where so wide, so inviting a field for improvement was opened, so little has been effected; but the prospect, however imperfect, of civilizing this country, is cheering; science will, no doubt, be benefitted, the collections of the Jardin des Plants enriched, and means may be afforded to reach the interior, or penetrate beyond the Atlas, a region which, in a great measure, is still to us a *terra incognita*.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SICILY.

The Coast of Sicily—Marsala—Quarantine—Medusæ—Their powers of sight—Cuvier—A dolphin hunt—Arrival at Malta—Harbour of La Valetta—Departure from Malta—Candia—Shores of Egypt.

DECEMBER 28.—We stood across the bay, and bade farewell to Algiers. As the evening of the first of January approached, we neared the coast of Sicily, which at some distance appeared a collection of separate islands, the extreme lowness of the shore in some places between the mountains giving rise to this delusion. We were now beginning to experience the exhilarating influence of a warmer atmosphere, and to witness and appreciate the glowing beauties of a Claude Lorraine sky, and the varying tints of a Mediterranean sunset. The lower animals seemed to feel the animation imparted by returning spring, as the sea was now alive with myriads of its many-hued mollusca, that during the noon-tide heat rose to the surface; and at night the crest of every wave was fringed with the metallic lustre of phosphoric light.

The island of Maretimo and the town of Marsala we passed within view, and shaped our course towards Malta, but during the next two days the whole appearance of the weather changed; the sky became clouded, dark, and louring, and the wind cold and variable.

On the morning of the 3rd, the wind was "dead on end," after which it came on to blow so hard that, although nearly half-way to Malta, we were forced to run back, and anchor in the roadstead of Marsala, to escape the fury of a blast which seemed as if each wayward sister had risen from her Scottish heath, and sent a wind to drive us from our course.

Viewed from our present position, this place had a cold, bleak appearance, probably increased by the effects of the late gale.

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A good harbour is much wanting here, and could be formed without incurring any very great expense, by raising and joining the present break-water to the shore opposite the wharf.

The vessels lying here were mostly English, engaged in the wine trade, which is the only commerce of the place. Wishing to visit the town and the neighbouring quarries, we applied for permission to land. After some hours' delay a board of health, composed of the butchers, bakers, and barbers of the town, made their appearance at the lazaretto, and hearing that we had but just arrived from Barbary, appeared particularly horrified at the thought of admitting so much plague and pestilence amongst them, and consequently imposed a quarantine of twenty-one days upon us; at the same time, each member of the board kindly informed us of his trade or occupation, and solicited our patronage during our captivity. We procured some provisions, and remained at anchor, ready to go to sea the moment the wind favoured.

As far as I have yet seen or heard, I know of few stations that offer a greater field of interest and profit to the marine naturalist, than Marsala and the coast of Sicily generally. To-day (Jan. 4) the water is literally swarming with medusæ of all shapes and colours, but more particularly the beautiful pink and blue *rhizostomata*. These extraordinary animals surrounded the vessel in such quantities, that several could be captured at one haul of a bucket. By the alternate expansion and contraction of their umbrella-shaped tops, they progress through the water in a slanting direction, generally about a foot from the surface; but what struck me as remarkable was, that they possess an undoubted perception of objects even at some distance;* for in swimming or floating around us, they with great caution avoided

* The acalephæ, in which this sense was most apparent, were the *cyanea labiche*; and this perception of objects arose not only from the percussion of the water, by any thing *thrown* into it, but also from any piece of rope or pole held *steadily* in their way. Professor Ehrenberg has already shown that certain modifications of eyes exist in other members of the medusa family, particularly the *medusa aurita*. In all probability, these creatures possess the very first and simplest form of optical apparatus; and in some of this tribe Müller has demonstrated an eye composed of an expanded nerve, vitrious humour, and a choroid coat.

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not only the sides of the vessel, but also any object thrown in their way. Numerous aphrodites and valellæ* rose occasionally to the surface; and both the *beroe idya* and *cephea papuensis* floated round us in vast quantities.

I can never take up one of these animals without associating with it the name of Cuvier, because it reminds me of what wonders he achieved in this department of comparative anatomy, and how great a reward it in turn heaped upon its votary; for it was this knowledge that raised the poor tutor of Normandy to a rank seldom equalled in the annals of scientific literature. It was this knowledge that rescued animals from their supposed vegetable existence—this it was that could alone have enabled him to tell the organization, and build up the figure of an animal from the mere inspection of its footsteps, that called a fossil world into being, and that placed the great naturalist on that high pinnacle from which he took so grand and comprehensive a view of the animal kingdom, that formed a classification not since surpassed, and confessed to be the purest we may in all probability ever have. And what was his reward? Fame, rank, wealth, honours, and the united homage of the whole scientific world. Fortunately for him, he belonged to a country whose government cherishes science, and where the wealth of talent can purchase rank, and the labour of discovery and research is rewarded by even the highest offices of the state. Alas! like many other great men, he died but too early for the cause of science—a counsellor of state, a peer of France, and the greatest zoologist of the age. The band of weeping friends that knelt around his dying couch, told of the private worth and domestic endearments of the man, in whom Paris lost the brighest jewel that glittered in her literary coronet. The sçavans of his country followed him to his grave; but no funeral oration need have been pronounced at his tomb, for the mourning voice of science throughout the civilized world sung his requiem.

In the evening the wind moderated, and as this inland sea goes down nearly as rapidly as it rises, we were enabled to continue our course towards Malta.

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* The two plates that form the skeleton of this singular little animal resemble very much the substance called the pen of the calmar, (*sepia loligo*.)

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As night set in, a large shoal of dolphins surrounded us. I have seldom witnessed a scene of greater interest and excitement than the moonlight gambols of these cetaceæ, and the sport of miniature whaling. Our schooner was holding on her course in gallant style; a steady breeze—a rippled phosphorescent sea—a cloudless sky—and "the watch" on deck or in the rigging anxiously waiting for the dart of the harpoon from the boatswain, who stood upon the martingal before the cutwater. Hundreds of dolphins (*delphinus delphis*) dashed through the water; diving under the vessel; bounding in graceful curves above the surface; and by the flakes of light that break from the disturbance of thousands of marine productions, showing every line of their beautiful forms. Sometimes they would follow in our wake; then deploy on either side of us, as if to try our rate of sailing; pass us; and again fall back alongside. All was breathless expectation on board; at last a large one came immediately in front, and the barbed steel entered deep into its chest. It instantly dived, taking with it a coil of rope attached to the head of the harpoon; then came to the surface to blow, and dived again several times, the yacht still holding on her course at least seven knots an hour. At last exhausted, it was hauled to the vessel's side, puffing and splashing in a most terrific manner. Then a bowling knot was slipt over its tail—"all hands on deck," and some six or eight stout fellows dragged the creature over the bows. It was about eight feet in length, and its dissection occupied me the two next days.*

January 6th.—On awaking this morning we found ourselves snugly moored within the harbour of La Valetta; but our joy was soon marred, by the information that a twelve days' quarantine had been imposed upon us. Except, however, the disappointment of not going on shore, this had the less effect upon our spirits, as a day or two was the most we intended to have remained, and that only to have taken in the necessary stores and provisions, before we set forward on our voyage towards Egypt and Syria, where we proposed wintering.

Malta has been well and often described. I can only speak of

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* For some remarks upon the mode of suckling in the Cetaceæ, see Appendix, G.

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it from the water view, where on one side of us a row of stores, custom-houses, and health-offices fronted a handsome quay; over these the houses of the town rose in terraces, the narrow, steep streets, plainly visible from our position, and the turrets of the governor's palace, with the steeples of the numerous churches, breaking up the monotony of dead-walls and house-tops. On the other side of this magnificent harbour all was fort, battery, tiers of cannon, red coats, and perpendicular walls of dazzling whiteness.

This was a holiday, so the ringing of bells never ceased from morning till night; it certainly shows no small degree of *liberality* in our government to bear with a nonsensical ceremony, that is pronounced a *nuisance* even in the most Catholic cities of the Continent.

Although not allowed to land, we were not without amusement; hundreds of boats passing and repassing with the Maltese ladies in their black valdetts; the vessels of the English fleet moored on all sides of us; and the good cheer afforded us of fish, fresh milk, game, lamb, peas, Tangerine oranges, and fruit of all kinds, enabled us to make up for the pleasures of a bad hotel; and in the evening the bands of the men-of-war playing the airs of old England was particularly delightful.

On the 7th we left Malta, a light wind stealing us gradually out of its land-locked harbour, to the great annoyance of some score of boats that had hoped to be employed to tow out "my lord Inglese," a term applied to all the English who travel with any degree of comfort through the Levant, and always applied to the owner of a yacht. These harpies were the only sailors I ever met who seemed to have no liking for a wind.

On the 10th we were near the shores of Candia, but could only distinguish the "loom of the land;" next day Mount Ida was visible, and on the 13th the shores of Africa were again before us, and recognizable from the mast-head.

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CHAPTER IX.

EGYPT.

View of Alexandria—A Turkish Pilot—The Egyptian Fleet—Soldiery—An Eastern Bazaar—Donkey Boys—Cleopatra's Needle—Its prostration and proposed removal—A Palm grove—Ruins of the ancient City—Pompey's Pillar—Nautical Hieroglyphics—English Seamen—The Cemetery—Tombs—Eastern Lamentation—A Surveyor of the Navy—The Dock-yard—Commissioners—Vessels on the stocks—The Navy—Arsenal—Artisans—Mosque—Matrimonial speculation—Price of labour—A line-of-battle ship—Naval uniform—The Hospital—Consular residences—The Slave-market—Fish—Dromedaries—Remarks on their Natural History.

JAN. 13th.—We made the land this evening, but from its being so low, and the coast rising only a few feet above the level of the water, we were unable to distinguish it at any great distance. Before nightfall we obtained a very indistinct view of Alexandria, resembling the broken outline of an old fortress, and the Arab's tower that of a low hummock. The harbour not being safe to enter at night, we lay "off and on" till morning, when we found ourselves abreast of the tower, a plain, round, dark-looking building, not unlike an armless windmill, or those towers along the Spanish shore, as you enter the straits of Gibraltar. This is the only object for miles along the coast, and serves as a most valuable guide to mariners approaching the shores of Egypt, which are one continued series of low undulations of sand, than which nothing can appear more dreary, bleak, and barren, devoid as they are of a single living thing to break the monotony or enliven the scene.

On nearing the shore, the water becomes shallow and beautifully clear, vieing with the tint of the tourquoise; enabling us to distinguish objects on the bottom at a considerable depth; and having numbers of large medusæ of every possible hue floating through it.

At length the city and harbour began to rise up, as if emerg-

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ing from the sea, and the number of tall masts told of our proximity to a large fleet. We shortly afterwards picked up a pilot, blind of one eye, (as were each of the crew, except one old man who had lost both.) The pilot very deliberately squatted himself, cross-legged, upon the poop, and commenced smoking his long pipe, which he scarcely ever removed from his lips till we anchored. He was dressed in the Turkish costume, which is much more convenient than the long loose dress of the Egyptians for those engaged in any active occupation. He seemed to understand his business very well, and was the first of his profession we had yet met whose first inquiry was not after the rum-bottle. The entrance is rather intricate here, having several shoals and sunken rocks. We passed Marrabutt island—a miserable sand-stone rock, on which the present viceroy has erected a considerable battery. A light on this island would be of immense value, and enable vessels to enter during the night.

Except the row of houses along the water's edge, little or nothing of the town is seen from the harbour. There were a number of windmills then building along the shores to the right; and a view is had of the tall slender shaft of Pompey's pillar rising behind them, and forming a pleasing object even at this distance. There are no public buildings, such as you would expect even in the smallest European cities, visible from the harbour. A line of low wharfs at the water's edge, the minarets of a couple of mosques, and the hareem of Ibrahim Basha, which stands detached on a narrow neck of land to the left of the harbour, are all you see of the grandeur of the principal seaport of the east, and the second city in Egypt. The hareem is a large square building, without any architectural beauties, but easily distinguished by its isolated position, white walls, red-tiled roof, and green window-blinds—here, at least, deserving the name of "*jealousies*."

The Egyptian fleet was moored at the entrance of the harbour, and in number and appearance far surpassed what we had heard of it. They are a magnificent set of vessels—all in commission—in the most perfect order; the majority of them two deckers, but mounting many more guns than ours of a similar class; with round sterns, and all the other modern improvements in naval architecture. The yacht of the Basha is a most beautiful craft, magnificently fitted up, and fully equal to any of the Cowes squadron.

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On "bringing up," we were visited by a health-officer, and seeing the yellow flag flying from some Swedish men-of-war, were rather frightened lest we should be again in quarantine; but we were admitted *sans ceremonie*, and immediately after the Egyptian admiral sent his boat, with two officers, to know if he could be of any service to us. They were exceedingly polite, and spoke very tolerable French. They use more men in their boats than is usual with vessels of war, and direct every thing by the boatswain's whistle, even to the stroke of the oars. Altogether, the harbour of Alexandria presented a picture the most imposing; and the stir and bustle, both warlike and commercial, was what we could have had no idea of. The flags of the different nations of Europe were here displayed beside the red banner of Mohammad Alee, to which he has added a star within the crescent; and were this port to be taken as an index of the flourishing state of the country, great indeed would be its wealth.

After dinner we landed at one of the wharfs near the custom-house, and met a company of the troops, who all looked abominably dirty, and in marching lifted their legs like so many turkeys in long grass. Their dress, which is of white cotton, may be the reason they appeared so very filthy, but otherwise they were all very comfortably clad. This dress consists of a light jacket; wide bagged trowsers, fitting tightly to the leg from the knee down to the ancle, and buttoned down the side like gaiters; red shoes and garters, a striped cotton sash round the waist, and a small red cap, with a blue tassel, buff belts, and bright Birmingham firelocks. Each party was preceded by a set of drums and fifes. As we walked along the wharfs, we met several groups of both sailors and soldiers off duty, and notwithstanding all that has been said of their hardships, and the cruelty of dragging them from their homes and friends, they seemed exceedingly happy, generally walking hand in hand, or playing with each other. They were all young, and mostly slight-made, active men.

Our entry into the city of the Ptolemies was any thing but pleasing. Outside the gate we had to pass through a village of miserable mud huts, only equalled in filth and squalidness by the wretched-looking set of old people, half-clad women, and wholly naked children squatted around them—quite an African wigwam. These extend all along the town on the land side, and are the abodes of the wives and families of the troops and sailors of

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Mohammad Alee. We found a guard of soldiers at each of the gates. The streets are much wider than those of Algiers, and filthy in the extreme. The numerous bazaars through which we passed presented a scene of exceeding novelty—the merchants being seated in their several compartments, surrounded by their respective wares; some engaged with their customers, who, if respectable, seat themselves upon the bench that runs along the side of the bazaar, raised a couple of feet above the surface; and as the Mooslims never conclude a hasty bargain, they enjoy a cup of coffee and a pipe in the interim; others employed in reading the Koorán, which they do aloud in a very peculiar monotonous singing tone, rocking the body backwards and forwards all the time; and many of them had retired into the interior of the shop and were performing their evening prayers. All this, with the narrowness of the streets—the different cries of the several water-carriers, sellers of beans and vegetables, and venders of sherbet, at all the corners of the principal streets—the droves of camels, the diversity of the costumes, and the peculiarity of the language, are quite astounding to an Englishman, and brought before us the scenes so beautifully described in that epitome of oriental manners—the Arabian Nights.

I was not many minutes in Alexandria, until I was forcibly struck with the number of blind people I met at every turn; it is really incredible; the greater number had but one eye, and many others were groping their way through the streets in perfect darkness. Squinting is a very common affection among the people of Alexandria; the greater number of the lower orders are what would be termed blear-eyed; and wherever we went, we discovered lamentable traces of the ravages of ophthalmia.

During our walk through the city, we happened to light upon one of the donkey stations, when a scene ensued that beggars all description. The moment we made our appearance, the whole body of donkey-boys, with their animals, rushed upon us with one accord, pushing, jostling, and abusing each other, in a most unintelligible jargon; and half-a-dozen laying hold of each of us at once, attempted to place us, nolens volens, on their donkeys. I was literally lifted off and on three of them, before I could employ my stick to any advantage, to deter others from *plucking* me off the one on which I had at last secured a seat. The whole scene is really so ludicrous, that it is worth

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witnessing, for *once;* after which, I would advise all travellers to provide themselves with a good, stout koorbág,* which is made of the hide of the hippopotamus, and forms a staple article of commerce with the inhabitants of Upper Nubia, and on the Blue River; it is the only remedy for an Alexandrian ass-boy. As soon as we were fairly seated, the boys set the animals off at a most dashing pace, through the narrow streets, over bread-stalls, old women, and all the various merchandize that strew the floor of an eastern bazaar. They kept goading the donkeys with a sharp stick, and shouting to the people, "Riglac, riglac, darick,"—"Get out of the way,"—and cursing in tolerably plain *English*. It was quite impossible to stop, or hold up against this vis a tergo. I nearly came in collision with several enormous camels; ran foul of various Egyptian officers, naval and military; and narrowly escaped upsetting numerous blind people at every turn, besides trampling over whole hosts of half-starved dogs, that are always lurking about the bazaars. To attempt to reason with our drivers was out of the question: the more we attempted to pull up, the more they shouted and urged on the animals; and to turn in the narrow, crowded streets was impossible. The boys laughed, and seemed to enjoy it of all things, beating the unfortunate dogs most unmercifully whenever they came across them. After many hair-breadth escapes of camels, old women, water-carriers, and buffaloes, we arrived safe at our boat, and were heartily glad to get ourselves on board again, after the noise and bustle we had just left. We were rather surprised to see one of the Basha's *coaches-and-four!* parading the streets.

The donkeys of Egypt are a small but well-made and active race, and are all closely shaven except the legs. The saddle is a high pad, somewhat like that used in Galicia, but it does not project so much forward. They are the only mode of conveyance at Alexandria, and are ridden by all persons, even those of rank; you can have one with its attendant for about five piastres, or twelve pence halfpenny, a day—formerly they were the only animals Christians were allowed to ride.

15th.—On our landing this morning we were instantly beset by

* Generally pronounced by Europeans *Corbatch*.

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at least two dozen of our last night's persecutors, who were anxiously waiting our arrival, and through whom we had absolutely to fight our way; nevertheless they followed us through the town, determined to capture us at all hazards—every now and then running with their donkeys before us, exclaiming—"him best dunkey"—"you Inglese no walk"—"him kick highest"—"him dum fine Jock-ass"—"me show you catacomb." After several fruitless efforts to get rid of them, we had to strike—further resistance was vain—indeed I deem it the part of prudence to adopt the prevailing creed of the country, and bow to your inevitable fate; the only way to escape the assault of a multitude is at once to mount the first that comes up, and belabour your way through the rest.

Having paid his respects to his consul, one of the first visits a European makes on his arrival at Alexandria is to Cleopatra's needles and Pompey's pillar, and thither we now bent our steps. These magnificent obelisks, to which authors have assigned the ridiculous name of Cleopatra's needles, are situated outside the present town, near the shore of the new harbour, amidst heaps of rubbish, drifted sand, and pitfalls—the debris of the former city—which extends a great distance all round, including that part on which Pompey's pillar stands, and even as far as the shores of the lake Mareotis. The poorer people are constantly at work amongst its ruins, as the scarcity of stones here is very great, and they obtain much from the foundations of the old walls scattered about, some ten or twelve feet below the present surface—for it is written, "her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted."

As these were the first objects of Egyptian grandeur and antiquity we had seen, we were greatly struck with them. All who have travelled themselves will, I think, acknowledge how very difficult it is to convey by words, a description of objects such as these; or, without an appearance of affectation, to embody in language the feelings that their recollections will arouse. Blocks of stone of such magnitude must ever excite wonder;—how much more so when we know that they contain a record of some of the mysteries of the religion of the most extraordinary, the most enlightened, as well as the most ancient people in the world. They are generally supposed by antiquaries to have decorated the entrance to the palace of the Ptolemies in the days of Egyp-

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tian grandeur, for which purpose they must have been carried down the Nile from the quarries of Upper Egypt. The one nearest the town is prostrate, lying with its base towards the shore, and imbedded to about half its depth in the sand and rubbish. It is sixty-three feet in length from the round of the mortice to the bevel of the top, the extreme end of which is broken off; the whole measurement from out to out is seventy feet, by six and a half feet in breadth at the base. The hieroglyphics with which it is covered are sharper and in better preservation than those of the one still standing, on the eastern side of which they are much defaced, probably by the action of the prevailing wind, which, blowing from the desert for centuries, loaded with particles of fine siliceous sand, has had this powerful effect. Both of them undoubtedly stood on pedestals, and are composed of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite, somewhat brighter in colour than that of Pompey's pillar. The sand and accumulating rubbish has covered up the entire pedestal of the standing one, and a considerable portion of its base.

The prostration of the obelisk has been erroneously attributed to the French, during their occupation of Egypt; a modern writer, however, first refers its downfall to an earthquake, but in a subsequent note says, "I afterwards learned it had been thrown down by Chiandi, an Italian engineer, in the service of the Bâsha, the pedestal having been blown up, and the fragments used in constructing a fort close at hand. In the same manner the obelisk itself was to have been disposed of; but this fine monument of antiquity was saved for the time by the interference of the English consul, it being the property of Great Britain."

The French generally assign its downfall to the English, and in this they are joined by one of the last writers upon Egypt—an American traveller, who states, when speaking of the standing one, or that generally denominated Cleopatra's needle, "by its side, half buried in the sand, lies a fallen brother of the same size and about the same age, said to have been taken down by the English many years ago, for the purpose of being carried to England, but the Bâsha prevented it."

Now, that this obelisk must have been in its prostrate condition for some centuries, we learn from the work of the accurate and erudite Sandys, who, speaking of Alexandria, in 1610 says, "Of antiquities there are few remainders, only one hieroglyphical

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obelisk, of Theban marble, as hard, well nigh, as porphyry, but of a deeper red, and speckled alike, called Pharaoh's needle, standing where once stood the palace of Alexandria, *and another lying by, and like it, half buried in the rubbish.*" And again, from the following passage in the rare and curious old work of Frere Nicole Lestuen, published in 1517, we may conclude it was prostrate in his day, as he mentions but one standing:—

"De la on est mene an grant lieu on estoit la sale marence et encore est une grat coulonne toute dune pierre de merueilleuse haulteur en memoire dn faictaiat ung capital agu: et semble a une tour qui la uoit de loing. Ceste coulonne est de couleur rouge et maintes lettres sont faictes a lentour: rius haulte a merueille que nest icel le qui est a romme aupres de sianct pierre; laqlle estoit a upres de ceste icy en Alexandrie; et est apportee a romme."

Indeed we might have conjectured its remaining for a long time in a condition similar to the present, from the fact of the greater sharpness of the hieroglyphics on *all* sides; for there are excavations or tunnels made under it, in two places, to obtain building materials, that enabled me to decide upon this point; yet, when standing, it must have been exposed to the same injurious influences as its neighbour. The removal of one or other of these obelisks to England has been long contemplated, and the delay has never been satisfactorily accounted for; for they are ours by right of conquest and presentation.*

The moment we arrived at the obelisks, our attendant dragoman and the donkey boys commenced a most destructive attack upon each of their corners and angles, with great stones, hammering away to procure us specimens to take with us, and did not at all understand our desiring them to desist, and saying we did not wish them to be broken; at which they laughed most heartily.

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* In an article published in the "Dublin University Magazine" for May, 1839, I proposed to have this prostrate obelisk conveyed to England, and with some sphinxes and other memorials of Egyptian conquest, erected as the Nelson testimonial in Trafalgar-square. For the particulars of that paper, and the letters I have received on the subject, see Appendix H.

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I should imagine the height of Cleopatra's needle to be, if cleared, about eighty feet, the height of the obelisk at Rome. A traveller of 1819 very gravely informs us that there are no eyes in Cleopatra's needles!!!

It is interesting to notice, in connection with this obelisk, the fact put forward by Sir G. Wilkinson, and other antiquaries, that it was constructed in the reign of Thothmes III., the Pharaoh generally supposed to have been destroyed in the Red Sea. Professor M'Cullagh has demonstrated chronologically, and particularly from the catalogue of Eratosthenes, that this Pharaoh of the Exodus was "a king named Achescus Ocaras, who reigned only one year; preceded by a king named Apappus, who reigned a hundred years, and succeeded by queen Nitocris, who reigned six years."* Apappus, he states to have beena foreigner in Lower Egypt, of Theban origin, and therefore a "new king, who knew not Joseph." Moses was born in the twenty-first year of his reign, and was saved by the king's young daughter, a girl about ten years old." Moses having fled to the land of Midian, returned to Egypt on the death of Apappus, during the short reign of his successor, Ocaras, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. "On the night of the passover, the king lost his first-born, perhaps his only son," continues Mr. M'Cullagh, "and this may be the reason that he was succeeded by his sister Nitocris. The short reign of Ocaras (a single year) might be explained by supposing that he was drowned in the Red Sea; but as there is nothing in the sacred narrative which obliges us to admit that the king perished in this manner, we may adopt the account of Herodotus, that he was murdered by his subjects. We may imagine that some of his nobles remained with Pharaoh on the shore, and that when they saw the sea return and swallow up all that had gone in after the Israelites, they murdered the king, whose obstinacy had brought such calamities on his people, and then placed his sister Nitocris on the throne." Herodotus (Euterpe, s. C.) asserts that the Egyptians, having slain her brother, who was then sovereign, she was appointed his successor, and that afterwards to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of the Egyptians, by inviting them to a festival in a large

* Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. I. p. 66. 1837.

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subterranean chamber, and then letting in the water of the Nile on them (probably in allusion to the drowning in the Red Sea.) She afterwards, to avoid the indignation of the Egyptians, suffocated herself in a chamber filled with ashes.

The Scriptures inform us, that on the Hebrews having passed through, "the waters returned, and covered the chariots and the horsemen and *all the host* of Pharaoh "*that came into the sea* after them; there remained not so much as one of them." (Exod. xiv. 28.) And again, in the song of triumph which the Israelites sung on the deliverance, we read that "Pharaoh's *chariots and his host* hath he cast into the sea; *his chosen captains also* are drowned in the Red Sea"—(Exod. xv. 4.); but no mention whatever, either in these or the parallel passages is made of the *individual* death of the Egyptian king; but of his overthrow, discomfiture, or overwhelmment, while the death or destruction of his *army* is distinctly stated.

In the immediate vicinity of Cleopatra's needles, the Jews have enclosed a large piece of ground, with a high wall, for a burial-place, and are erecting a handsome synagogue within it. If nothing else, toleration, at least, is commencing in Egypt, as heretofore none of that stricken race were allowed a place of public worship in any of the great cities.

We next proceeded to Pompey's pillar, and on our way passed by some groves of tall palms—the first collection of those truly eastern and magnificent trees we had yet seen. I know few objects of more striking beauty than a palm grove; the slender, leafless mail-clad stems, of these splendid monarchs of an African soil, shoot up without a single branch for sixty or eighty feet, when their waving plumes form most graceful arches overhead, in the twining tracery of their dark foliage. The great father of botany has well denominated this noble race "the princes and patricians of the vegetable kingdom."

Beyond these we passed one of the outer gates, with a deep fosse and drawbridge, where the Arabs and a few Bedawees hold a market for their flocks—from this, we had a good view of the pillar, standing upon a rising ground in the midst of an extensive plain, a continuation of the ruins of the ancient city, on which scarcely a single lichen finds sustenance; for it seems now the undisputed abode of the lizard, the kestril, and the grass-hopper. Without another object to catch the eye, or break the unvaried

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outline of the landscape, its appearance, when seen at a distance, thus accurately defined against the clear blue sky, has in it something impressively grand and noble; itself the monument of a city, and a people of by-gone days, it raises its tall form majestically from among the modern sepulchres and gilded tombs of yesterday. I can perfectly agree with Denon, that in the shaft of Pompey's pillar consists its beauty; being one solid piece of red granite, sixty-five feet in height, and still retaining its beautiful smooth polish. The capital which surmounts it, is a very rude attempt at the Corinthian order, the foliage very plain and meagre, and altogether it looks too short for its shaft. This alone ought, I think, to date its construction at a much earlier period than writers are willing to assign to it. I cannot help likening it to a draft, or rough model of the rich foliage and highly-wrought ornament of those Corinthian capitals I have seen in Greece, especially those of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which must be acknowledged as the finest specimens in existence; but compared with them, this seems almost a different order of architecture. The base appears much too high, and out of proportion, even for a single column; it is fourteen feet in breadth, and stands upon a corresponding platform of mason-work, which was so much undermined, as to threaten its downfall some years ago, but it has since been repaired. The exact height of the top of the pillar from the ground, is now ascertained to be ninety feet.

It is interesting to trace back the exact condition of such monuments as this for a series of years, as described to us by the early travellers and historians. Such inquiries materially assist the efforts of the antiquary in arriving at any well grounded supposition as to their use and origin; and they also enable us to form a just opinion as to the merits and discoveries (so called) of subsequent chroniclers. It is known to most persons versed in Egyptian antiquities, that the base of Pompey's pillar stands upon a block of marble, of about four feet square, round which there is a band of solid masonry, equal in circumference to the size of the base. This masonry was formerly composed of fragments of obelisks and broken ornaments, containing hieroglyphics and inscriptions on their sides—collected, in all probability, from the ruins of the ancient city of Alexandria. Denon, the French savant, and a celebrated English traveller of the same period, adduce these fragments of the ancient city, and the hieroglyphics they contain, as a proof of

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the modernness of the column. With due deference to these learned authors, I do not think that this is a sufficient proof against its antiquity; for it appears that, in 1610, the whole mass was supported or balanced upon the centre square stone, and not surrounded by those hieroglyphic tablets.

"Without the walls," says Sandys, in allusion to the granite of Cleopatra's needle, "on the south-west side of the city, on a little hill, stands a column of the same, all of one stone, sixty-eight palms high, and thirty-six in compass—*set upon a square cube, (and, which is to be wondered at,) not half so large as the foot of the pillar,* called by the Arabians, Hemadesleor, which is the column of the Arabians."

From time to time, this surrounding masonry has been removed in search of treasure. It was restored after the date of Sandy's visit; it was in a dilapidated state when Pococke first saw it; who writes, "When I returned a second time to Alexandria, this part was repaired in such a manner, that the lower is made a seat for the people to sit on; and so it is (*i. e.* the central supporting stone,) no more to be seen in its ancient state." At the date of the British expedition to Egypt, it was again in a ruined state, and has been twice renewed since; so that the stones forming the support of the basement can offer no decided proof as to the date when this monument, called Pompey's Pillar, was erected.

A general mistake exists in supposing that there are no hieroglyphics upon the shaft of Pompey's pillar. I regret to say, that it is now nearly covered with them, and although the greater number are as unintelligible as those of Cleopatra's needles, yet the frequent repetition of the H. M. S. attest the scientific research of the Mids and Reefers touching at Alexandria. Young gentlemen of the royal navy, let me ask in sober earnestness, in what consists the honour and glory of having your names emblasoned upon every post and pillar, in characters such as those in which Morrison's pills or Warren's blacking is set forth upon a dead wall in the neighbourhood of London? In England I am sure you would not, even if you dared, deface with black paint, in letters a foot long, any of our national monuments. It is not your calling; leave it to the sign-painters, or some of the travelling bagmen of Leeds or Manchester. The long tried worth—the unflinching courage—the gallantry, and noble daring of those

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proud bulwarks of Britain's liberties, whose names you have bedaubed upon this and other objects of antiquity throughout the Mediterranean, require no such homage to their greatness. In one of the efforts made to place a name high up on the pillar, the paint-pot upset, and has disfigured it very much.

A few Greeks had clambered to the top, by means of a rickety grass-rope ladder; they had fastened a dirty bit of paper to the base, stating, that gentlemen travellers would be insured a perfectly safe ascent for the sum of half a dollar. It was an amusement that none of our party were inclined to indulge in. Those at the top had hoisted the Greek revolutionary flag; strange to see it in this position in this country, and within sight of the villa of Ibrahim Bâsha. The French erected the cap of liberty upon it, which was afterwards removed by the British.

Quantities of fragments of different coloured marbles, and bits of polished porphyry are scattered around. In the plain beneath is the cemetery of the present city, the tombs of which are generally of mason-work, raised a couple of feet from the ground, narrow, and without any slab at top; at either end is an upright post or stele, that at the head being mostly expressive of the rank and sex of the deceased. In those erected to men, it is surmounted by a turban, such as was worn by the tribe, or descriptive of the office the person held during life, as that of Kádee, Mufti, or Memlook, &c. Those of females are without any ornament, and are only marked by the simple red cap or turboosh. On the front of the pillar is the name and station of the deceased, and also a verse of the Koorán; many of these inscriptions are beautifully executed in raised gilt letters, on an azure blue ground. All those pillars, and many of the tombs themselves are of white marble. A great number of them have a small open space in the centre of the top of the tomb, in which is planted a root of the aloe, which from its longevity, as well as its requiring so little sustenance, is considered a type of immortality, besides being believed by the Mooslims to be an infallible antidote against the *evil eye*, which they greatly dread, imagining that its power extends as well over the dead as the living. Others of the higher orders have small cupolas,*

* Dr. Shaw derives the word cupola from the Arabic term *cubbha*, which is applied to those small domes in Barbary.

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supported by corner pillars erected over them; and all are kept scrupulously clean and white-washed. I did not see any marabuts or tombs of saints among them; but each family mausoleum was enclosed by a low wall, and the different vaults were arranged side by side. The tombs of all those who had suffered decapitation were without any turban or ornament at top, and so their resting-places were easily distinguished. As we passed along, we met several funerals of the lower orders; the body being carried upon a rude bier without any coffin, and attended by about a dozen people. On our return to the city, we passed a group of women of the lowest class, proceeding in procession to the house of mourning, in number about thirty, walking two and two, clapping their hands together, and chanting a funeral dirge, not unlike the *keenen*, or wild Irish cry. Many of them had disfigured their arms and faces and naked breasts with mud, a practice related by Herodotus as in use among the Egyptian women of his day. It is to this also that in all probability the Scriptures so often refer, when describing sackcloth and *ashes* as typical of mourning.

Shortly after our arrival, we were waited upon one morning by the surveyor of the navy, Mohammed Effendi, whose embossed card! in the latest London fashion, was certainly more than we expected to have found in Egypt. He was an exceedingly intelligent man, was educated in some of the best dock-yards in England, and had so far overcome the prejudices of Islamism, as to marry one of our countrywomen.

Attended by this gentleman, we visited the dock-yard and arsenal, which must certainly be admitted to be the greatest national undertaking of the present Bâsha; and, taken in connection with the cannon foundry and arms manufactory at Cairo, shows much of returning civilization, and of the introduction (perhaps we should say, revival) of the arts in this extraordinary country. Of all the modern works of Egypt, this is that best worth seeing, and is an object of much interest, even to those more conversant with naval works; for, with the exception of the three higher powers, I doubt whether any of the European states could exhibit a finer establishment of the kind. We were first ushered into an office near the entrance, where the commissioners of the dock-yard were seated cross-legged on a deewan. They were exceedingly courteous, as, indeed, we invariably found

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the higher classes of Egyptian Mooslims. Coffee was presented, in small china cups holding about a third of one of ours, not on a tray, but handed to each individual by a separate servant, in a small silver stand, (*zurf,*) exactly like an egg-cup, which I always found very serviceable; as the cups are so hot, one is in great danger of burning their fingers. The coffee is far superior to that commonly used by us; it is drank without cream or sugar, boiling hot, and, as they never strain it, it is thick as mud; yet it has a most delicious fragrance. Who will say that it is not more grateful and more rational, while it is fully as refreshing, and a much less injurious beverage than those intoxicating liquors in use in our northern countries?

In this, my first visit into polite society in the east, I was surprised at seeing each of the Mooslims present make the usual salutation, by touching the forehead with the tips of the right-hand fingers, on receiving their coffee. At first, I imagined that it applied to the servant; but I afterwards learned, that it is intended for the master of the house, who then returns it. To one another, their salute is peculiarly easy and graceful; they generally approach the open hand to the lips, and then touch the forehead; but to an intimate friend or superior, the salutation is, by laying the hand first upon the breast, and then touching the lips and forehead, accompanied by a gentle inclination of the body forward.

Their dress was remarkably handsome. The outer cloak or beneesh of brown or drab cloth, trimmed with sable, fell in loose folds upon the deewan, where they sat cross-legged, leaving their red, pointed slippers on the floor beneath; their under garment of striped silk was confined round the waist by a splendid Cashmere shawl, in which was placed the ink-horn*—the badge of their profession; and the turban, bold, yet graceful, of white spotted muslin, over-shadowed a face, handsome, expressive, and intellectual. The eyes of all those men were of exceeding brilliancy, and their long silky beards gave a dignity to their appearance, such as is not to be found in the trim, well-shaven features of the European. Some few Christians, who were engaged in the office,

* "The writer's ink-horn by his side."—Ezek. ix.

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were dressed in black, the only colour they are permitted to wear in Egypt.

But we must visit those fine vessels now upon the stocks;—and here is one just ready to be launched, which I will tell you something about, without having your ears assailed by that most stunning of all noises, the calking and coppering of a man-of-war. This is a two-decker, but corresponding in number of guns to our three deckers, than any of which it is larger; being 3000 tons. It is not so long, however, as some of ours, being but 189 feet, by 40 feet in beam; it will, however, when finished, mount 100 guns.* The timber of these vessels is confessedly very inferior, and much smaller than would be used in any English vessel of war; but as there are no forest trees in this land, considerable difficulty existed on this head, and most of it was imported from Trieste. They endeavour to make up in quantity for deficiency in quality, so that the bottoms of those vessels are perfect beds of timber. This was the *tenth* that had been built of this class, and there were eight in commission. The ninth was brought out of the docks yesterday to be rigged and got ready for sea. The complement of men on board each of these was 1005, including officers, who in rank and number correspond to those of the English navy. Besides the ten line-of-battle ships, there are seven frigates, an armed steamer, four corvettes, eight brigs, and several other small craft in commission. So far as the vessels go, they are, I suspect, rather more than a match for the Porte.†

In our walk round the yard, we were surprised at the number and extent of the works, all divided into their several departments—and at the order and regularity that prevailed. Brass founders, carvers, blacksmiths, carpenters, sail-makers, and all the different artisans, and requisites in ship-building, were upon a most extensive scale; and the workmen, who are all natives, amount to about 800. The arsenal and stores were as neat, as clean, and as orderly as could possibly be. Originally the heads

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* The Rodney, of 92 guns, is 243 feet in length, and 2598 tons burden.

† The events of the Syrian campaign, with regard to the Egyptian navy, are too recent, and too well known to require to be noticed in this place.

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of the different departments were Europeans; but at present, the situations are nearly all filled by natives, who rose under their instruction, or were educated in France or England; among them was the principal mathematical instrument maker, a very intelligent young man. How very fluently, and with what a good accent, many of these people speak our language! There is an extensive rope-walk, where we saw some of the cables worked by an English patent machine; the head of this department was a Spaniard, but there was also a native fully capable of conducting the work. I was much struck with the skill and neatness of several of the tradesmen, particularly in brass-turning and carving, &c. We were also shown a handsome room set apart for the drawings, plans, engine-work, and models of several of the crack English vessels.

There is a mosque in the yard, whither the men go five times a day to pray, for about five or ten minutes at a time; it is a small but pretty building, covered with clematis and other creepers, now in blow, and has a pretty fountain attached to it, where the men perform their ablutions each time they go to worship. All these workmen are *enlisted* in the Bâshas's service, as sailors or soldiers, and are drilled occasionally, so as to be capable of almost immediate service. They are fed, clothed, and get from fifteen to thirty piastres a month pay, which they and all the men in the service of Mohammad Alee receive into their own hands, to prevent any sort of peculation. The wages of these artizans are raised according to their merits, and are never in the same arrear as those of the army or navy. The greater number are married, their wives inhabiting some wretched hovels outside the town—if they have sons, each receives fifteen piastres a month from the government, and the child must be brought to receive it in his own hand. Their wives are all in some sort of traffic or huxtering, and thus tend much to the support of their husbands; so that the more wives a soldier or tradesman in Alexandria has, the better he lives! The majority have a plurality, and if sons are the result, it is rather a good speculation.

The men work from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of an hour at breakfast and at dinner; they get three meals a day, and during our visit the drum beat to the mid-day meal, which consisted of a plentiful supply of coarse brown bread and bean porridge; and for breakfast they are allowed, in addition, olives

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with some vinegar and oil. All the artisans are given meat once a week, and the troops once a month. They were divided into messes of three or five each; the greatest order and quiet prevailed, and if the countenance be an index of the inner man, contentment seemed to reign amongst them. The anchors, and most of the foreign goods in the dock-yard were English, and there were also a vast number of fine brass and metal guns in most perfect preservation lately fished up in Aboukir bay.

Next day, I visited one of the vessels of war, No. 8, along with its surgeon, Mr. Abbott, an Englishman, whose salary of £10 a month and rations (consisting of beans and brown bread), although equal to the ordinary expenses of a country where necessaries are so cheap, is yet insufficient inducement to any number of well-educated English medical men to enter the service of the Básha, and consequently, with the exception of the professors at Cairo and those filling high stations, the general run of European medical men in the service are ignorant and uneducated Italians and Frenchmen.*

I found this vessel and others I visited particularly clean and orderly, and this was the more marked, as there is a greater quantity of brass inlaying and ornamental work in them than is usual in any of our men-of-war. This is a 100 gun ship, but equal in tonnage to any of ours carrying 120. The naval uniform is a dark brown, and the officers are principally distinguished from the men by the fineness of the regimentals, and having an anchor, star, or crescent, emblematic of their rank, and composed of silver, gold, or jewels on the left breast. In the navy as well as the army neither beard nor whiskers are allowed; except the moustache, all must be close shaven daily; this at first was considered a very great innovation, and was loudly complained of as quite too Christian and uncircumcised a form. The men are trained to military tactics, as well as to go aloft, and in this latter they are often, it must be confessed, very clumsy, to the no small amusement of any English tars who may be lowering top-gallants, or reefing topsails at the same time. But much cannot be expected from a navy called

* Mr. Abbott has since left the Básha's service, and now practises at Cairo.

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into existence since the battle of Navarino, and whose service has heretofore consisted of a visit to Candia during the summer. There is a moolah or priest on board each ship. The men are now allowed to smoke in watches, and a certain number each night are permitted to go to their families, who live near the town. There was an air of great simplicity in the officers' berths, even in that of the captain's; the furniture consisted of a plain deewan that surrounded two sides of the cabin—a table with writing materials, and a couple of chairs; and on each side was hung a plain glazed frame, in which was written the name of God, and sometimes a verse of the Koorán underneath.—From a desire to avoid even the appearance of any "graven image," there are no figure-heads to any of the Egyptian vessels. There is a naval academy at Alexandria, where the young officers are instructed; it is a noble establishment, having accommodation for 1200 students.

There is an extensive hospital outside the city, in the large barrack erected by Napoleon, but in a professional point of view it is lamentably deficient. The chief surgeon, an Italian, was going his rounds at the time I visited it; and in addition to a most incongruous Franco-Turkish costume, he had on a large linen apron, tucked under his chin, of any colour but white, with a capacious pocket in front, well stored with plasters, pills, and potions, caustics and instruments, which were administered, and applied in turns as he went along, preceded by an hospital mate, with a tin pan containing burning incense, which, though a perfume, and highly needful, was stifling in the extreme.

There are many good bazaars in Alexandria, and in the Frank quarter there are some shops, kept mostly by Greeks and Italians, where every description of European article may be obtained. By far the best part of the modern town is that lately built by the Básha, for the residence of the different consuls. It encloses a handsome square, and the houses, which are mostly detached, are some of the finest in Egypt. On the roof of each is placed a flag-staff, which each diplomate endeavours to erect higher than that of his neighbour.

The slave market here is so insignificant, that but for the incident of my introduction into it, I should have passed it over. While groping my way one day through some of the dirtiest and darkest parts of the city, our Maltese servant, Paulo, assuming

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a most comic grin, ushered me suddenly through a small, arched passage, into a filthy, gloomy court, little removed in wretchedness from an Irish pound. On entering, about a dozen or two young creatures of both sexes, but principally girls, exceedingly black, and with scarcely a rag of covering on them, rushed tumultuously out of the low dens by which the court was surrounded, wondering at my Frank dress, and particularly delighted at the sight of a dead flamingo I carried in my hand, and which they seemed to recognise as an old acquaintance, these birds being very plenty in the Dongola country, from whence most of those slaves are taken. So sudden and unexpected was my entré, and so very strange the scene, that I almost forgot where I was, till an involuntary start awoke me from my reverie, as one of the slave-dealers, a most kidnapping-looking scoundrel, stept up, and inquired if I wished to become a purchaser. I did not, as I dared not, knock him down. The greater number of these slaves were girls, from ten to fifteen years of age; they are generally bought for the purpose of household servants, and seemed quite unconscious of a situation which Christians look upon as so degrading. These young ladies, although nearly in a state of nature, had all necklaces and bracelets of blue beads—had their hair plaited in small twists, and were already beginning to coquette, and assume the modesty of Mohammadan women, by attempting to cover their faces, while the rest of their persons were totally devoid of garments!

The fish-market is very uncertain; at times it has a good supply both of sea-fish and those procured in the Nile, and the different ponds and lagoons left by the inundation, particularly the Binny of Bruce,* and the mullet;—the latter were the largest I have ever seen, some weighing from eighty to one hundred pounds.

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* Among the many inaccuracies attributed to the celebrated and ill-treated Abyssinian traveller, I find the following note in the tenth volume of Griffith's translation of Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, page 878:—"Bruce, after giving the history of the true *Binny*, refers to it, by mistake, the figure and description of a *Polynemus*, which he had designed in the Red Sea, from which has originated the imaginary species of the *Polyn. Niloticus*." In answer to this statement, I can say, that I saw several specimens of the fish he has figured, in my voyage up the Nile, that corresponded in every particular to the plate given in Bruce's Travels.

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The number of dromedaries in Alexandria is very great, on account of the passage of the different caravans; and hundreds of young ones may be seen daily in the neighbourhood of the city. Except, perhaps, a young buffalo, no animal presents a more grotesque appearance than a young camel or dromedary, with a thick coating of hair, of a very light fawn colour, almost approaching to white; their thin, drawn-up body, which at this age appears even shorter than in adult life, supported on legs that look like stilts, and with an awkwardness of gait natural to all, but rendered truly ridiculous by their attempt at playful gambol. It is curious that all the young I have ever seen of this beautifully constructed animal, have a quantity of shaggy hair; this, in some places, rather increases as they grow up, especially in the true Bactrian camel, which is habituated to the variable climate of parts of Asia Minor. Here, in Egypt, they are, however, when full grown, nearly all devoid of hair. Now, although the camel is well adapted to receive its Arab name—"the ship of the desert"—yet in the warm climates where they are now known, whence comes this original provision of warm clothing? What does remain on them in adult life is kept close shaven, except a tuft on either hip, and one on the forehead; and the tail, which is closely clipt on the back, but with a row of stiff hairs on either side, looks like the shafts and plumelets of a feather. The dromedaries here are much larger than those of the Canary Islands. The true Bactrian, or two-hunched camel, is unknown in this part of the east, and is now extremely rare. The popular distinction, or that made in common usage between the camel and dromedary in the Orient, is the same as that between the dray and the race-horse; the former being an animal of exceeding slow gait, clumsy make, and adapted solely for burthen; while the latter, which is very rare, in comparison with the other, is much taller, and slighter made; more light, easy, and active in its movements, going at a pace of eight or ten miles an hour; travelling upwards of seventy miles a day, and used solely for the purpose of despatch, and by the couriers, who sit cross-legged on a wooden framework, placed upon the hump. The movement of this beast is a kind of slinging trot, the animal throwing its long neck from side to side as it goes along. They are generally very smooth, in good condition, and may be at once known by their "blood." It appears to be to such a beast that Jeremiah alludes, when

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speaking of the "swift dromedary." In Egyptian towns the water is generally carried about the city in large leathern bags, slung on the sides of camels, and these are most miserable-looking brutes. Docile and obedient as the camel generally is, yet when vexed and enraged, it becomes a truly formidable animal. When heated or overburthened, besides attempting to lie down, it has a power of inflating the pinkish flaccid membrane of the mouth and tongue, and blowing it out of the side of the mouth, where it hangs down a considerable way, covered with frothy saliva; the animal moves its head rapidly from side to side, and frequently (if ridden) turns round, and looks furiously into the very face of his rider, uttering, at the same time, a short abrupt sound in the throat. This note of anger is most startling, and during its continuance, they will draw in this inflated bag, and blow it forth again with great violence, the eyes flashing fire, and stamping with the forefeet. If the camel be not now either soothed or cowed by his keeper, he will often tear off his rider, and throwing down his burden, rush at the object of his anger, and lifting him up, dash him with terrific fury against the earth. I have seen a man in the large square of Alexandria, rescued with great difficulty from the terrors of such a scene.

Although it is vaunted as a *new* discovery, that the camel can sustain hunger by the absorption of its lump; as well as thirst, by the provision nature has made in the sacculated stomach for carrying water, yet this was long known to the owners of these animals. An old author, John Leo Africanus, mentions the fact of having seen them, when on a long journey, and deprived of food, consume "first the flesh of their bunches, then their bellies, and last their hips." This same author very properly enumerates three varieties of camels: the first, called Hugiun, are thick and tall, and the fittest for carrying burdens; this is the common camel of Africa. The second, called Becheti, have a double bunch, which renders it fit for carriage and riding; but these are only reared in Asia, and are the true Bactrian race. The third, called Ragnahill, being of a slender, low structure, are unqualified for carriage, but go beyond the other two in swiftness; this is what may be denominated the dromedary, and it is one of this description that is used yearly to carry the sacred Mahmil to Mekka, and ever after enjoys exemption from labour. The phenomenon of the protrusion of the membrane of the

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mouth, is worthy the attention of zoologists, and was remarked long ago by the observant Sandys, who, though he attributed it to a different cause—that of supplying moisture—says, "for in his frequent belchings he thrust up a bladder, which moistened his throat and mouth."* Their subsisting on their fat is quite in accordance with one of the most generally acknowledged physiological facts in the animal economy; it being a reservoir to be used upon emergencies, as in hibernating animals, the tails of particular kinds of sheep, the hump of the bison, or in the human subject in any protracted illness or long abstinence; and I conceive it to be for the same useful purpose that those plates of fat, so much praised by our gourmands, are placed in the sides of the turtle.

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* Appendix I.

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CHAPTER X.

EGYPT.

Harbour of the Mahmoudie—A Kanghia—The Canal—Egyptian Plagues—Cotton Plant—Appearance of the Country—Game—Mode of Cleaning the Canal—Atfé—The Nile—Boatmen—The English Ensign—Composition of the Soil—Scenery—Husbandry—Birds—The Fellaheen Their Costumes—Arab Females—Their Dress—An Egyptian Eye—Old Women—Habitations—Sheykhs—Self-mutilation—Cyclopean Population—Conscription—Boolack—Approach to the Capital—Cairo—Hotel de Jardin—The Lions—Citadel—View from it—Mosque of the Bâsha—Joseph's Well—Palace of the Bâsha—The Harcem—The Arms Factory—Massacre of the Memlooks—Mosque of Sooltan Hassan—Description of its Interior—The Streets—Inhabitants—Shop-keepers—Nightly Stillness—The Mooeddin's Chant.

SATURDAY, 20th.—This morning was spent in preparing for our journey to Cairo. At three o'clock we arrived at the harbour of the Mahmoudie canal, which is without exception one of the most abominable sewers that this dirty country can boast of. The banks of this great vein of communication between the capital and the seaport rise high and precipitously from the water, and are generally crowded with dirty Arabs, half-naked women, and blear-eyed children, squatted on logs of timber, bales of cotton, and heaps of coal from the mines of Syria. These, with troops of camels, a wretched shed for a custom-house, a filthy coffee-shop, a troop of the never-failing donkeys, and a Babel of tongues, such as can only be experienced among the Arabs, are the impediments and annoyances a traveller has to push himself and his baggage through, in order to reach that most uncomfortable of conveyances—a Mahmoudie kanghia, or Egyptian canal-boat. For nearly a mile the line of boats extends, as close as they can possibly be crammed; and it is usual for European (at least English) travellers to have their boats sunk for some days before, choosing rather to encounter the damp and dirt consequent on their immersion in the mud of the canal, than to suffer from the numerous cockroaches and other living torments that invariably infest these conveyances. We were unable, from

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want of time, to submit our boat to this process, so we had to endure (I cannot say with patience) our tormentors, which, in the shape of creeping things of all forms and sizes, still appear as the remnant of the plagues that once swarmed throughout all the quarters of this land. Our party now consisted of four, as shortly before we left Alexandria we met, most unexpectedly, Mr. A. Finlay, on his way from Bombay to England, but who consented to return with us to Cairo, and to whose knowledge of Eastern manners and customs we were much indebted in our voyage through the Levant, in which he accompanied us.

Our kanghia was a long, narrow boat, sharp at both ends, with a high projecting stern, a cabin, consisting of a kind of tent-house raised over the deck, in size about equal to a good dog-kennel, and barely capable of containing four of us, who found great difficulty in sitting upright. Our steersman, a venerable grey-bearded Arab, sat perched on the roof of the cabin. These boats have a long mast and a latteen sail, but as the wind was contrary we were unable to set ours; and so we commenced our journey by tracking, which was done by four of our crew; making about two miles an hour.

If the waters of the Tagus resemble pea-soup, those of this canal could be most justly likened to thin porridge, flavoured with the essence of divers carcases of buffaloes, camels, dogs, and asses, in every possible state of decomposition, on which innumerable flocks of gulls and several vultures were making their evening's meal. Our attention was more forcibly drawn to the scene, from the circumstance of our being obliged to use this most filthy fluid for drinking; for, although we had been careful in providing ourselves with the other necessaries for such a voyage, as provisions, bedding, cooking apparatus, &c. we totally forgot, until too late, the most essential—a supply of pure water. Leaving Alexandria, the canal winds along the shores of Mareotis, from which it is only separated by the bank; and independent of its value as a means of communication, the water is of great use as a manure in enriching the land along its banks, for which object it is raised, either in Persian wheels, or by the simple and antique apparatus of the pole and bucket, worked by a single man. The only green things along its banks are a few acacias.

We spent a night of unusual discomfort, for though we were all fatigued, and had made desperate determinations to sleep, and

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had actually fallen asleep several times, our slumbers were of short duration; for packed as we were—the squeaking of a rat under one of our heads—the flight of a cockroach into our faces —the bite of a bug—the incessant attacks of the fleas—or the loathsome crawlings of more intolerable and disgusting vermin—forced one or other of us from the short oblivion of our annoyances, and thus roused all in time to sympathise with, or laugh at the miseries of the sufferer, who, in vainly endeavouring to free himself from his tormentors in our narrow abode, necessarily awoke the whole party. When we arose in the morning, we found that our Arabs had fared better, for having moored the boat to a post in the bank, they were quietly enjoying their slumber, so that we were only twenty-five miles from where we had set out the day before.

It was excessively cold at this early hour, (seven o'clock,) the thermometer standing below 45°. After breakfast we landed, and as the boat made but little way, we were able to keep up with it, and employed our time in shooting along the banks. The Bâsha has established telegraphic communications to the capital from Alexandria along this canal, and to Rosetta by the banks of the Nile from Atfé. The land here was exceedingly fertile; the corn and flax were well up, and of a richer green than I had ever seen before; with large plantations of cotton, which, however, is here but a small shrub, not bigger than a currant bush; and the floculent material, now bursting from its capsules, make those inclosures look as if a flock of sheep had run through the bushes, and left the greater part of their fleeces on the thorns. The introduction of this plant into Egypt has been attended with the most signal success; and though twenty-five years have not elapsed since the first sprig of it took root, it is now one of the principal sources of revenue, and the most extensive article of export. In 1820, a scheme of manufacturing it in the country was commenced, and the Bâsha went to an enormous expenditure of men and money, in erecting cotton mills, and procuring spinners, engineers, and machinery from Europe. At first these men worked with great energy, and the Bâsha was fain to believe the interested stories of his French and Italian overseers, that he could thus, in a short time, become the rival of Glasgow and Manchester. Crowds of natives were driven into the factories; but the machinery, of a rude and imperfect description,

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and made by ignorant hands, soon got out of order; and I understand that a system of peculation was carried on by the foreign instructors to an enormous extent, and the outlay was immense. Afterwards, the war in which Egypt was engaged for some years became so great a drain upon the population, that the different cotton mills have, in a great measure, been abandoned. Mohammad Alee is now, however, pursuing a wiser and a better policy, in curtailing the number of the spinning and weaving mills, and only manufacturing in the country a sufficiency for its own consumption, and the remainder of the raw material is sold into Europe. Machines for compressing the bales are multiplied at Alexandria, and the export to England bids fair to exceed the East and West Indies, or America. We left six English traders in the harbour of Alexandria receiving cotton. Although of a dark colour, and not of the very finest description, it is now much valued in our markets.

The country is one immense flat, but only cultivated along the banks of the canal, or around the villages, which are placed upon little hillocks, rising like islands out of this interminable plain, and which, with their square mud houses, domed dove-cots, and groves of tall palms, with the white minaret of the hamlet-mosque peeping from out their wide-spreading branches, have a very picturesque and pleasing effect. In other places occur large tracts of uncultivated swamp, or sandy slobs, which are occupied by countless numbers of geese, and water-fowl of all descriptions, so close as absolutely to cover the ground; they are, however, very wary, and as there is no possible cover, the sportsmen can seldom get near enough for a shot. I should imagine the apparatus of Colonel Hawker would commit great devastation among the feathered tribe here. The avoset is particularly plenty; also bee-eaters, (*merops apiaster* and *m. tavia*,) and in the corn fields, the paddy-bird is so tame, that it can be knocked down with a stick; its stately walk, its light and elegant snow-white plumage, fawn-coloured erectile crest, and yellow legs and bill, make this bird one of the most beautiful in Egypt; and like the robin with us, its domestic habits, and appearing to put itself under the protection of man, is the reason why it is erroneously supposed by travellers to be held sacred by the modern Egyptians. The field lark is a larger bird than ours, with a black erectile tuft on the head. Pigeons, in vast flocks,

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supplied us with our daily meals, and hoopoes filled every bush. But let the bird be large or small, shot by the Mooslim, it is turned towards Mekka, and its throat cut, otherwise it would be considered unclean, and to use it would be deemed pollution. Jackals are met in the thicker parts of the country; and the several ditches and lagoons teem with fish, principally mullet, and also the binny, of both kinds, the *cyprinus binny*, and *cyp. nilotica*. In the banks of the canal are vast quantities of bivalve shells, principally the *tellina fluminea*, *unio Egyptica*, and *unio nilotica* of Caillaud.

As there is a continual filling up of this canal, both by deposits from the water, and the wearing of its banks—the clay of which, from its want of tenacity, is continually slipping in—it requires frequent cleaning, which is effected by means of a large dredge, worked by a wheel of great size, set in motion by men inside, much in the manner of a tread-mill. The mud is carried away in small baskets on the head by women and young girls; yet though apparently loathsome their occupation, they all seem light-hearted, singing gaily, and clapping the hands to keep time. Many of the younger ones were pretty, and wore bracelets, anklets, nose-jewels of silver, and strings of beads, although covered with mud, and only dressed in a dirty blue chemise. As you approach the Nile, large sheets of water occur, the remains of the previous year's inundation; some of these communicate by locks with the canal.

This great national undertaking, the Canal of Mahmoud, forty miles in length, was commenced in 1819, it is said at the instance of an English merchant, resident at Alexandria, many of whose boats had been previously lost in attempting the bar at Rosetta. The Viceroy, having determined on the plan, was not slow in putting it into execution. His mandate went forth, and in a few days upwards of three hundred thousand of the Egyptian people were collected along the site laid down. It will be scarcely credited, yet such is the fact, that this canal was formed literally by the hands of the Fellaheen, who, "destitute of the necessary tools, scratched up with their hands the soft mud, which was removed by women and children, in baskets, and placed in heaps on the right bank and left." I have been informed that more than twenty thousand people died, and were buried in its banks, during the ten months it was constructing.

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About four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the village of Atfé, where the canal communicates with the Nile by means of a lock—so narrow, however, that boats never pass from one into the other. The gates are only opened when the Nile is high, or when the water of the canal, exhausted by evaporation, or the drain of irrigation, becomes too low to permit of navigation. Atfé, though a small and insignificant place, exhibits all the stir and bustle of a commercial port. The view of the Nile here is truly grand, and awakens sensations, heightened by expectation, and not disappointed by the reality;—it is about 500 yards across, and runs at the rate of two miles and a half an hour; the water is not so muddy as that of the canal, and when filtered, tastes particularly sweet, especially when there is no other than that of the canal to be got. The operation of filtering, as it is termed, (but properly of deposition, as the water only requires to stand still, and deposit its sediment,) is performed in earthenware vessels, unglazed, delicately thin, and of beautiful antique shapes. These being placed in the shade, the water is cooled by evaporation, as well as cleared.

Our Greek servant, who had proceeded hither the night before, had, along with the British vice-consul, procured us a boat much more comfortable than the one we had left; and except for the cargo of raw hides which were piled in the hold immediately outside our cabin door, and the increase of rats consequent thereon, we should have considered ourselves very fortunate. Numerous villages occur along the banks, surrounded with groves of limes and orange trees, and fringed by carobs and acacias, in which hundreds of doves nestle.

This kanghia was one of the largest size, having two masts and sails, and a double cabin, in the larger of which was a table with seats, and windows along the sides. Our Arab crew were a dirty but well-formed and hardy set of men; their food was beans and brown bread, mashed up together in a wooden bowl, round which they all sat without distinction; and each dipping his hand in the dish, first reminded me of an Eastern custom that every Christian well remembers. Active and obedient, they were ever ready to tend or shift the cumbrous yards and heavy sails to the different windings of the river, or changes of the wind; to track the boat along the bank, as well as to plunge into the water like so many amphibious animals, at a moment's warning, upon

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the boat's touching any of the numerous sand-banks that occurred along our course. The old Reis would sit at the helm, perched upon the high poop for hours together, without exchanging a word, except the occasional "salaam aleikim," to the salutation of a similar occupant of a passing kanghia. Our morning temperature was excessively severe, and till seven o'clock generally as low as 47°, rising, however, during the day to 75°. This variation is most trying to invalids, and will be felt by all Europeans.

We hoisted the English ensign, which is well known and much respected along the river, and will save the boat and crew from many of the impositions or exactions so frequent here. During the greater part of Monday the wind was against us; and as the boat made but little way, we landed and walked a considerable distance, shooting along the banks, and observing the country, of which little or nothing can be seen from the deck of a boat, owing to the height of the banks, the flatness of the land, and the lowness of the water at this season of the year.

The banks vary in height from four to nineteen or twenty feet, but to tell the exact number of the strata from the section would be impossible, so great a variety occurs in different positions. You see, however, several layers appearing in some places, alternating in thickness from one-half of an inch to three or six inches, and differing likewise in colour and constituents—some consisting of a dark loam, and others of a lighter colour, and having in them quantities of mica and minute particles of iron pyrites, which, with the silicious earth, lime, and magnesia, are yearly carried down by the inundation, and deposited in proportion to the ratio of the rise of the river, so that by the quantity of this valuable manure, the crop must vary as well as by the extent of land covered by the inundation. It appears to me more than probable that it is the small shining yellowish particles of this mica, adhering to the feet of the thousands of pigeons that are constantly feeding along its banks, that have given rise to the opinion of gold-dust being carried into Greece and the Ionian isles by the flocks of these birds that migrate yearly to those countries from Egypt, and not, as is supposed, from the interior of Africa. The Nile is yearly changing its channel, throwing up banks in some places, and encroaching upon its former limits in others, and thus it must have again and again traversed and cut through the same

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parts of the valley in which it is confined. Stones or gravel of any kind are very rare in this section of the bank, and in no instance did I see any shells or other organic remains since leaving Atfé.

Towards the fork of the Delta the river becomes very tortuous on the Canopic branch, and runs in some places nearly four miles an hour. At this point the fertile land varies in breadth from two miles, to half, or even a quarter of a mile. In some places as far as the eye can reach you see nothing but green; in others the desert approaches very close to the water; and even here, so low down, and so near the seat of government, and the two great cities, there is much land remaining uncultivated. The people seem little acquainted with agriculture, and the only instrument of husbandry in common use is the mattock, or short hoe, and a very rude wooden plough, which barely scratches the soil four inches deep; but the land is so soft and pulverisable that little more is required. Pigeon factories, and whole villages solely erected as dove-cots, form (being as yet untaxed) a great source of the livelihood of the people, and flocks of lapwing and plover swarm in every field. The Balearic or crested crane we frequently met in the morning; and although we saw both swifts and swallows at Alexandria, and martins afterwards about Cairo, not one of the hirundines appeared during this part of our voyage. Hares I shot more than once; they were similar to ours, but with longer hair, having a slight tinge of black at the extremity, and the ears being nearly black.

The Felláheén, or lower orders, in this part of Egypt, appeared to be poor, dirty, and idle—numbers lying basking in the sun—rising on our approach merely for the purpose of asking a buckshese. The poorer classes of Egyptian women are now much less tenacious of their beauty or their modesty than they were some years ago. Great numbers go without the yashmac, or nose-bag, required to be worn by Mohammadan females, their only covering being a blue linen chemise, which, fitting pretty tightly, often exhibits the outline of a figure of surpassing grace and elegance. This garment reaches somewhat below the knees, and is open in front as far as the waist, which, though never subjected to the torture of lace or whalebone, is, in many of those Arab girls, slender without contortion, and proportionate without compression. The breasts of those who have had chil-

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dren (and there are few here arrived at sixteen who have not) become, from want of covering or support, exceedingly pendent, and, to a European eye, disgusting. The young children, who are invariably naked, are carried astride upon the hip or shoulder; and the mother, with a pitcher of water on the head, and her infant thus seated, and both balanced with unerring accuracy, offers an interesting subject for the pencil of the painter.

All the females along the Nile are tattooed upon some part of the face, chin, or temple. The lines are marked in blue, and differ in figure and extent, according to the several tribes or villages to which they belong. Those who are in a better condition, and adhere to ancient custom with more accuracy, wear the face-cover (*boorks*), consisting of a stripe of black crape, or linen, about eight inches wide at top, where it is fastened to the head-dress by an ornamental clasp, or circular bit of brass, which comes down over the root of the nose—the upper margin is closely applied immediately below the eyes, and the lower end hangs down in front to the knees, or lower; above the upper margin peep a pair of most bewitching and invariably black eyes, rendered more sparkling by the dark line of kohl or liban surrounding them—the eyebrows being arched with the same. A triangular piece of muslin is brought over the forehead, and hangs down behind below the waist, and thus there is but about two inches of the face left to view. Many will here appear so careful of their charms, that, although nearly in a state of nudity, they will draw with becoming modesty some portion of their ragged only garment across the face on meeting a stranger; though by so doing they expose more of their person than is in accordance with our notions of decency—yet such is the fashion of Egypt. All who can muster a few piasters are provided with rings of brass or silver, or strings of beads in the ears, and on the wrists and ankles. Some few wear large silver nose-rings, passed through a hole, not in the septum, but through one of the sides or alæ. The colour of most of the Egyptian women is a light olive—the features of many are regular, and, to my taste, pleasing—the exceeding regularity of outline still preserves a similarity to that of the ancient race—more particularly seen in the long lozenge-shaped eye.

The eye of the Arab girl, and more particularly the Egyptian, is so peculiar, and so often caused me to stop and admire its

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beauties, that I may be excused dwelling on it a few moments. All these females use the liban, or line of black paint, for adorning the eye-lid; this is renewed every three or four days and laid on with a kind of bodkin; not, however, as it is generally believed in Europe, upon the outer part of the eye-lid. It is applied in a most accurate and dexterous manner all along that part of the *edge* of the eyelid, within and along the roots of the eye-lashes, where both lids present a flat surface to each other, denominated in technical language the tarsal margin of the eyelids. This ancient practice of the east, although it approaches to a piece of foolish decoration, is based upon a thorough knowledge and study of the beauty of a perfect eye. When the eye-lashes are in perfection, and of a black colour, as all here are, they present, at a little distance, not a collection of hairs, but a black line—and to increase this line of beauty the easterns add the liban. The liquid black of what is generally called the pupil, and the whole of the black part of the eye, is much heightened by the elliptic line of the same hue by which the organ is encircled; and though at first it appears so extraordinary, and may, after all, be denominated an acquired taste, yet there is a swimming loveliness in those brilliants set in jet that I cannot but admire.

MODERN EYE.

ANCIENT EYE.

Unless when negro blood mingles with that of the Arab, the traveller can still recognise "A Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt," and with a life and animation of expression that give their

> "lips that speaking air,
> As if a word were hovering there."

Few countries but can boast of beauty among its fair daughters; but I will fearlessly assert that no other clime can exhibit the wrinkle and decrepitude of old age so soon, so marked, or so

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very disgustingly as this. Precocious in womanhood, mothers in almost childhood, and premature in old age, here the female of thirty or forty possesses none of the venerable appearance of other countries, but a haggard and withered form, that one can hardly believe was so lately the buoyant girl of the Nile; yet this does not prevent them drawing the end of their kerchief over the lower part of the face on the approach of man, especially if a Giaour.

Their habitations are miserable hovels, consisting of square mud-walls and flat roofs, which are generally coated with small cakes of camel dung, pasted on them to dry, the only fuel of the country. These it was lately contemplated to tax, and the amount of piasters per thousand actually discussed; but on a representation to the Básha, the scheme was abandoned. The number of santons, or holy men, that formerly swarmed through the country is much decreased. Each village is governed by a Sheykh, whose house is somewhat better than the rest, and who is generally found seated on his segáddeh, or on a mat before his door, smoking the shibook or sheesheh, leading a life of extreme idleness, collecting the taxes, hearing petty complaints, or presiding over the administration of the bastinado.

Nearly all the young men you meet are blind of an eye, generally the right one, and have lost the index finger of the right hand; this act of mutilation is done by themselves to avoid the conscription. I have known them, on hearing the *tallyho* of the conscription officers, deliberately redden a pointed stick in the fire, and thrust it into the eye. At Cairo a little boy, not more than ten years of age, who worked in the garden of our hotel, on being informed by way of joke that the officers of the Básha were approaching, ran most heroically to a trowel, and placed it on his finger, while his sister, still younger, chopped it off with a stone! He bore it without a murmur, and held it up as a trophy of no ordinary conquest. The thumb of one of the crew of our kanghia was still raw from a similar operation; and what with the effects of the ophthalmia, and the terrors of the conscription, there will soon appear a cyclopean population. The Básha has, however, very properly put a stop to this self-mutilation, by making such offenders punishable by perpetual working in the arsenal or dock-yard.

A great outcry has arisen on account of the conscription, and

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travellers have loudly exclaimed against so horrid an alternative being forced on the people; but without at all advocating that, perhaps necessary evil, I would ask, is it worse than the press-gang we have so lately had recourse to, in our own navy, and may be obliged to apply to again in England? How few soldiers would come forward to enlist in our towns and hamlets, without the agency of the bounty, the stirring notes of the fife and drum, the red coat, the gay cockade, or the crimp sergeant?

As we ascended the country, hawks, buzzards, and vultures of a great size, became more plenty; and innumerable flocks of geese, ducks, and teal, literally covered the lagoons, and at times darkened the air. The doves are so tame around the habitations, as to come almost within reach of the hand; and plovers swarm through the large tracts of broken ground. There are three kinds of these birds, the *Charadrius Egypticus*, *Ch. Alexandrias*, and *Ch. spinosus*.* All these afforded us much amusement through the day, and books, chess, and conversation, whiled away the evenings, till the morning of Wednesday, the 24th, when, on awaking, we found ourselves fast approaching the capital of Egypt. Here groves of magnificent trees clothe the banks of the Nile; and factories rise on either side. We sailed past the palace of Shoubrah, and its noble gardens, with the steam yacht of the Bâsha moored beside it, and passing through hundreds of gaily-painted kanghias, arrived at Boolack, the port of Cairo, about breakfast-time. We were quickly ashore, and having procured donkeys, proceeded at once to Cairo, or, as it is called in the Arabian, *El Musr*.

Boolack is a kind of suburb to the capital, with a handsome mosque, whose minaret and dome will repay a careful inspection. But we hasten to the "queen of cities," whose thousand domes and minarets are now rising through the vista of wide-spreading palms, feathery bananas, and groves of carobs and acacias. The intervening ground, of about a mile, is clothed with a luxuriant crop of corn, interspersed with groves of limes and orange trees; and the road, raised some feet above the surrounding level, to preserve it from the inundation, is bordered by

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a row of young carobs and acacias, which, when full grown, will much improve the approach. The citadel, thrown into relief by the black wall of the Mokattam mountains, which rise behind it, forms a prominent object in the centre of this immense city. This entrance to the city presents a most animated scene, and such as can be beheld only in the greatest thoroughfare of the east: long files of camels; whole hareems of *hermetically veiled* women, seated cross-legged on their donkeys, and attended by their sable guardians; Turkish nobles on their magnificent horses, preceded by their pipe-bearers, and followed by a tribe of servants; Arab Sheykhs; men of all the different nations of Europe, travellers like ourselves, or settlers in the land; each in his different avocation, and mingling with the ragged dirty Felláh, and the well-clad soldier, pass and repass in endless variety, or throng tumultuously to the narrow gates that lead to the interior. Immediately outside the town, we were shown the house in which Kleber was assassinated. Passing a few narrow streets, we presently arrived at the Esbekeyah, a handsome *Square*, formed, it is said, in the shape of Napoleon's hat, and surrounded by a canal into which the Nile is admitted during the overflow. The raised walks are ornamented with some handsome trees, which, when they have arrived at their perfect growth, will form a cool and really beautiful promenade. The streets are wider and much better than those of Alexandria or Algiers; and the lattice-work which covers all the windows is light, elegant, and tasteful. Some fine specimens of Saracenic architecture present themselves in the different gates and mosques; but the brown stone of which they are formed gives them a very sombre hue, to relieve which, Arab taste has painted them with red stripes and spots.

We passed the palace of Abbas Básha, one of the younger sons of Mohammad Alee, and who is much more popular than Ibrahim, who is said to be more feared than loved. We found the chief English hotel so full that we could not procure accommodation, so we proceeded to the French, the Hotel de Jardin, kept by an Englishman, Mr. Manson. As our stay in Cairo must necessarily be short, we proceeded at once to view the lions —literally, as it happened. Five lionesses and a lion were confined near the entrance of the citadel, not in cages, but heavily

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chained, seated on a bench that ran along the room; and their Arab keeper seemed quite familiar with them, handling and caressing them all with impunity.

The view from the top of the citadel is certainly most splendid, and here it was that we first felt that we were in the land of Egypt, for from its summit we first beheld those mysterious monuments of the past—the pyramids. Those of Geza, the nearest and largest, although nine miles distant, appeared to be not more than half a mile; beyond them, the immense desert mingled with the horizon, and those of Sakara and Dashoor rose in the distance, the Nile winding by their feet; behind us, the dark Mokattam rocks; and beneath us Cairo, the hum and bustle of its thousand tongues ascending through the still air. Outside the city, on the one side, is a plain of whitened modern sepulchres, animated by the many bands of mourning friends, bearing to their last home the remains of the hundreds who die daily in this vast city. On the other hand rise up the tombs of the Memlook sooltans, crowned by the fret-work domes of their splendid mosques and slender minarets. These are surrounded by the desert, and near to them was situated the encampment of the Mekka pilgrimage, where above three thousand tents glittered in the sunshine, and upwards of 20,000 persons of all ages and sexes were congregated before their final departure for the tomb of the prophet. A row of plain granite columns, still standing, crowns the summit of the citadel; all that now remains of Saladin's lordly hall. After the manner of most eastern princes, Mohammad Alee was erecting a mosque, which promised to be one of great splendour. The inside was completely lined with highly-polished marble, of a description found near this, being of a greyish white colour, beautifully marked with transparent veins of brown, resembling Derbyshire spar. It looks exceedingly well at a distance, but, on a close inspection, it is found to be very porous, scarcely six inches of it being without a hole, but in working it is filled up with composition. It is worked with astonishing neatness, and some of the ornaments were beautifully cut by a number of Arab boys, over whom a soldier was keeping guard. Beside this edifice is erected a splendid fountain for the ablutions of the pious Mooslims, of a bluish-grey Italian marble, the ornaments and reliefs of which are not inferior to any I ever saw.

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The next object we were conducted to was Joseph's well—not the Joseph of Scripture, but the celebrated Sooltán Saladin. The soldier at the gate was very unwilling to admit us without the talismanic buckshese or present; and snatching the key from the old sibyl who performs the part of cicerone, shouldered his musket, made it rattle with a slap, and stood boldly in the doorway. So formidable a front by the soldier of any other nation might have deterred persons from proceeding farther; and rather than accede to his lawless demand, we were about to apply for admission to a superior officer, when one of our company who had resided long in Egypt, and knew what an Egyptian soldier was, seizing the man by the shoulder, proceeded to administer a rebuke *a posteriori*, which so frightened the fellow that, laying down the musket in great trepidation, he instantly produced the required key! This well is cut through a solid rock, 270 feet in depth, of a greyish fossil limestone, similar to that at the pyramids, but differing in the shells it contains from the Mokattam rocks behind it. The shaft of this well is of considerable width, and externally the natural wall of rock is hewn out into a large winding descent, with apertures cut to admit light and a view of the well; and about midway down there is an extensive chamber and a landing-place, where a pair of bullocks work a Persian wheel that raises the water thus far, from whence it is again conducted to the top by a similar contrivance. At this landing-place is shown the tomb of one of the servants of Saladin. Although rudely constructed, the whole is a noble work, and quite capable of supplying the citadel with good water in case of an attack.

In our walks through the citadel we were conducted to the palace of the great master of Egypt; a noble lofty hall opening to a splendid marble staircase; and from the gallery to which it conducted we were led into the presence-chamber, a large and well-proportioned apartment, fitted up with great taste, and partaking of the European as well as the Arabic style. It was perfectly devoid of what we would call furniture; a deewan, or low seat, raised about two feet from the floor, and covered with well-stuffed cushions, ran round three sides of the room, at each corner of which was placed a velvet and gold cushion, and an embroidered carpet—that for the Básha on the right hand side of the entrance being of the most elegant and costly workmanship. In an arched recess, at the lower end, were two slender

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Corinthian pillars, formed of the same marble of which the mosque is being built; a superb Persian carpet, and light blue silk window-curtains completed the furniture. The roof was domed, and above the cornice were painted in good perspective, views of all the different seats and palaces of Mohammad Alée. These, although not very well executed, gave an air of taste and lightness to the room. Adjoining it is a small closet for holding private conferences; and where, no doubt, the sharp piercing eye of the Básha so often endeavours to read the mind of the wily diplomate. Beside it is the entrance to the hareém, where some of the viceregal family still reside. A thick crimson curtain hung before the forbidden entrance, behind which some of our party attempted to look; and, although a massive door was all they could see, it so frightened the attendant, that he, in a most beseeching tone cried out—"Oh Allah forbid, Allah forbid."

Within the walls of the enclosure there is an old tower of the Blenheim style of architecture, where the telegraph is worked that communicates with Alexandria.

We next visited the arms factory, where there were 1500 men at work, some of whom appeared most admirable artisans. I could not but wish them a better employment, but I anticipated the day when the same hands would be turned towards the more useful art of erecting steam engines to increase the irrigation of the Nile, or some similar object of permanent and national benefit to the country. Some of the arms made here would not disgrace Birmingham. Each department of gun-making is separate, and there is also a most extensive cannon foundry. Most of the guns of Mohammad Alée are brass, of which he is particularly proud. Over the door of the boring department is this inscription—"*Vive Mohammad Alée, patron de les arts!*" Originally the overseers of each of these works, denominated instructors, were foreigners, but wherever it was possible they have been superseded by native hands. This and the other arms factories in Cairo are capable of sending out 4000 muskets a month.

Our way out of the citadel lay through a place that will be ever memorable in Egypt, and is generally one of the first inquired for by the traveller—the spot where the murder of the Memlooks took place. It is a long narrow entrance, with high battlements on either side, the upper gate leading to the palace of the Básha, and the lower opening into the space that surrounds the mosque of

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Sooltan Hassan. Here, on the high festival held on the occasion of his son Toussoon's becoming a Básha they were invited, and when the procession of 500 was ranged in this narrow pass, both gates were closed, and the troops, who were concealed behind the breast-wall, rose up and poured down a fire of musketry, that in a few minutes annihilated the dynasty of six hundred years. There were no means of escaping, or of attacking their destroyers—one instance alone occurred—a Memlook Bey, amidst the shower of balls that poured around him, perceived a narrow staircase leading to the rampart, up which in a moment of despair he forced his horse, which actually clambered up the passage; and fighting his way through the soldiers on the wall, leaped him over the parapet of the turret on the right side of the gate, and, strange to say, although the horse was crushed to pieces, the man escaped unhurt. He fled for refuge to the adjoining mosque, and is still alive in Cairo, his life being granted him by the Básha, whom it is said he particularly resembles in appearance. What a scene must not this narrow space have presented with the bodies of five hundred men, arrayed in all the gorgeous trappings with which they delighted to deck themselves, mingled with the carcases of their splendidly caparisoned horses; motionless in death, but still retaining the expression of proud defiance, mortal fear, or wild despair, in which they severally met their cruel and unavoidable fate.

This act of Mohammad Alée's has been often discussed, and doing so now would be to review his whole life, policy, and government of Egypt. Certain it is that he could have taken no step towards the improvement of the country during the existence of those ruthless tyrants, whose bodies became as it were stepping-stones to his present greatness.

The mosque of Sooltan Hassan is one of the best worth visiting in Cairo; it was formerly inaccessible to Christians, or required a special order from high authority, and that, as a very great favour to be allowed to enter it, but our large party did not experience the slightest difficulty in gaining admission. It is an old building of great height and extent, but like most public edifices in this crowded city, it is difficult to obtain a proper view of it. The porch and doorway are of great size and beauty, but at present much dilapidated. The ornamental work of the roof hangs like so many stalactites, in the most extraordinary manner; the court is more remarkable for its extent than beauty, and is paved with

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a variety of black and white marbles, and pieces of red porphyry—the general decoration of the mosques of Cairo. The usual fountain plays in the centre, and from it we looked through a series of light arches and colonnades into the interior, which we were about to enter, when a difficulty arose, as no pious Mooslim, no not even the moollah himself, would enter his place of worship without taking off his shoes; but some of our party wearing straps and tight boots, were unwilling to take them off, lest they might not get them on again. This difficulty was however got over by our attendant, who lifting up the mat before us, permitted us to proceed with him round the walls of the interior.

A number of Mooslims were at their devotions, and although they looked at the intrusion of the Giaours with a scowling eye, we were allowed to pass on unmolested. A few years ago and it is more than probable death would have awaited the Christian who should dare to pollute a mosque with his shoes on; as it was, if one of us had touched the mat it would have been deemed impure, and must have been burned. In this way we were conducted round the mosque to an enclosure at the extreme end, where the tomb of Sooltan Hassan stands, constructed of plain black and white marble, with a very old edition of the Kooran laid upon its top, the whole surrounded by a close and ornamented grating. The dome that covers this part of the mosque must have been originally of great beauty, but its principal attraction, the stalactite work, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and coloured glass, is now fast falling into decay. On the floor are stains, said to have arisen from the blood shed in one of the many disgraceful broils which took place during the reign of the Memlooks; and on the wall the old Imam called our notice to a round mark, some eighteen inches in diameter, which was the size of the loaf sold in Sooltan Hassan's time for six paras, (three farthings,)—golden age indeed! —the old gentleman seemed to regret it much, and bemoaned the present times in comparison.

At several corners of the streets there are handsome reservoirs for water, surrounded with gilt trellis-work, having a number of spouts and chained goblets for the refreshment of the passengers. The crowds in some of the streets and bazaars make them at particular times of the day almost impassable. If we except China and Japan, I do believe that natives of every country of the world will be met with in the streets of Cairo. Next to the resident

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population of Egypt, consisting of Arabs, Turks, Copts, and Jews, the Greeks are, I think, the most numerous. The number of Levantine Christians, Syrians, and Europeans of every country, travellers to Egypt, and those passing and repassing to India; besides its being the line of the different caravans to Mekka twice a year, and the great commercial city of this part of Africa, may have, at an earlier date, earned for it the name it still deserves of the greatest thoroughfare in the world. Crowds of donkeys with Europeans, bear down upon you at every turn, on stepping aside from which you are very likely to encounter a train of some twenty camels, which either crush you against the wall or tread you under foot with the greatest unconcern. Groups of Bedawee cavalry (the irregular troops, nominally under Mohammad Alee,) are constantly passing through the town, whose enormous Memlook stirrups threaten you with decapitation, an accident that would apparently gratify their savage occupants. The streets, from their running in circles which enclose handsome gardens and palaces, intersect each other even less than at Alexandria, so that you are obliged to go a circuit of miles to a place that may not be a tenth of the distance in a direct line. There is an extensive Frank quarter, in which the shops are mostly French; and where as usual every thing is of the worst and the dearest description.

Each street has its own gate, which is locked at night, and has a guard attached to it, no person being allowed to pass without a lantern, which is formed of paper, made to fold up, and is carried by every one in his pocket, for as yet, lighting the streets has not been introduced into the oriental cities.

Some of the bazaars of Cairo are of great extent and magnificence, and are generally covered over-head; no beast is allowed a passage through them, and, although the shops appear at first insignificant, they will be found to contain much wealth. Each different trade and each separate article has its particular quarter. The Turkish shopkeeper uses little art to induce you to purchase, for the most part sitting in solemn silence, scarcely deeming it worth while to remove the pipe when you wish to see or know the price of any thing. But towards each other, or to those Franks whom they know, or who are habited in eastern costume, they are exceedingly courteous, and provide a pipe and coffee during the negociation of the most insignificant article. They are sure to ask a Frank, but more especially an Englishman,

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more than five times the value of any article, and will invariably sell cheaper to a Mohammadan.

Our accommodation at the hotel was tolerable, though not so good as we should have had at the English one; and even thus high up the Nile, the mornings and evenings are yet cool.

The extreme stillness and quiet of this immense city after dark was to us most extraordinary at first; and when about nine or ten o'clock I opened the window of my apartment, and looked out upon the noble panorama spread beneath and around me, I could scarcely believe that it was the scene of action for so many thousand living beings; who but a few hours before thronged every avenue, street, and lane of this immense metropolis. It was while so musing, and with

> "The deep blue moonlight like a pall
> Of solemn beauty round me"—

that those thrilling strains of the Mooeddin's call to worship broke upon my ear, so sweet, so clear and musical, as the first notes of prayer broke from the minaret of the mosque of Hassan, and were carried distinct and sonorous upon the midnight air, not broken by a single echo, but heard until their dying tones faded in the distance, and minaret after minaret took up the chant, until the whole rose in one swelling chorus—"Come to prayer—come to prayer! come to the temple of salvation! great God! great God! I attest there is no God but God, and Mohammad is the prophet of the Lord!!" I have heard it often; never, however, upon so great a scale as here; never so distinct and musical, or with that startling note that wakes every fibre of the frame, gives a double beat to every vessel, and rivets every sense, as the ear takes in the sound, and the mind assumes a tone of fervour and devotion at the thought of a nation, in many respects so far beneath our own, thus calling to the worship of our common God, and answered by her people, not with the sneer of scorn, the silence of contempt, or the apathy of indifference, but with a decorum and apparent piety, that would well become professing Christian nations, who, in their attempt to do away with all national religion, would do well to listen to the Mooeddin's chant.

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CHAPTER XI.

EGYPT.

Suburbs of Cairo—The Mekka Pilgrimage—Camels—Bedawees—Tombs of the Memlooks—Mokattam Rocks—Tombs of the Kaliefs—Mausoleum of Mohammad Alee—Ancient Customs—The Mad-house—Description of its Inmates—Reflections on Insanity—The Slave Market—Abyssinian Girls—Nubians—Their Ideas of Modesty—Mohammadan Slavery—Comparison with Christian—Hotels of Cairo—Coffee Manufactory—A Kahweh—Tobacco—Its Use—Pipes—Hemp—Its Medicinal Effects—Inquiry into the use of Eastern Stimulants—Egyptian Ladies—Eastern Coquettes—A Plague Dog—Intrepidity of an English Physician—Visit to Shoubrah—Beauty of the Road—Gardens of the Haream—Oriental Luxury—Baths—A Kiosk—Mocalim Hospitality—The Bâsha—His Retinue—A Conversazione—The Egyptian Society—An English Consul General.

THURSDAY, 25th.—We rode out this morning by the gate of victory, the best entrance to the city; it is an exceedingly handsome structure, and affords a beautiful specimen of eastern ornamental architecture. Beyond it, the desert commences almost immediately; the roads dusty and unpleasant, and then a suburb of small huts and low Arab tents, similar to that I before mentioned at Alexandria, stretches into the plain. No two places can present characters so different as the opposite sides of the city of Cairo. On the other, the fertile verdant valley of Egypt, chequered with waving palms, spreads from either side of its mother Nile; while here the boundless arid sands commence in gentle undulations, extending as far as the eye can reach, and now covered with the tents and horses of the rear of the Mekka pilgrimage, the major part of which set off yesterday. Some thousands still remained, and the spectacle they afforded was most imposing. Hundreds upon hundreds of tents and pavilions, many of silk, and of different colours, glittered in the sun. The horses were tied by the fore-foot to one of the stakes of the tent-ropes, like as in the time of Elisha, when the Syrians fled and left the "horses and asses

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tied, and the tents as they were."—2nd Kings, vii. 10. Many of these animals were of great beauty, as to shape and power, but few in what an English jockey would call high condition. I was particularly struck with their exceeding gentleness, and apparent affection for the children, who, with the greatest safety, played over every part of their bodies.

Hundreds of camels were ranged in rows sitting upon their haunches, waiting to be loaded. The power of knowing when they are sufficiently loaded is truly wonderful in these animals. The moment a single stone weight of burden is placed upon one of them more than it is in the habit of carrying, it becomes uneasy, utters its threatening note, and attempts to rise; if it be held down, and the attempt to overload it persisted in, it becomes quite ungovernable, and rises up in spite of every effort of the attendants to keep it down.

Amidst the tents was held a kind of fair, of all sorts of necessaries, each of the Hádjees providing themselves with such things as they required on their journey. Beyond this, was a large collection of Bedawee cavalry, most of whom were the irregular troops in the pay of the viceroy. Their horses did not at all equal the opinion we had conceived of them, being small, lanky, and coated with a quantity of hair; yet they are capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, and when manœuvring upon the plain, display more mettle and training than any horses I have ever seen. The enormous saddle which they wear is formed mostly of wood, and comes up behind and before so high, that although it is difficult to get out of it, yet if once the rider is thrown on the steed's neck, it is impossible to get back without dismounting. The saddle and saddle-cloth are generally ornamented with scarlet cloth or leather, and gold fringe, &c. The riders present a curious appearance wrapt up in their flowing white dresses, which are often so carried over the faces, that little more of their features are seen than those of the females. The usual rope of camel's hair confines the burnoose over the forehead, and a yellowish handkerchief is worn close to the head, with the ends hanging down on each side of the face to the shoulder. This, with their grim faces, piercing black eyes, grisly beards, and invariable frown, gives them a very formidable look. As characteristic of this race I should mention, that they are invariably the leanest men I ever beheld; being nothing but bone and

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muscle, and so perfectly devoid of fat, that many of the strongest appear wrinkled, from the want of that rotundity and cushioning given to other people by this useful material; and the skin looks so dry and shrivelled up, that they have, many of them, the appearance of an old anatomical preparation, or well-preserved mummy; and yet the fatigues, hardships, and deprivation of food and water that these men endure, are beyond conception. In order to comply with the latest order of the horseguards at Cairo, and yet to avoid the complete resignation of their original and accustomed weapons, these Bedawees have got long bayonets attached to their firelocks, which are kept fixed, and as the musket is slung across the back, and is long and light, it can be used as a lance, as well as a gun.

From this we bent our steps towards the tombs of the Memlooks, situate at about two miles from the city, in the desert, by the way leading to Suez. These magnificent mausolea present a most imposing appearance when viewed at some distance, rising up from the plain of sand like the towers and public buildings of a large town. They consist of a collection of mosques, many of which are of great magnitude, and the domes and minarets of most exquisite workmanship. The former are deeply carved in the grey sand-stone in beautiful patterns, and the latter are some of the highest and most tasteful of the kind I have ever witnessed, but all now going rapidly to decay since the extinction of the stranger lords, whose sepulchres they cover. We found those we entered inhabited by a set of filthy old people, who live mostly on the terraces and upper stories, where their wretched huts, squalid misery, and the dirty tattered rags in which they were clad, formed a mournful contrast to the gilding, and striking, though deserted grandeur, by which they were surrounded. The fountains, many of which were of great beauty, and whose murmur once re-echoed through the spacious courts around, were now dry, or the little water which their basins contained stagnant, and covered with a green scum. The pulpits of the mosques are all of stone, carved with a taste and elegance of design worthy of imitation. Beside the open space of the mosques and underneath the dome, but still railed in from the unholy touch of the Giaour, the pagan, or the Jew, are the tombs, plain, and without ornament, and although the names of many an occupant of these sepulchres caused terror in their lifetime, and were remembered

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with horror after their death, yet the poor people who conducted us to them, with that instinctive veneration which the Mohammadans observe for their dead, appeared quite shocked at our requesting permission to enter the apartments. We spent some hours in wandering over this splendid necropolis, and left its precincts pondering over the period when its now silent tenants swayed with bloody hands the destinies of this hapless land.

Our course was next directed round the south-eastern side of the citadel, where heaps of rubbish accumulating for centuries, and formed by the cleaning of the city, have grown into hills, the magnitude of which can only be believed by those who have seen them. Beyond this commence the Mokattam rocks, which extend parallel to the Nile, and bound the eastern side of the valley of Egypt for its whole extent. The number of fossils to be found here, but which time did not permit me to examine, are well worthy of the attention of the naturalist, as they have not, as far as I am aware, been yet accurately described, nor have any number of them been yet brought to this country.

From hence we turned to the tombs of the Kaliefs or Khá-léifehs,* of less magnitude, but in a better state of preservation than those we had left. They are situated in rows, with large streets between, and are each in connection with one of the mosques. Attached to each tomb are collections of those sacred relics of their saints and martyrs, veneration for which has of late crept into the religion of the Prophet, and to extinguish which the Wahabees have made such fierce and zealous endeavours. These objects are now guarded with more than ordinary strictness, and owing to those places being less frequented by Franks than others in the city, we were allowed to enter but few. There was one, however, that had for us a peculiar interest, being the tomb where the present ruler purposes to take up his final abode, and into this we procured a ready admission. A handsome court-yard, adorned with gardens and well-grown trees, surrounded the building, which, on our entrance, disclosed to us a scene we were quite unprepared for. We were conducted into a large and well-lit chamber, which, strange to say, was in the form of a cross; in the centre of this was a row of tombs of

* Improperly written Caliphs by the English.

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white marble, and constructed in the usual Turkish style. The slele, or head-stone at the end of each was beautifully carved, and adorned with flowers, and verses of the Koorán, in relief, gilt on an azure ground, and surmounted by the head-dress expressive of the sex and rank of the deceased, who were all the different members of Mohammad Alee's family. Several splendid chandeliers hung from the arched roof; the floor between the tombs was covered with the most costly Persian carpets, in which we sank literally ankle deep, and copies of the Koorán lay open on stands in several places. Many of the tombs were strewed with flowers, not yet withered, and the apartment was well lighted by windows in the European style, furnished with splendid pink silken curtains. At one end of the chamber is a space left for his highness; and it is a spot he frequently visits, as beside it lie the remains of that wife to whom he was so long and devotedly attached. No less than thirty or forty persons have been interred in this place, some of whom were the family of Ibrahim Básha. The greatest care and attention is bestowed to preserve the neatness and order of this tomb, so perfectly different from the damp, neglected state in which such places are left with us.

On the top of one of the mosques attached to a tomb near this, we were shown a small model of a boat, where food and water are daily supplied by the priests for the birds of the neighbourhood; a practice still continued in Egypt from the days of Herodotus. Most of these mausolea belonged to the Turkish nobility at Cairo, and from this place to the city we passed through thousands of tombs, the burial-places of the present inhabitants; their white glistening appearance darkened in places by groups of mourning friends, or passing funerals.

26th.—To-day we went to inspect two of the most revolting and disgusting sights at Cairo—the slave-market, and the madhouse.

On reaching the door of the latter, which was originally a mosque, we were stopt by our conductor, to purchase a few cakes of coarse bread, quantities of which are always kept in the adjoining porch for supplying the visitors, who thus become a principal though precarious means of supporting its wretched inmates. We were led through a narrow passage, where all was still and silent as the tomb; a few steps farther, and we were introduced into a large oblong room, when a yell arose of the

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most unearthly kind my ears were ever assailed by—so startling, that some of our party involuntarily drew back with horror. Our sight—our smell—our hearing—were overwhelmed with a combination of disgusting realities, such as I believe no other place allotted to mankind can exhibit. Around this apartment were arranged a number of dens, about four feet square, closed in front with massive iron gratings. In each of these gloomy, filthy cells, was a human being, perfectly naked, or with the remnant of the tattered rag he may have worn on his entrance years before, fantastically tied about some part of his person; his hair and beard long and matted; his nails grown into talons; emaciated; covered with vermin, and coated with unutterable filth; an iron collar rivetted about his neck, binding him by a massive chain either to a ring in the wall, or connecting him through a circular aperture with his fellow maniac in the adjoining cell.

Upon our entrance, each wretched prisoner—like a ravenous animal in a menagerie, when the keeper arrives with food—roused from his lair or his lethargy, and rushing with savage wildness to the grating, extended a withered hand for the expected morsel. The foam of frenzied agony was on every lip; the fire of maniac fury was in every eye, and the poor madman's yell softened into the jabber of satisfaction as each in turn snatched his morsel, and devoured it with a growl I can only liken to a tiger's. Our pity is raised, and all our tender sympathies awakened, for the poor harmless idiot, or melancholy madman; but we must tremble before the outbreak of the violent and raging maniac.

I will not disgust my readers with a recital of the sickening scene I witnessed in the female department, where the frown and whip of the savage keeper rendered unnecessary the chain, the collar and the grating; nor tax their humanity by asking them to linger longer with those who dwell

> "In this vast lazar house of many woes,
> Where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind,
> Nor words a language, nor even men mankind:
> Where cries reply to curses, shrieks to blows,
> And each is tortured in his separate hell."

Even with the care and attention shown to those unfortunates in our own country, the sight of madness is one of the most humiliating and pitiable we can witness; but here, where no

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pains are taken to improve their condition; no care for their wants, and no medical skill to inquire into the causes of their malady, or the possibility of their cure, it is a truly awful spectacle. I need hardly say, that recovery is rare; indeed it would be a miracle, as the first glimmerings of returning reason would in all probability be instantly and completely destroyed on the patient finding himself immured in a dungeon, replete with such horrors.

Few travellers who have visited this establishment but have expressed their opinion upon the state in which it is kept.

Of this says Mr. Wilkinson:—"Though conducted in a disgraceful manner by its present directors, and inferior managers, we cannot but highly appreciate the humanity of Sooltan Quláson, almost the only Mooslim king or governor of Egypt, who set on foot a charitable institution for the benefit of the people. By his orders the patients, whatever might be the nature of their complaint, were regularly attended by medical men, and nurses attached to the establishment; and their minds were relieved by the introduction of a band of music, which played at intervals on a platform in the court of the interior. But the neglect and embezzlement of the directors would have reduced the whole building to a ruined condition had it not been for the benevolence of Sayd el Mahroóque, who undertook the necessary repairs, and detected the misappropriation of its funds."

This institution, called Morostán, is one of considerable antiquity at Cairo, where for many years it was the only charitable establishment—it was founded in 1820, by the celebrated El Quælæm e Naser Mohammad II. It is astonishing that there are so few insane among a people so excitable and imaginative as the Mooslims—the only cause I can assign for it is their religion of fatalism—the "Allah Keriem"—God's will be done—is a disposition that is not very favourable to the workings of insanity.

The Europeans and medical men of Cairo should inquire into and reform this disgrace upon humanity.

We next visited the slave-market, which is here of great extent. It was remarkable that as a seller of bread sat at the gate of the mad-house, the shop adjoining the gate of the slave-market was occupied by a vender of koorbags, or Arab whips. Within, was a large open court, surrounded by a number of small dark chambers, which rose in terraces around it; these contained the

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better class of slaves, who were all Abyssinian girls, from ten to eighteen years of age, with yellowish olive complexions, long straight noses, handsome features, and particularly melting black eyes, the hair long and black, and the lips somewhat thicker than those of Europeans with a similar cast of countenance, which, naturally melancholy in this race, was rendered more so by their present sad condition. All were decently dressed, many were decorated with silver anklets and bracelets, and some few had nose rings. Several were in tears, and all hung down their heads, and appeared ashamed of their degraded, hopeless situation, but brightened into a smile on our offering them a few piasters. Most of these girls have been either kidnapped by the slave dealers, or sold by their own friends for a few trinkets or glass beads; large quantities of the latter are manufactured in Europe and sent here in packages, several of which I met at Atfe. Their eyes were blackened like to the Mohammadan females, and many were remarkable for their tall, light, and elegant figures.

The centre of the court was matted, and arranged in a number of compartments, on which were squatted whole families of negroes, principally from Nubia and Dongola, and who were for the most part captives, taken in war by some neighbouring tribe. The majority of these were females from eight to twelve years of age, who are purchased for household servants. Although nearly naked, the young Nubian had still the inherent love of decoration, and strings of blue beads adorned the necks of many who could not boast even a chemise. They were all tattooed in various places about the head and breast, each according to the manner of their tribe, and their woolly pates, well greased with rancid lard, were dressed in plaits about the size of whip-cord, which hung in bunches over either ear. These young creatures appeared perfectly unconscious of their state, and, as far as appearance went, were very happy. In the intermediate spaces sat the different slave merchants, Turks, and Arabs; several Bedawees stalked about in their burnooses; and some of the buyers, occasionally pointing out the slaves they wished to purchase, they were called up by the owner and carefully examined; if they had covering on it was removed, and they were made to exhibit their shapes and paces like a horse at an auction mart. These young negresses can be purchased for from thirty to forty dollars; the Abyssinians go as high as a

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hundred; and they all so soon adopt the manners and religion of their masters, that I have known a girl, when purchased by a Mohammadan, lift up her *only* covering to shade her face while following him from the slave-market!

During an early morning visit I witnessed a very extraordinary scene here; all the negresses, young and old, had ranged themselves round the walls of the upper terraces, and were greasing their bodies and heads with palm oil; they shone lustrously in the warm sunshine, and reminded me of so many cormorants pluming themselves upon a rock after their evening's meal. As manual field labour is seldom or never accomplished by slaves in this country, there are few adult males brought down, and the boys are principally used as grooms and confidential servants. There is a white slave-market adjoining this, where the Georgians and Circassians are kept, but no European is allowed to enter.

Having thus described an eastern slave-market, let us inquire what slavery is in the east. The very term is, no doubt, one from which human nature shrinks with repugnance; but it is not here "the soul-debasing task-work of a servile bondage," as among Christian nations, and, apart from the miseries of separation from friends and country, it is an undoubted change to many for the *better*. The worst part is the voyage down the Nile, or the passage across the desert, where they are subjected to much hardship and villainy from the slave-dealers. Many of the male slaves in the east become officers, and rise to places of trust in the state; and numbers obtain their freedom in a few years. True it is that the master can kill his slave; but few are so foolish as to incur such a personal loss. At Cairo they are far better fed, clothed, and taken care of than free servants, whom they despise and look upon as inferiors, often boasting that they were slaves and not servants. Less manual labour is required of them than of the freemen, and all are acquainted with the political importance a race of slaves now extinct once assumed in Egypt. As regards the female slaves, I have stated that the Nubians were all used as under servants and attendants upon the ladies of the hareem; but the Abyssinians, for whom, from their interesting appearance, and somewhat greater advance in civilization, our sympathies would be more excited, are generally purchased as concubines, a state in the present condition of morality in Egypt often preferable to that of a wife, who can

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divorce herself or be divorced for any trifle, while the other can demand and insist on a proper allowance. The children of these women are free, and they themselves are generally made so on the birth of the first-born, especially if it be a son; and numbers are married to their masters, and become not only the most affectionate, but the most faithful women in the community. Compare this with Christian slavery—compare it likewise with the condition of those people in their native state, and we must acknowledge it an improvement of their condition. This was the slavery of the primitive Hebrew nation, allowed by Scripture and practised by the patriarchs, but which refinement and Christianity, the well-being of society, and the respect which man owes his fellow in the present day, alike forbid.

Our hotel at Cairo, though by no means the best, was comfortable, and its owner, Mr. Manson, formerly in the service of the Bâsha, took every pains to make it so. Attached to it is a handsome garden, growing some rare and beautiful tamarisks and acacias. A billiard-room forms its under part, which being much frequented by the instructors, foreigners, and officials, both native and European, and the usual class of idle loungers which fill such places in all countries, has made it quite a place of news in the evenings, where the politics of Great Britain, as reported in the last papers, or detailed by the latest traveller, the news of India, the different arrivals in the city, the last levee of Mohammad Alee, the war in Syria, and such like topics, were usually discussed.

We generally dined early, and as there were at Cairo several visitors of various countries, who, like ourselves, could not obtain accommodation in the other inn, we were not at a loss for society, both agreeable and instructive, as we enjoyed our pipes and coffee in the evenings.

And now a few words on those two articles of eastern luxury—coffee and tobacco. I was anxious to see and become personally acquainted with the manufacture of Oriental coffee, which far surpasses ours in flavour and aroma. The preparation of this is another royal monopoly. I visited the factory, a large oblong room, containing a series of roasters over stoves running down the centre. On these the fresh beans are placed, attended with the greatest care, and watched with such nicety that a single minute is not allowed to elapse after they have acquired the desired

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state of torrification until they are removed. They are then placed in large stone mortars, set in a raised bench, which surrounds the whole apartment, where a man pounds the contents with an immense metal pestle, worked with both hands, to a state of the finest comminution. The coffee is then sifted, the coarser grains separated, and again submitted to the pounding process, which is continued till it is all reduced to an almost impalpable powder, so fine, indeed, that it not only imparts its flavour and essence to, but absolutely mixes with, the water. All the men engaged at the work were black slaves, nearly naked, as the heat is very great; and in producing the finest description, some spend a whole day at a few pounds of berries; but it is never ground in a mill. When the coffee is about to be prepared for use, the water is boiled in the coffee-pot; the coffee is then put in when it comes to the point of boiling, suffered to simmer for some time, the vessel is then removed from the fire, well shaken, allowed to stand a few minutes in order to settle, and then poured off; and it has this peculiarity over every other, that so fine is the powder, and so perfectly is it dissolved or suspended in the fluid, that it is *thick*, and at the same time perfectly *clear*. This is its state of perfection, a state not always to be found in the kahwehs, or coffee-shops, where it is often muddy, and always too thick for the taste of Europeans.

How much of life and manners are to be seen in a coffee-shop!—the solemn visages and portly persons of the turbaned visitors revealed in momentary glimpses, as the veil of smoke clears away, upon the renewal of a pipe or the sipping of a cup of coffee; and the Arab story-teller, singing or reciting his tale from the beauties of the thousand-and-one nights, or some other popular romance, in all the glowing imagery, with all the occasionally rapid enunciation, and all the touching pathos of an eastern bard. 'Tis true, that as I sat and listened among the crowd, I could not understand one word he uttered; but I saw the fire of his eye, I felt the power though I knew not the exact meaning of his language, and caught the spirit of his song, though I could not fully appreciate the letter; for such is eloquence, however expressed—proudest, noblest of the innate powers of man—and all can feel it—the untutored Indians surrounding the Mohawk warrior, equally with the refined audience of the gifted senator.

It may appear strange that an article so much abused as tobacco

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is in England, is yet made use of in one shape or another by nearly one-half of the inhabitants of the world, yet such is the fact. Here in Cairo it is smoked by *all*, rich and poor, male and female, and the consumption is immense; but then it must be acknowledged that it is an article perfectly different in flavour, perfume, and effect, from the stuff manufactured for general use in Great Britain. It undergoes no artificial process; but the dried leaves are placed in a semicircular case or box, with a smooth face on an inclined plane, into which they are packed very tight, and cut down in very fine shreds with an instrument not unlike a hay-knife, and worked by the right hand, while with the left the tobacco is pushed gradually forward to meet the edge of the cutter. The best description is the Gebalee Latakea, which, as the name implies, comes from the ancient Laodicea; it is exceedingly mild, and has a natural perfume that would not be disrelished even in a European drawing-room; its fragrance is peculiar to itself, and its action on the nervous system is perfectly different from any in common use here, as, even when a quantity is smoked, it has neither the sickening nor narcotising effect of ours, but a gently stimulating action on the intellectual powers, at the same time that it soothes and tranquillizes the spirits. It is smoked through a long cherry-tree pipe, or one of plain wood, ornamented with blue, pink, or scarlet silk, fastened on with gold thread, wrought in a frame in a most ingenious manner. The bowl is of plain red clay, but the principal part of the shibook is the mouth-piece, which often costs upwards of twenty dollars;—it is of amber, ornamented with enamel, and in some instances with precious stones. The form and colour of this mouth-piece is as much subject to the caprice of fashion as is the form and cut of any article of dress with us. The present *mode* is a long oval piece, of a pale yellow colour, opaque and uniform, and without marks or veins. The Mohammadan is often as extravagant in the number and equipment of his pipes as an Englishman is in his dogs, guns, or horses. For each of his guests or visitors a separate one is brought in; and when he rides abroad to any distance, his pipe-bearer generally accompanies him.

There is another form of pipe, more like the hookah, consisting of a glass or wooden vessel, containing water, through which the smoke is made to pass, and received by the person in a long flexible tube. The tobacco used differs from that which I have

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just described, in its being much more narcotic;—it is called Toombak; and being damped, it is laid in small pieces on a grating at the top of a brass tube leading into the water-vessel, with some lighted charcoal over it. Considerable difficulty is experienced in smoking this pipe, and as a very strong inhalation is necessary, a quantity of the smoke mixes with the atmospheric air, and is received into the lungs, and this, added to the increased exertion in respiration, makes this form of smoking unpleasant, nay, absolutely dangerous. The apparatus used is called a sheesheh, but I would strongly advise all Europeans to abstain from it. A third form of pipe, much used by the lower orders, is constructed on the same principle as the last, but is merely a cocoa-nut, and a piece of cane for a tube: it is carried in the hand, and is that from which the fumes of the hemp* as well as tobacco are inhaled by those who are addicted to that species of intoxication. Opium-eating is a practice little known in Egypt, at least among the aboriginal inhabitants.

I made particular inquiry as to whether the use of coffee and tobacco shortens life, or is injurious to health. As far as I could judge, they do not; and now, as regards the former of these two

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* The leaves and capsules of hemp, called in Egypt hasheesh, were employed in some countries of the east, in very ancient times, to induce an exhilarating intoxication. Herodotus informs us that the Scythians had a custom of burning the seeds of this plant in religious ceremonies and also in baths, and that they became intoxicated. Chewing or smoking it, for a similar purpose, prevailed in India at a very early age; thence it was introduced into Persia, and, about six centuries ago, was adopted in Egypt, but chiefly by the lower order; though Mr. Lane, who has written upon it, says that "several men, eminent in literature and religion, and numbers of fakeers, yielded to the fascination of this degrading custom. The leaves are used alone, or mixed with tobacco for smoking. The term hashshash, or hemp-smoker, is one of contumely, and signifies as well a noisy, boisterous person."—*Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians.*

It is the *Cannabis Indica*, or Indian variety, which is used as a stimulant; it is there principally cultivated as a luxury, and besides being smoked and chewed, an intoxicating beverage is extracted from it. Some suppose that our word assassin, a name applied to murderers at the time of the crusades, and who made, it is said, use of this drug, is derived from the word hashasheen: others say it was from As Hassin, or the old man of the mountains, their founder.

An excellent essay on the preparations of this hemp, and their effects on

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substances, in such constant use throughout the east, no possible comparison can be made between it and those beverages indulged in by our own countrymen of all ranks. Can the agreeable, soothing, comparatively healthy, or, at least, innocuous effects of this cheap and convenient fluid be for a moment likened to the deleterious, debasing results arising from the use of ardent spirits, drank no matter under what guise? Diseases, the effects of drunkenness, and the horrors of delirium tremens, are almost unknown in Egypt. Why do not temperance societies endeavour to have the duty on coffee lowered, and by establishing shops for the sale of it, as manufactured in the east, afford the newly-reclaimed drunkard some slight but harmless stimulant, and give to all, a refreshment loudly called for in this country? But the coffee must be prepared according to the oriental mode, and the price so lowered as to allow the poor man to purchase it as a luxury, without materially curtailing his income. I grieve to state, what I believe to be a fact, that Frankish intercourse is daily conducing to the drinking of wine in the east.

Few females of the better class are to be met with in the streets of Alexandria, but they throng the avenues of Grand Cairo in great numbers, and are nearly all dressed alike; the outer garment being a large black silk cloak, enveloping the whole person, coming up over the head, and drawn low down on the forehead. It is open in front, and held out from the waist by the hands; and as it does not meet before, the gown or under garment, a tunic of pink, rose colour, or white, is displayed. The face-veil, or boorko,

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the animal system, in a healthy and diseased state, has since been published by Dr. O'Shaugnessy, professor of chemistry at the medical college Calcutta. From his statements it appears, that Indian hemp is one of the most powerful and at the same time harmless medicines for alleviating pain and spasm. It seems to possess, in small doses, an extraordinary power of stimulating the digestive organs, and exciting the cerebral system. Larger doses produce insensibility, or act as a powerful sedative. A full dose given to a dog produced the following ridiculous exhibition, highly illustrative of its characteristic effects:—In half an hour after taking the dose he became stupid and sleepy, dozing at intervals, starting up, and wagging his tail as if extremely contented; he ate some food greedily; on being called to, he staggered to and fro, and his face assumed a look of utter and helpless drunkenness. These symptoms lasted about two hours, and then gradually passed away.

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is generally of white thick muslin, attached to the head immediately below the eyes, and hangs down to the very feet, which are clad in large yellow leather boots. A more inelegant costume (figure they have none) I have never witnessed than a Mooslim female of the upper class, waddling along, wrapped in the voluminous folds of her immense cloak. Nothing whatever of a Cairo lady's person can be seen but the eyes; and these dames offer a striking contrast to the rather too accurately defined persons of the lower orders. I never saw females walk so badly as they do. This probably arises from their feet being so tender, owing to their walking so little, and remaining barefooted in the hareem. The hands are never seen, as it is a point of etiquette to keep them concealed in the folds of the cloak.

Although these ladies appear in the most public places, and mix in the most crowded assemblies, no acquaintance or relative, be he ever so near, brother, father, or husband, ventures to recognize them abroad, as it would be considered a very great affront so to do; implying that the lady exposed herself so much, that her friends were able to recognize her in the public streets. Such are the manners of Egyptians towards each other; but the Frank who mixes in a crowd of Mooslim ladies, will soon perceive that eyes and elbows too speak most eloquently, and the gay titter that he hears on all sides, with the occasional drawing aside, as if by *accident*, of the face veil, done with an art that shows considerable progress in the science of coquetry, all tell him that the immured life the ladies here spend, is by no means congenial to their inclinations. The state of morality in the higher circles consequent on this condition of society, is just what might be expected.*

You frequently meet whole hareems proceeding rank and file to the baths, the tombs, or other places of public resort open to

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* I have reduced many of my notes, obtained either by inquiry or observation, during my stay here, since I read Mr. Lane's admirable work on the manners and costumes of the modern Egyptians; his long residence in the country, acquaintance with its language, adoption of its habits, and accuracy of description, have given him facilities not usually to be met with; and all who have walked the streets of the Egyptian metropolis, will recognize the accuracy of his life-sketched illustrations.

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respectable females, mounted cross-legged on their donkeys, and attended by their sable, beardless guardians. At other times you encounter some wealthy Turk, mounted on his richly caparisoned horse, attended by his groom and pipe-bearer, and followed by his wives and children, who bring up the rear on donkeys, with a servant at the head of each.

A dog at the hotel attracted our notice; it had a peculiar description of palsy; an interrupted and sudden seizure of the body, as if it had received an electric shock, the limbs bending under it, and the whole body trembling violently for a second, when it again appeared in perfect health. About six months previously a Frank had the plague, and none would go near him; this dog, however, never left him, and carried to him whatever was left for his use; and was also in the constant practice of licking the plague sores. The man recovered, but the dog fell ill; boils, analogous to those of the plague, broke out on it; it remained in the apartment of the man it had so lately nursed, and finally, it, too, escaped; but it recovered with the affection I here describe. It has since taken up its quarters at the Hotel de Jardin, and has become, by its history, a general favourite. In other respects, it is in good health.*

26th. We visited the Bâsha's palace at Shoubrah, about three miles from the city; the road, one of the most beautiful about Cairo, lies parallel to, and at a short distance from the Nile, affording transient glimpses of the river, enlivened by the passing kanghia, whose slender waving yards and white sails peep through the vistas of green foliage which here skirt the water, as it glides

* In connection with this, I may remark, that while at Alexandria, I was informed of an act of a British medical man, that redounds not less to the credit of the individual, than to the country that gave him birth. A man was dying of a plague; one of the ulcers being over a large artery, it became, in medical language, phagedenic, or eating, and eventually opened the femoral artery in the groin; hœmorrhage commenced, and the blood gushed in such torrents, that life must in a few moments have become extinct. The surgeon, who was standing by, instantly thrust his fingers into the wound, laid hold of the bleeding vessel, and on the spot performed an operation which, under the most favourable circumstances, is looked upon as most intricate, and requiring considerable skill—that of taking up the iliac artery. The patient recovered, and the surgeon escaped the infection!!

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gracefully on the glistening stream. The road, which is raised some feet above the surrounding level, to permit access to the city during the inundation, is bordered by a continuous line of sycamores and lotus trees; and such is the rapidity of vegetation here, that although but fifteen years planted, the latter are of such size that in a short time their branches will meet at top, forming a magnificent shaded approach, worthy of the "queen of cities," and no where else to be equalled. The ground on either side was green with corn and vetches; and clumps of white mulberry and olive trees start up here and there. The path itself is not the least interesting portion of the scene; the couriers passing and repassing upon their dromedaries, at a rapid pace, to the royal residence, and the number of persons who throng this avenue, gave a spirit and animation that added to the charms of our ride.

As the viceroy had taken up his residence for the present at Shoubrah we could not well expect admittance to the palace, so we were contented to visit the grounds and gardens, which are worth seeing, from being laid out in the true Arab style, and though partaking of the stiffness and formality of straight walks and clipt hedges which were in fashion among ourselves some years ago, are not without their beauty and their admirers. These gardens are most extensive, and kept in beautiful order, the walks being bordered with hedges of rosemary and lavender, enclosing plats filled with orange trees. They are divided into different compartments, and the alleys radiate from a centre, in which is placed a lovely spacious fountain, shaded by the wide-spreading branches of some noble tamarisks and acacias, and overtopped by the feathery plumes of tall and waving palms. The water is managed with great taste, and plays in basins of the clearest snow-white marble; the floor is paved in mosaic, and a low seat surrounds the whole, raised at one end for the Bâsha. I know of nothing I have seen in this clime that realized to my mind the ideas I had formed of oriental luxury, like those fountains. It is here, beneath the shade of evergreens, which constitute the sides and roof of these embowered halls—beside the sweet murmur of the sparkling waters, whose spray cooled the air, already loaded with the delicious perfumes of the tropic flower—with the stillness left by parting day, broken only by the music of the evening songster, or the touching notes of woman's

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voice—that an eastern prince, surrounded by all that youth and beauty, the fascination of external charms, and the witcheries of allurement can bestow, may feel, that such is paradise, such the garden where black-eyed houries, with

"Every charm
To win the wisest, and the coldest warm,"

minister to the pleasures of the brave and pious descendant of the prophet of Mekka.

In his younger days these fountains were the evening refuge of Egypt's present lord, when, attended by his hareem, he wooed the quiet of a daylight's close, and sought, in the solace of these calm retreats, a moment's release from the torturing cares of public life.

At one end of this garden is an extensive aviary, and at the other a most sumptuous bath: here the water, which fills a large space, issues from the mouths of enormous marble crocodiles, placed around a central basin, where a pure and sparkling jet plays to a great height; while at each of the outer corners is placed a huge lion, emitting from distended jaws the crystal fluid in continuous streams. The bath is surrounded by a sumptuous colonnade, with white marble pillars, whose bases and Corinthian capitals are of burnished brass. Two of the sides of this colonnade are formed into chambers and refectories, in the usual style, the whole being well lighted with gas. The side of this garden verges off into a park, where some magnificent white deer and several ostriches are kept. The whole of these grounds were once the daily walk of the viceregal hareem, and death awaited the man whom accident or design might cause to linger in its precincts after the ladies entered; but beautiful and extensive as it is, those females must have felt it was still a bondage, and could each plant or fountain find utterance for its secret, it would perhaps echo the sigh of many a fair Circassian maid, who longed to wander amidst the colder climes and sterner beauties of her native land.

On our return we stopped at a kiosk in order to rest and obtain some refreshment. Immediately on our entrance, pipes and coffee were presented to us, although we had not yet ordered any, and on some of our party stating their unwillingness to partake of it, they were informed that it had been ordered for us by a

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Turkish merchant who sat near us playing chess; he saw that we were strangers, and directed it to be prepared on our approach—this *is* hospitality worthy of imitation. After pipes, coffee, and sweatmeats had been served, a tray, with glasses of *rum*, and bumpers too, was handed to each. Although meant in kindness, I confess I felt ashamed of the compliment, for to a Mohammadan it would have been a gross insult; but the Turk had been led to think, from experience, that it was a stimulant congenial to the taste of a Christian and an Englishman.

While remounting, Mohammad Alee Bâsha passed, on his way to visit his daughter, who is married in Cairo; a father, brother, or uncle, being the only male allowed to visit a Turkish lady, except her husband. Seeing a company of Franks, his pace slackened to salute us; thus affording us a view of this extraordinary character. He is a fine-looking old man, now upwards of seventy,* with a very long silver beard; he was dressed in scarlet, and wore the simple turboosh or red cap, which he is anxious to introduce, and sets the example in his own person. The turban would have been, to him at least, a much more becoming head-dress. Slight as was our view of him, it did not pass without making us feel the power of an eye of more brilliancy and penetration than I ever beheld. His equipage was very plain—he sat in an old lumbering machine, which in England would be styled a superannuated family coach—drawn, however, by four most magnificent white horses, which were managed with considerable skill by an Arab coachman. About a dozen cavalry officers of his staff rode beside his carriage, and six or eight dromedaries followed, each carrying some different article of the dinner furniture, such as the small table and tray used at meals, pipes, &c. This plain and unostentatious retinue is quite an anomaly in a Bâsha of Egypt; and such as would have been considered quite too plain for one of the very least of the Memlook lords.

Our short stay in the capital, and his Highness being particularly engaged on our arrival, prevented our presentation; nor do I, for my own part, at all regret it, as I am the less likely, when

* 1769, was, I believe, the birth year of Napoleon, Wellington, and Mohammad Alee.

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summing up the character and criticising the actions of Mohammad Alee, to be influenced by his reception of, or attention to us.

Our very intelligent countryman, the British vice-consul, Dr. Walne, obligingly opens his house twice a week for the entertainment of foreigners. We accepted his invitation one evening, and met several very agreeable and well-informed people of different nations, but principally English, either settlers in the country, travellers like ourselves, or passengers to India. The conversation naturally turned on the country we were in, and the prospects and advantages of the "Egyptian Society," lately got up by Dr. Walne, and which offers to the traveller and foreign resident, a source of information and improvement he could not possibly have obtained by any other means. Rooms have been fitted up, a collection of the best works on Egypt procured, and a museum is in progress of collection. Here the literary and scientific investigator, engaged in the study of Egypt, (for it is a study in itself,) can have access to sources of information that no one person could possibly obtain in any other way.

In no other country, and among no other people, is the *power of show* more influential than among the Egyptians, whose ideas of personal or national greatness are derived from the appearance of external grandeur, and formal observances, empty though they be. England has felt and acknowledged this in times past in foreign countries, and it would now be well if her representative here considered it too, and did not allow the Arab fellah to point at him the finger of derision, nor the writer to tell of the minister of Great Britain riding through the streets of Cairo on an ass! The honour and integrity of our representative are known and appreciated, and his acquaintance with the diplomatic art is doubtless great; but the compensation allowed by our government and the East India Company, would surely allow of a little more state, when such is absolutely necessary to ensure both personal and national respect.

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CHAPTER XII.

EGYPT.

Visit to the Hospital—The Eye-wards—Egyptian Ophthalmia—Its causes—Treatment—College and School of Medicine—Students—Professors—Dissections—Museum—Instruction—The Maternity—Benefits of the Institution—The Magician—Description of the Exhibition—The Incantation—Its failure—Trials of the power of Magic—Proofs of its Deception—Inference—The Serpent-charmer—The Coluber Haje—Snake-eating—A Subscription Ball—Female Dress—The Sufa—Gambling—Compliment to the British—Old Cairo—The Ferry—Plains of Gesa—The Gossamer—Taxes—The Crops—Pyramids of Aboosier—Plains of Memphis—Irrigation—The Desert—Rocks—Opinions concerning—Birds—Insectiverous Hawks—The Scarabæus—Its Habits—Its Sacred character—The Sacking of the Tombs—Sackara—Catacombs—A Deformed Mummy—Tomb of Bergami—Hieroglyphics—Antiques.

LET us now inquire into the state of science, and the medical schools of Egypt.

Saturday 27.—Having a letter of introduction to the chief medical attendant, Dr. Pruner, I this morning visited the military hospital and medical college at Casser-el-Ein, or Abouzabel. This splendid establishment, decidedly the best constituted, and the one which reflects most credit on the humanity and liberality of the Bâsha of any of the recent improvements in Egypt, is situated in the midst of a most charming park, about a mile from the city. The road lay through groves of olives lately planted; the ground was covered with a most luxuriant crop of corn, and the different plantations, as well as the whole of the way-side, bordered by rows of carobs and acacias, which will soon afford a cool and most delightful shade. Around the palace of Ibrahim Basha, which stands near this, there are several groves of orange trees, limes, and bananas. The hospital is a noble building, two stories high; airy, most admirably located, and of great extent, forming a square, each side of which is upwards of three hundred feet in length, enclosing a large court in the centre. One of the sides and part of the front are occupied by the students, and different departments of the medical school. The morning visit

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was proceeding when I arrived, and I am bound to say, that a cleaner, better regulated, and better conducted medical establishment I never visited. It is on the plan of most British hospitals —containing a long corridor with wards on one side; these, forty in number, are lofty and well ventilated, and are capable of containing 1200 patients. Besides these, there is a civil hospital in the city, which has accommodation for about three hundred persons.

The medical attendants were all Europeans, and consisted of the six professors of the school, and a distinguished German physician, Dr. Pruner, who had likewise the care of the civil hospital in the city. The number of patients labouring under diseases of the eye, and whom I was especially anxious to see, amounted to several hundreds, but the cases of acute ophthalmia in the hospital at that moment were but few. When this disease is prevalent in autumn, 700 cases are frequently in the house at once, and not less than 300 often present themselves in a morning.

Egyptian ophthalmia has attracted so much attention, and has become a subject of such general interest, that I may be excused a brief notice of what appeared to me to be some of the predisposing causes of this formidable malady. The affection appears to be decidedly epidemic, and occurs periodically during the season of the Khumáséen winds, and is particularly violent in autumn, after the fall of the Nile, and when many noxious exhalations rise, the effects of the late inundation. It varies in character every year, both as to violence and duration, and generally retains the type it commenced with throughout. This character the medical men study accurately, and on the greater or less intensity of the inflammation lies the line of treatment, such as general bleeding, leeching, &c.*

* As a predisposing cause, I conceive that a peculiarity of the natural formation of the eye in the lower orders, those who are most exposed, contributes in some measure to the susceptibility of this disease; the cilia, or eye-lashes, being poor, ill-set, and scanty, and the eye-brows very small, and particularly devoid of hair. Diseases of the lids and the other appendages of the organs of sight, such as *trichiasis*, or irregularity of the lashes; *ectropium* and *entropium*, a turning out or inwards of the hairs; and diseases of their roots, interfering with the natural secretion of the adjacent glands; together with *tinea palpebrarum* and *psorophthalmia*, ending in

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By the Europeans in the country it is generally attributed to suppressed perspiration; but, why should not the inhabitants of other warm countries be subject to a similar disease, where the heat is much greater, and the same cause exists in equal force?

Bleeding is not generally resorted to, unless it assume a very inflammatory type. Locally, astringent lotions, such as nitrate of silver, styled by the natives "The Devil's Fire," sulphate of zinc, and the preparation of copper of the old pharmacopœias, called the aqua sappharina, are applied.

The pharmaceutical department is under the care of the professor of that art, and the students of the college assist in turn to compound medicine, and become acquainted with the practical details of that most necessary branch of medical education. The pharmacy was on a scale of great magnificence; beautifully

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lippitudo, is very frequent even among those who have never suffered from *purulent* or *Egyptian* ophthalmia—all these assist in keeping up a predisposition to inflammatory diseases of the eye; to which may be added, exposure to the rays of a powerful sun, without any kind of shade or defence, as the turboosh, or even the turban offers little or none; and the sand-drifts and hot winds at the season of the Khumáséen also act most deleteriously on the visual organs. We have also the undoubted epidemic nature of the disease, similar to that of the other mucous membranes; and lastly, extreme dirtiness. Little idea can be formed of this without seeing it; the eyes or the face are seldom washed; the natural discharge is allowed to accumulate, and often a number of flies will be found collected in the corners of the eyes, to remove which would be considered unlucky. I have invariably remarked, that in the Mooslim ablutions before prayer, although they wash the arms to the elbows, the feet, back of the neck, crown of the head, and behind the ears, they always *avoid* washing the eyes. I do not think that blackening the edges of the eye-lids at all contributes towards the production of ophthalmia; and females, who alone use it, are much less liable to it than men, even allowing for their comparative numbers, and the circumstances in which they are placed.

With regard to the exact nature or specific character of this disease, I must say, that at first it in no wise differed from severe *conjunctivitis*, or *catarrhal ophthalmia*, of Europe, or even this country, except in the exceeding violence of its attack, and the extreme rapidity of its course. As, however, the disease became purulent, the *papillarkörper* on the surface of the divesting membrane, so accurately described by Müller, Jäger, and Peringer, became developed almost in a few hours, and sudden destruction of the organ soon followed.

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clean, in comparison with such establishments in England, and had in it all the most valuable and approved medicines, many of which were prepared in the laboratory by native hands.

I was next transferred to the care of Dr. Sicher, who conducted me through the college and school of medicine, which, as I before stated, forms a part of the building of the hospital, so that the student has but to cross the court from his dormitory to the ward, and can proceed from thence in a few minutes to the dissecting theatre, or the lecture-room; become acquainted with materia medica under the same roof in which he sleeps, and enjoy his morning's walk in the botanic garden beneath his window. Besides this, the students are all required to become acquainted with practical operative chemistry, and for that purpose are sent for a certain time to work at the chloride of lime and saltpetre manufactories. This system, added to that of the general medical education here given, is one well worthy of imitation in Great Britain, and reflects no small credit on its founder, Clot Bey.

At the date of my visit, there were three hundred students in the college, who were fed, clothed, educated, and *paid* by the Bâsha. The dormitories and other apartments of these young men were clean and airy, and they themselves appeared orderly and attentive. They all wore a uniform; were regularly drilled as soldiers; and rose in rank and pay according to proficiency. The pay varies from twenty to fifty piasters a month, and they are allowed to walk beyond the college once a week, on Friday, the Mohammadan sabbath. The nominal duration of study is five years; but the greater number of the pupils are drafted off into the army or navy after three years; some few remain as long as seven.

The school of medicine consists of seven professorships, viz.—anatomy and physiology, surgery, pathology and internal clinique, medicine and chemistry, botany and materia medica, and pharmacy. Instruction is given by means of an Arab interpreter, or dragoman; the professor writes his lecture, and it is translated to the class in his presence by the interpreter. The majority of the professors are French, and their salary is somewhat more than £200 a year. They are all obliged to wear the Egyptian uniform, and shave the head, but no sacrifice of religion or principle is demanded; and, I need hardly remark, that

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all European Christians are under the protection of their respective flags, and should they be convicted of any misdemeanour, they must be handed over to their consuls.

The laboratory contained a good chemical apparatus, and the dissecting-room several subjects. This latter indispensable requisite to medical education, it would be scarcely worth mentioning, but that it occurred among a people whose strong religious prejudices prohibited even the touching of a dead body in some cases; and the introduction of the novel science of anatomy, was one of the most difficult things Mohammad Alee had to enforce for a long time. He in the first place referred it to the priesthood, who obstinately set their faces against it, declaring it utterly incompatible with the religion of the Prophet of Mekka. The Bâsha's answer, that it was his royal wish and pleasure that they should legalize the act, and that, if they did not speedily do so, it was more than probable they themselves should form material for the first experiment in this branch of the practical sciences, soon brought them to reconcile their prejudices with his unbending will.

Attached to the school is a museum, under the direction of the anatomical professor, Dr. Sicher, containing the usual anatomical preparations, besides a daily increasing zoological collection, and some good wax models—principally the work of an Arab boy. The progress of this collection is an object of much interest, and the most beneficial results may be expected from it by the lover of science, as well as the naturalist. As yet, the want of funds to support this museum has prevented its being as extensive as it might be in a country offering so wide a field; but the preparations are well done, and, like all such infant institutions, it wisely gives a place to *every thing* that is offered to it. I should hope, that as many of the animals in it have not yet been introduced into our museums, we might be able to procure some in return for a set of wax models, or some such articles, which could not be procured there.

There is a printing establishment connected with the hospital, where several of the most approved works on medical science are translated into, and printed in Arabic. The chemical laboratory is a handsome, spacious apartment, well furnished with apparatus, and all other necessaries; and I was informed by the professors that chemistry was a science in which the pupils took great

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interest, and made considerable progress. Besides professional education, general literary and religious instruction is provided for these students. There is a mosque inside the walls, and two or three Ulemas, or Mohammadan priests, also reside in the establishment.

The Europeans connected with this, and indeed with most of the recent improvements in Egypt, complain that the pupils are removed from their care, and sent into active service too soon. In other departments of the state, they say, this might be passed over, and would eventually find its remedy; but in this case it is a serious error, for if it be true of other sciences, that a little knowledge is dangerous, how much more so is it in medicine, where the uneducated, or partly educated, are emboldened by that little knowledge to sins of commission in addition to those of omission. I have often heard it said of this, as well as of all the other colleges and places of instruction, "Oh, what could you possibly expect from a set of illiterate brutes, whom the Bâsha took but yesterday from the plough or the Nile bucket? Surely, you do not suppose that such persons, without any *previous ideas*, can be taught science." But what other native material had Mohammad Alee but this? And although this race are at present illiterate, and cannot be expected to have the same ideas as Europeans of that rank in society who would enter learned professions, will not the next generation be of a superior description? True it is, he keeps them too short a time, and many are removed after three years; but the demands of his large army have compelled him to do this; and the army must be without medical assistance entirely, or have such as three years' education afford, a period which was not required by countries more to the north-west of the meridian than Egypt not many years ago.* I confess I felt particularly disgusted at hearing the Europeans,

* Those who raised this outcry against the insufficiency of education in the Egyptian doctors, would do well to inquire what description of men it was that the lives of British soldiers, and more particularly British sailors, were entrusted to during the last war; and they will find, that it was to persons *much inferior* in medical education to those at present in Egypt. Nay, at the present moment they will find *practitioners*, patronised by the public, and permitted by the government and the colleges, in every town and village in Great Britain, who have no such claims to support.

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and even some of the instructors themselves in other departments, who receive the pay of the Bâsha, and whose livelihood depends upon the existence of those institutions, sneering at his attempts to revive the literature and arts of Egypt in the persons of its present inhabitants.

Mindful not only of the lives of his soldiers and subjects, but even of the lowest female in his dominions, he has re-introduced the famed midwives of Egypt; and I daily met a French lady, a pupil of the celebrated Parisian *accoucheuse*, Mad. Boivin, driving in a gig through the streets of Cairo. "The importance of a maternity was sensibly felt in Egypt, where women in labour were intrusted to the care of the most ignorant and superstitious midwives. In 1832, Clot Bey proposed and obtained the establishment of a school for midwives; twenty negresses and Abyssinians were collected in a place for this purpose, under the direction of a *sage femme*, of the maternity at Paris, an Arabian physician, who had graduated in France, and a Ulema to instruct in religion and literature. The pupils read and write Arabic, and learn the theory and practice of midwifery. This school of obstetricity daily acquires the importance it deserves. The number of pupils now amounts to fifty, and their instruction is confided to the five most skilful among them, under the direction and surveillance of the *sage femme*, physician, and Ulema."*

The civil hospital in the Esbekeyah contains three hundred patients; and there is also in Grand Cairo a school of veterinary surgery, with one hundred and twenty students. "Thus," says Mr. Waghorn, "in the regeneration of Egypt, medicine has been, and ought to be one of the most powerful instruments.

"The ascendancy which its ministers exercise throughout the whole society by their mission of philanthropy, has rendered the union of two people, essentially different, more intimate—exacted gratitude, encouraged devotedness, and has broken down the barrier that existed between the worshippers of Christ and those of the prophet—a superstitious but popular hatred.

"The devotedness of the European physicians—their heroic struggle against the plague—their praiseworthy and entire dis-

* Mr. Waghorn's Tract, "Egypt as it is in 1838," document B, furnished by Mucktar Bey, Minister of Public Instruction.

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regard of their own lives, have produced invaluable results; but it was especially the formation of the school at Abouzabel which gave a new era to medicine in Egypt, a glorious epoch for the enlightened sovereign.

"Initiated in the different sciences which belong to the art of medicine, and which constitute the well-informed man, the medical pupils became so many apostles, destined to spread the light of knowledge in the midst of a people still enslaved by prejudice and ignorance."

Having heard much of the extraordinary powers of the famous magician, we were anxious to see him, and to judge for ourselves how far he had a right to even that celebrity with which travellers in this land of wonders have invested him. And now I must say, that no one was more inclined to give a fair trial to the powers of magic—more *willing* to be astonished, or wished more to see what others are said to have seen than I was; and for myself and my friends who witnessed his attempt—and which was certainly to us an imposition—I am compelled to confess it was a miserable and complete *failure*. My narrative is simply this: we sent to the magician in the morning, desiring his presence that night. While we were at dinner, about three o'clock, he came, in order to obtain a dollar to make preparations; this he did as well to reconnoitre, as to make sure of the money. He sat for some time, and appeared particularly watchful and attentive to every thing going forward. In the evening he came again, and a great number of travellers from different countries had assembled in the room of the hotel to witness his performance.

The magician appeared to be a middle-aged man, of rather swarthy complexion; with a long and silky brown beard, and exceeding quickness and brilliancy of eye. He wore a dark-coloured gibbeh, or outer garment, and a green turban. A chafing-dish with some lighted charcoal was brought in, together with writing materials. He seated himself on the floor opposite the chafing-dish, and desired that a young boy about nine or ten years of age might be brought to him. A second person, whom we had not at first observed, and who sat at the door among a crowd of servants and the people of the hotel, instantly produced a little boy, who I soon discovered to be the *usual attendant* of the magician; however, he was allowed to proceed in his own way. The boy was placed opposite to him on the other side of

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the chafing-dish, and the man wrote some characters in Arabic on slips of paper; one of these he placed on the forehead of the boy, underneath his turboosh or cap; the others he burned from time to time in the fire; he then made some characters upon another piece of paper, and crumpling it up so as to form a cup, he placed it in the boy's right hand, and poured some of the ink into the hollow of the paper, desiring the boy to keep his eye steadily fixed upon the black shining mirror of the ink. He then commenced a kind of incantation, repeating the same words over and over again as fast as he possibly could, rocking his body backward and forward all the time, and occasionally throwing some incense on the fire, which rose in fumes, and almost enveloped the operators within it.

After some time he asked the boy if he saw any thing, and being answered twice or thrice in the negative, he continued the incantation with redoubled energy; at length the boy said he saw two people sweeping the street, and then a man on a white horse approach; that the sweeping ceased, and he sat down on the deewan; presently the figures vanished, and the magician demanded of us what or whom we would have appear in the mirror. A gentleman present desired that a lady of his acquaintance in Syria should be brought up; this lady was de-

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scribed by the boy as an ill-favoured person, with red hair, and seated tete-a-tete upon a sofa with a black man. As our friend had already described her to us as a person of considerable personal beauty, and appeared to be more than ordinarily concerned in her welfare, a hearty laugh went round, in which the magician and the boy joined, (at least as much as a Mooslim can laugh,) supposing they had made a good hit. He was next tried with persons residing in England, but he *always failed*. However, as he made an attempt to describe somebody, and seemed evidently *prepared* by the magician, we dismissed him and procured another—the very one who a few days before had so valiantly chopped off his finger, as I mentioned at page 204. Not being educated to the affair, he certainly was unable to see any thing but his own face, although the incantation was repeated till the operator was nearly hoarse, and the smoke of the frankincense had well nigh smothered the little boy. A third was tried, but with like success; the magician, however, asserted, that from these children having some evil thoughts, or from some untoward circumstances attending the performance on that particular occasion, they were unable to see the persons he *wished*—in fact, they were not *magnetisable*.

To try still further the powers of this man, a Greek chief, who was present, brought in a picture-case, containing the portrait of a lady then alive, and offered the man a hundred dollars, which he placed in the hands of Count Albert, if he could then, either himself or by his own boy, describe the dress and features of the person represented in the picture. This he declined at the time, but said he would come on Sunday and do it. He soon slunk down stairs and decamped, and I need hardly say he never came back. So much for *our* magician, who, we all agreed, was a complete hoax, and a much more clumsy conjuror than an English fair could afford. There was decidedly an endeavour to deceive, and of this I am the more convinced by a circumstance related to me by our vice-consul, Dr. Walne.

Some English travellers wished to see the far-famed magician, and an evening was appointed for his performance. He arrived, and the company not relishing the accomplice he had brought with him, one of the servants of the consulate was sent out to procure a boy, but directed to be on his guard, and not take any whom he might suspect of being in the pay of the conjuror.

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Now, in the vicinity of the consulate a number of streets meet, and on the servant coming to the end of one, a man asked him where he was going; being informed of his errand, he instantly said, "Oh, here is one for you," producing a boy who was in waiting. The servant perceiving the trick refused him and turned another way; but again and again the same attempt was repeated. In fact, fearful of failure, they had beset every avenue with boys instructed by the magician. Hence, I think, it is a fair inference to draw, that where there is a studied endeavour to practise a deception, there is no reality.

Except by the Almighty's permission, satanic influence is the only power by which the representation of persons living or dead could be thus really "brought up" in a distant land, and that power I do not believe now exists. I have heard and read many wonderful accounts of these men, but such was my experience.

Since the first edition of this work appeared, various intelligent English travellers have visited Grand Cairo, and have, I may say unanimously, expressed opinions confirmatory of those which I was the first to promulgate in this country, after the astounding accounts put forward about six years ago, relative to the revival of magic in this land of mystery and enchantment.

Not the least wonderful, and certainly one of the most disgusting performances we witnessed, was that of serpent-eating. An Arab, of most ferocious mien and appearance, presented himself one day at our hotel for this purpose. He had with him a bag full of snakes, principally the *coluber haje*,* several of which he took out, and hanging some round his neck and on his arms,

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* The haje (*Coluber Haje*, Linn.) Geoffr. Egypt. Rept. pl. vii. and Savigny, suppl. pl. 111, in which the neck is indented somewhat less than the Cobra de Capello used by the Indian jugglers, and which is greenish, bordered with brown. "The jugglers of this country, by pressing its nape with the finger, know how to throw this serpent into a kind of catalepsy, which renders it stiff and immoveable, *thus seeming to change it into a rod or stick*. The habit which the haje has of raising itself upright when approached, made the ancient Egyptians believe that it guarded the fields which it inhabited. They made it the emblem of the protecting Divinity of the world, and sculptured it on the portals of all their temples on the two sides of a globe. It is incontestably the serpent which the ancients have described under the name of Aspic of Egypt, of Cleopatra, &c."—*Cuvier, Animal Kingdom.*

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he placed others on the ground, and by treading on their tails, irritated them so as to make them become erect, raise themselves up, swell out their necks laterally in a most remarkable manner, and assume, with their extended jaws, vibrating forked tongue, and hissing note, a most threatening aspect, as they formed a circle round the serpent-charmer. Their fangs had been, however, previously removed. For a four-piaster piece, he offered to eat one for our amusement, and accordingly, taking it up, he held it at full length opposite his face, for some minutes; his eyes glistened with a most inhuman brightness, his nostrils dilated, his lip curled, and the muscles of his face played with unusual and apparently involuntary motions, displaying a set of particularly white teeth, within the setting of his thick and grisly black beard and moustache. Each end of the serpent writhed in his hand; he placed the centre across his mouth, and with a single champ bit it in two, and then placing one end of the twining severed snake within his jaws, nipped off a large mouthful, and putting his finger to the still living morsel, to give it a jerk—bolted it—the stream of blood trickling like gravy from the corners of his mouth, and the head and tail of the snake he still held up, twined in his bloody hands—a more demoniac face I do not think I ever beheld, or a scene more sickening; but it is his mode of living, and there are many more pleasing, but perhaps less honest, as I that evening had an opportunity of observing.

An invitation from the managers introduced me to a public ball, held in the house of one of the European representatives. The scene was one calculated to inspire particular interest in a foreigner, as, from the number and diversity of costumes, it had all the appearance of a masquerade, while the ridiculous oddity of the dress of some of the men strengthened the illusion. These being for the most part in the native service, and glad of an opportunity of reviving, even in dress, the recollections of their father-land, had assumed in part their old garbs, but had covered their heads (shaven to meet the "regulation") with the red turboosh, which made them look as if they had crowned their finery with old Kilmarnock night-caps.

A number of ladies were present, principally French, but dressed in the Levantine costume. Some few were natives, Jews, Copts, or Syrian Christians. The general effect of their costume was pleasing, though strange; the wide trowsers, tied tightly

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round the ankles, made their beautiful little feet look still smaller; the loose, flowing robe of pink or white, and the short under-garment, were very becoming. In the east, the bosom is, however, much more exposed than in England, low as we have of late descended in that respect; indeed, it is generally stripped in front as low down as the waist, which is worn immediately under the arm-pits. The upper part of the person is clothed in a velvet spencer, broidered with gold, hanging below the waist, open in front, and the sleeves reaching half-way down to the elbow. Notwithstanding that there is much of beauty, taste, and elegance in the costume of the upper ranks of ladies, yet, according to our notions of form, they are wretched figures, and evidently made for the ottoman, and not the dance. Their hands, fingers, and nails, were stained with henna, (*lawsonia inermis*, or Egyptian privet,) and the eye-lids were painted with the kohl, a black powder used by all classes of females to darken the edges of the lids, produced by burning a kind of liban, or aromatic resin, and sometimes shells of almonds;—lead, and formerly antimony was much used for this purpose. This marking of the eyelids is, I confess, only seen in perfection in persons of very dark complexion, and natural depth of colour; in persons of light complexion, it is by no means pretty.

I here saw a style of head-dress peculiarly oriental, and surpassing every thing I could have conceived of its grace and beauty. The whole of the hair, which was of vast length and jetty blackness, was plaited in numberless small plaits, each about the size of a piece of whipcord, and at every inch or two of their length was fastened, or worked into the plait, a small gold coin. These spangled tresses, which hung down on the neck and shoulders far below the waist, when sparkling in the light of the ball-room, had quite the appearance of a delicately-embroidered veil;—this is called the safa. One or two large plaits of hair were brought round the head, and on the front was hung an ornament formed by a number of small thin coins, set in a kind of mail-work, that fell some way over the forehead, called a choors. Others wore the turboosh; while the more elderly had their heads enveloped in the folds of broad and highly-ornamented turbans; and all wore a profusion of gold and precious stones; and costly shawls, that hung down behind to the very ground, were tied round the lower part of the body.

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The room, which was small, was crowded to excess, and hot in proportion. The disagreeably loud and discordant music of Pandean pipes, harpsichords, guitars, and mandolins, was only overcome by the authoritative roar of the master of the ceremonies, who marshalled the dancers through the quadrille.

There cannot be much amusement in these balls, and I fear we must proceed into an adjoining apartment, where a certain stillness, and a dense crowd surrounding a long table, may offer some explanation. Here the collection of anxious faces, and the display of gold and cards, solve the mystery. Faro is, I believe, the true and only incentive to these meetings. Some Jews held the table, and although I understood they paid a large sum for having it in this *gentleman's* house, yet it seemed a thriving speculation. The rage for gambling, both here and at Alexandria, is almost incredible; you cannot go into a Frank coffee-house, or any place of public entertainment, without seeing cards and dice at every moment of the day. The Mooslims are proverbial gamblers, and meet ready companions in the Greek and Italian residents, and an occasional gull in some English sea-captain, trading to the Levant.

Presently an Arab servant entered, crying, "punch! punch!" and carrying a tray of half-and-half, composed of raw new rum or brandy, and boiling water; by way of *distinction*, it was pressed upon the British who were present, and their polite refusal of the scalding liquid not a little astonished the Turks, who all imagine, and with some reason I confess, that spirits, in some shape or another, are necessary to the existence, or at least to the enjoyment, of these western islanders.

I left the assembly at an early hour, to prepare for an excursion I had purposed to the tombs and pyramids of Sackara and Dashoor, while my friends remained to share in the more social pleasures of the capital.

Jan. 28th. Having prepared provisions and other necessaries, I procured three donkeys and two Egyptian guides, and, accompanied by our Maltese servant Paulo, set out early in the morning. About an hour's ride cleared us of the city, and brought us to the ferry at Old Cairo; as soon as our approach was espied, we were assailed by a whole host of boatmen, several of whom made attempts to carry the donkeys on board by main force, and the koorbag alone prevented similar treatment of

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ourselves. The foolish custom that prevails among Englishmen abroad, of paying double or treble for every thing, has in a great measure led to the various onslaughts made upon the modern traveller, unless habited in oriental costume. A Frank is invariably considered a prize, worth a dozen Turks, or five times as many natives.

The width of the river here is about five hundred yards, and a few minutes transported us bag and baggage to the village of Geza, on the opposite bank, the site of a portion of the famous city of Memphis, and of all that remains of that once flourishing metropolis. It is a great thoroughfare, and at this early hour of the day, a scene of considerable interest. The grain and green-feeding for the cattle of the capital, the latter of which consists, for the most part, of a small vetch, grown in the fertile country beyond the Nile, is every morning ferried across this part of the river. It is carried on camels to the bank, and the animal with its burden is then shipped on board a boat, just large enough to contain it and the boatman. I remained some time watching this novel scene; and the instinct and dexterity of this noble animal, in placing itself in the frail vessel, were beyond conception. Arrived at the water's edge, the boat is brought as close as possible, and a plank laid from it to the shore; on this the camel steps, and cautiously, and without any conductor, feeling its way, plants itself in the centre, and going down upon its knees, adjusts its body and the load, so as to preserve the balance of the whole; here it sits with the greatest patience, and without a stir, till it is ferried across. In this crouching attitude, with the load of corn or vetches completely filling the boat, or projecting over the sides, and often dipping in the stream, and with their heads turned to the prow, they form curious pictures floating to the opposite side.

Leaving the village, we entered upon one of the most picturesque and luxuriant plains I beheld in Egypt—perhaps, I might add, to be seen in the world. The soil is a rich brown mould, without the admixture of a single stone or pebble, and every inch of it is productive; no sort of fence or inclosure is to be seen for miles around, but one vast undulating line of green, which in our immediate vicinity sparkled with the diamond drops of morning-dew that fringed the threads of the gossamer, gently undulating in the momentarily increasing sunbeams. I have so frequently

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remarked this action of the spider's web, at times when there was not a breath of wind stirring, that we must suppose it to arise either from the action of the sun's rays, the vapour rising from the earth, or the vibrating motion caused by the falling of the drops of water. Occasional mounds formed the sites of villages, over-canopied by the tallest and most splendid date trees. Some of these superb groves, especially along the river side, are acknowledged to be the finest in the country; each of them bears a heavy tax, and once the *view* of the plantation is made, and the price fixed, the people are compelled to pay it, even though several of the trees should die; but at the same time, care is taken to place every new plant on the tax-gatherer's book, even before it commences to bear. This duty is one loudly complained of by the people, and requires some better regulation.

There is much outcry made at present about the taxation of Egypt. It is, no doubt, *over-taxed*, and it is quite time that something should be done to inquire into, and remedy this defect. Great quantities of the crops are mortgaged long before they are cut; but although no excuse for such conduct here, it would be well for those who exclaim against it, to inquire into the oppressive duties imposed upon the natives of the interior of British India, and they may probably find not only a parallel for Egypt, but a solution of the question respecting the frequent famines that have of late years attracted so much attention in the former country. Whatever may be the rate, the payer now knows how much he has to pay, while heretofore, it was regulated by the daily wants of rapacious lords, and levied whenever luxury or ambition required it. But to return to our text. The crops were mostly beans and barley; the former, which were partly in blossom, were a small kind, but now form one of the principal articles of food for the people, though Herodotus informs us that the ancient Egyptians never ate beans. Great numbers of both men and women were in the fields, engaged with this crop; it is sown in drills, and the old stalks are made use of to support and protect the young, till they have acquired sufficient strength. There is a continual succession of bean-crops going forward, and in many places people were planting them in one part of a field, where the remaining part was in full bloom.

The great pyramids of Geza now came into the landscape, appearing on the extreme boundary of the cultivated plain, and

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though still several miles distant, seemed as if within a mile or less. They raised their huge giant forms, and stood forth in solitary monumental grandeur—mountains, the effect of human toil, the magnitude of which thought may faintly conceive, but words cannot express. Our track lay obliquely across the country, towards the pyramids of Aboosier, which now became distinctly visible, leaving those of Geza on our right, to be visited on our return.

A raised narrow road traversed the noble plain of Memphis, which is intersected by numerous canals for admitting the inundations of the Nile, not unlike the dykes of Holland, and having several small lakes and ponds of stagnant water, left by the last overflow, and filled with fish of different kinds. Numbers of men were engaged in raising the water from these, either by the pole and bucket, or in what are termed sachs. The water, once brought to the proper level, is distributed to the different parts of the crop, as each may require it, in little furrows made by the foot of the labourer, as described in Deuteronomy, xi. 10, 11—where Moses, in depicting the beauties and fertility of Canaan, says, "It is not as the land of Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs." Two crops are the ordinary return from the natural irrigation; three, however, can be procured by artificial means; but the quantity of land so worked, must, in places distant from the river, be necessarily very limited. What wonders would not a few steam-engines effect in this department; with their aid, and a proper rotation of crops, no doubt four could be obtained yearly.

The sugar-cane is now grown in considerable quantity, and the manufacture is in a most flourishing condition. The colocynth, or bitter apple, has also become an article of considerable trade, and the opium I examined was fully as good in appearance, and as clean as any Turkish or East Indian; but as it, too, has become a royal monopoly, it cannot be expected to be so productive as it would otherwise be.

Thousands of teal that sported in every pond and pool afforded us ample sport, and curlews were in such abundance as to shadow the earth over which they flew; they were, however, just as wary as their fraternity at home. The white egrets having become objects of interest from their exceeding familiarity, we gave up shooting at them. Larks were in great abundance, and buzzards of enormous size sailed over our heads.

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About midway between the pyramids of Geza and Aboosier we arrived at the desert, and here it was that the full force of the Egyptian fable regarding the perpetual contest of Typhon and Osiris became apparent, for the desert is yearly encroaching on the cultivated land wherever the inundation has not extended. The line of demarcation is most accurately defined; and as the crop which ought naturally to extend to the very verge of the sand, and which acts like a wall to keep out the desert, is now in many parts of Egypt neglected from want of labourers, it is slowly but undoubtedly conducing to the narrowing of the land, an event which all writers agree has taken place since the days of the ancient Egyptians.

We are now upon the vast Lybian desert, the fertile plains of Egypt to our left, the pyramids of Geza behind us, and those of Dashoor and Sackara in front, raised a considerable height from the valley of the Nile by a ledge of rock that runs parallel with the fertile land. This wall of rock is partly covered with the sand, which, rising in a crest above it, and in some places presenting an undulating surface, as it bounds over the barrier, gives it the remarkable appearance of one vast rolling swell suddenly arrested in its onward course to swallow up the land, which smiles beneath it in all the luxuriance of nature's richest clothing. Were I to offer an opinion of my own, I should say, that this rock once formed the enclosure of a vast city, that extended all along the plain, between the pyramids and the river; and should any wealthy or enterprising traveller attempt to clear away some of the sand that now covers its face, at one or two points, I am strongly inclined to think, judging from what I saw at Sackara, that many tombs and excavations would be discovered, as it is more than conjecture that the catacombs extend the whole length of all the pyramids. It may be in some secret or traditionary knowledge of this kind that the story told by the Arabs has originated, of there being a subterranean passage all along from the chambers of Sackara to the pyramid of Cheops.

Numbers of birds fluttered over the desert, and several noble eagles soared high above our heads in the liquid ether of an atmosphere peculiarly Egyptian. It was a most lovely day, though one of the warmest since our arrival, and as we passed forward I had ample opportunity of observing the various animals around me. The swallow tribe were in great plenty; the red-breasted

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swallow, and the small grey martin, particularly attracted our notice. I find that these little birds do not migrate like the swifts, (which, however, do not approach this part of the country,) but remain all the year round in the vicinity of the pyramids. I was not a little surprised at the good feeling and familiarity that seemed to exist between them and numbers of kestrils that flew round with the most graceful motion, now skimming in rapid flight along the sands, and anon balanced on extended wing for minutes together ere they pounced upon their quarry. Their prey was not birds, but a large species of grass or sand-hopper, with remarkably brilliant crimson legs. The wings and back of this insect were the exact colour of the sand, so that when the animal lay quiet on the ground, not even the eye of a hawk could distinguish it. The bird, however, marked with unerring accuracy the spot whereon it alighted, and remained hovering over it, as described, till the insect again took flight, when its red legs and the underpart of the body rendering it very conspicuous, he pounced upon it while on the wing. But neither did this hawk appear to mind the smaller birds, nor did they, as if aware of their security, seem to pay the least attention to him. Although at constant war in other countries, here the swallow and hawk were on the best terms. I examined several of these kestrils, and found that instead of the usual membranous stomach, peculiar to rapacious birds, theirs had been altered to meet the exigency of the case, and had become a perfect *gizzard*, having a detached cuticle, stained of a bright red by the colouring matter of the grasshopper, pieces of the hard shells of which, and small pebbles, I invariably found in the digestive apparatus of this insectivorous hawk.

The pratingole is also found in the vicinity of Cairo, and I have one in my possession now, brought from the neighbourhood of Old Cairo, but they are rare in Egypt.

Another little animal that particularly called my attention, and excited my admiration, was the scarabæus, or sacred beetle. Numbers of these were running about in all directions in the warm sunshine, engaged in rolling their balls over the desert with such industry, and in so curious a manner, that I cannot refrain, although on the path to the pyramids, from stopping to notice the insect so famed in Egyptian story, and that formed so conspicuous a part in the symbolic language and the mythology of

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this ancient people. The more I consider the habits and manners of animals, the more am I convinced that it was an accurate observation of their natural history and instincts that attracted the attention of the ancients, and on which was formed much of their mythological system and hieroglyphic character. This was not peculiar to the Egyptians, for we find the car of Bacchus drawn by tigers, evidently alluding to the conquest of a country to which those animals were peculiar; and in like manner are represented the conquests of Alexander, not expressed in words or by any written character, but shown forth by the representations of the animals peculiar to each region, as depicted in the mossic pavement at Præneste.

These little creatures, the scarabæi, which are possessed of amazing strength and perseverance, form balls of clay and camel's dung, which they mix up into a kind of mortar, very like that used by swallows to construct their nests; in these they deposit their eggs, and thus it forms a crust or shell to the larvæ within; they then roll these balls, when sufficiently dried, over the sand in a truly remarkable manner. The male is provided with two projections in the form of horns on the head, and uses them as a lever to raise and push the ball forward from behind, while the female mounting before keeps it revolving onward by drawing it down with her fore feet, as in the annexed representation.

Sometimes three or four will gather about one ball, either for the mere sake of work, or to get it over any impediment. Others again propel them with their hind legs, and will sometimes assume the most grotesque attitudes, literally standing on their heads, and pushing at them with their hind feet. So far as I am able to judge, they keep rolling these balls about over the

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sand for the whole day, and do not place them at once in holes, like other coleopterous insects. I have watched them at evening, and as soon as the sun had set they invariably deserted their charge, and returned to their holes, and what is more remarkable, if the day became suddenly clouded, off they waddled, and left the ball till a gleam of returning sunshine called them again to work with renewed vigour. It appears to me, from the manner they rolled these balls, that they intended the sun should act equally on all sides of them, and thus secure a certain temperature in the process of incubation. It may, however, be but for the purpose of drying the surface. The sexes of these beetles are well known to the Arabs, one of whom, who could just speak a word or two of English, pointed out the difference in the forms of the "men" and the "women" scarabæi.

Scarabæi, in every shape and attitude, and of all sizes, are figured on the Egyptian monuments, are used in the hieroglyphics, and models of them are generally found on the breasts of mummies; besides, many of a smaller size form part of the necklaces worn by such. In these two latter positions they may have been used as amulets. Others are carved in different stones and gems, as signets, having the names of the various Egyptian kings cut in hieroglyphics on the face. It was the emblem of creative power, of the earth, and of the sun, in which latter case the ball alone is often used.*

I now passed the pyramids of Aboosier, but without time to do more than just look at them. They are apparently less carefully constructed than either those of Geza or Sackara, and are much dilapidated. The whole of the ground I rode over presented a most extraordinary spectacle; for miles it is literally strewn over with the sacking of the tombs, consisting of quantities of linen, pieces of broken mummy-cases, and bits of blue crockery-ware, with remains of human bones, and also those of the inferior animals, which, since their exposure to light and air, have become intensely white, but excessively friable, crumbling in the fingers. The whole plain is covered with heaps of rubbish, like mole-hills, thrown up from the tombs, which have been opened by the Arabs for the sake of their contents. These

* Appendix, L.

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tombs consist of square apertures in the ground, faced with stone, or cut in the sand-stone rock, but now nearly choked with rubbish. I was well inclined to spend some time in examining the bones of the different animals on which my donkey trode at every step, but Paulo hurried me onward, as the day was wearing, and we had yet to make some preparation for our night's sojourn in the tombs.

We arrived at the village of Sackara about three or four o'clock, but could hear nothing of the third donkey which had been sent round by the plain; it was to have met us here, and as it was the bearer of the provender, and the wretched place we were in could afford us little or nothing, our situation was any thing but enviable. Paulo was for applying to the sheykh, and threatening him with the inevitable displeasure of Mohammad Alee unless we were instantly supplied—however, we soon spied our sumpter ass creeping slowly towards us. We then retraced our steps to the tombs, which are situate in the great wall of rock to the north-west of the village. Arrived thither, we found some Arab guides whom a Frenchman had the day before employed to raise a mummy for him, and which he had just then deserted, leaving the case and the different broken parts of the body strewn about in one of the large chambers, having had it removed from a pit in the neighbourhood for the mere purpose of seeing it opened, and for the sake of the ornaments it might contain. This wasteful proceeding is one too often resorted to by travellers; it had, however, its use, as the very fragments he threw aside as useless, were to me some of the most interesting objects I could have discovered.

The mummy-case itself was one of great beauty and perfection, and evidently belonged to a person of distinction. The head, chest, and arms, having been stripped of their coverings, were flung into a corner of the chamber, and on examination I found that the arms of the body, which appeared to be that of a young man, presented an appearance so truly abnormal, and so different from any thing the effect of disease, or any known congenital malformation, that I carried them away with me, and the drawing upon the next page represents the left humerus or arm-bone of this most remarkably deformed human subject.

The person from whose thorax I removed these upper extremities, appeared to be a man of about twenty-five years of age, and from the adornment of the sarcophagus, and the care exhibited

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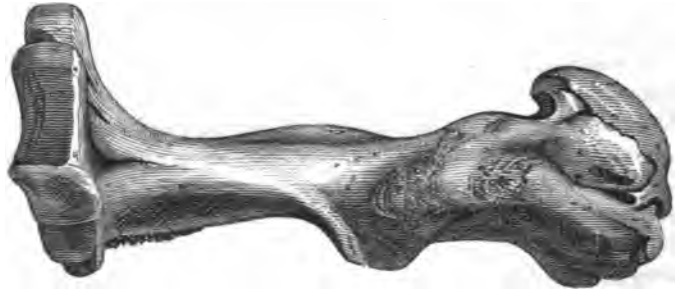
in the bandages and mummy-cloths, was evidently a person above the lower class; the fore-arms were crossed upon the breast; but as the body had been very much mutilated by the Arabs and some Frenchmen, before I saw it, I was unable to discover whether the lower extremities were likewise affected.



The bone is about six inches long, or not quite double the size of the engraving, and so completely different from the natural appearance, that it has a very great resemblance to a corresponding bone in some of the lower animals. The trochlea, or inferior articulating surface, is bent so much forward, that the radius and ulna could not have been brought into the same line when the arm was extended, as in the normal condition; the radius could have enjoyed but very little flexion or extension, as the articulation surface for it on the humerus is not one-third the natural size—both it and the ulna are much less altered than the humerus, and are also larger. The bones are light, but hard, and it appears to be more the effect of original malformation, than rickets, or any disease subsequent to birth. Both arms, which are *precisely similar* in every respect, and also the hand of one of them, are in my possession; the latter is small but well-formed. The shaft of this bone is not much altered from its natural line, but around the upper portion of it a number of unusual rugged protuberances are thrown out, and the attachment of the latissimus dorsi muscle is marked by a large projecting elevation. Being an anomalous form of congenital malformation, it may not be uninteresting to the pathologist. Wilkinson gives the figure of a dwarf and a deformed person, from the sculptures at Beni Hassan; the former is remarkable for the *shortness of the arms*, and is one of the date of Osirtasen, now more than 3500 years ago.

I determined to take up my abode in the outer chamber of

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one of these sepulchres for the night, and so placed my blanket and provisions in one corner, while the donkey-men provided for themselves and their animals in another, and set about lighting a fire.

Numbers of the Arabs, several of whom are Bedawees, reside in these tombs; their principal livelihood is obtained either in searching for antiquities, raising mummies, or acting as guides. They are the wildest and most ferocious-looking set of people I think I ever saw, and seem to despise the cultivating Egyptians of the neighbouring village with the greatest cordiality.

The moment it was known that a Frank wished to see the tombs and pyramids, I was beset by a whole bevy of them, and although I chose one who appeared the most intelligent and least vociferous of the party, yet the rest were determined to come along with us for the sake of a chance piaster, though warned of their uselessness, and the slight hopes of reward.

The entrance to the catacombs, which extend for near a mile long here, is very close to the top of the ledge of rock which just peeps above the surface of the sand; this opening is exceedingly narrow, and nearly choked up with rubbish.

One of these tombs, to which the Arabs gave the name of Bergámi, is one of vast extent, and matchless elegance of design and finish, all carved with the greatest precision out of the solid rock. Its outer hall is of great size, and adorned with massive pillars on either hand. Off the sides of this portion of the tomb are a series of small chambers, their walls covered with hieroglyphics; in form they are for the most part square, and have in general three niches for the bodies—one opposite the door, and one on either side. Two square wells lead down to a great depth into a lower tier of sepulchral chambers, similarly coated with phonetic writing. These characters are not, I find, carved in the actual walls, but on slabs of stone about six or eight inches thick, with which all the minor apartments are coated, and connected with such accuracy, that the joining is with great difficulty discerned. The cement used was lime, which still retains its power of effervescence; it resembles close-ground pumice-stone, of a pinkish grey colour, is of excessive hardness, and adheres with the greatest tenacity to the smooth surface of the slabs, which are a kind of sand-stone, not unlike Portland stone, and very easily worked. The hieroglyphics are of two sorts, one cut

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about one-fourth of an inch in the stone, the other appearing in *alto relievo;* the former were painted, and the colours of many remain most perfect, although it is acknowledged that these tombs must have been formed 2500 year ago at least. The ascent to the entrance of these tombs is very steep, and formed of the sand, stones, and rubbish leading to the top of the range of rock which here faces the west.

Were the present entrances the original ones?—And is the under tier of chambers but a story, in one vast hypogea carved in the side of the rock, to which there was an entrance below, or several openings to the different sets of apartments? Analogy of other rock-carved sepulchres, as at Petra and Telmessus, and on a small scale in the side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, would lead me to suppose, that were the sand that now forms the enormous mass of the descent cleared away, the front of this range of rock would be found to present the openings of many hundreds of tombs, equal in extent and beauty to that we now visited. It is to be regretted, that enterprising travellers have not, instead of rushing on to Thebes and Upper Egypt, spent some time, and examined more carefully the catacombs of Sackara, to our knowledge of which little has been added since the days of Pococke and Dr. Shaw. It is even now the great mine or reservoir from whence the Arabs get the quantities of minor antiquities that supply the Cairo market; but they are fearful of revealing the place of their treasure, as its exposé might deprive them of its profit.

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CHAPTER XIII.

EGYPT.

Visit to one of the pyramids of Sackara—Its entrance—Chambers—Roof—Remarks upon the pyramid—Buckahese—Tomb of Beer-dor-etho—The plain of Memphis—Inquiry concerning the probable site of that city—Opinions of authors—Reflections on its destruction—Scene in a tomb—Mooslim ablutions—Mummy pits—Difficulty of exploring—Urns of the Ibis—Desert grouse—Hyenas—Approach to the great pyramids—The sphynx—A pic-nic at the pyramids—Ascent of that of Chephrenes—Its construction—Difficulties of the ascent—Coating—Description of Herodotus—Dangerous position—View from the summit—Mode of descent—Pyramid of Cheops—The king's chamber—Acoustic tubes—A picture—Upper chambers—Their use and construction—Crystaline incrustation—Colonel Vyse—Interior of Belzoni's or Chephrenes' pyramid—Return to Alexandria—Inspection of the catacombs—Description of the excavations—Their probable date—Lake Mareotis—Shells.

My next visit was to the neighbouring pyramid, which is about one-fourth of a mile distant; the intervening ground being burrowed like a rabbit warren, similar to that near Aboosier, and the sand and rubbish mixed with the fragments of mummies, bits of blue porcelain, linen, and great quantities of agates.

This pyramid, although formed on the type of those at Geza, is somewhat different in external appearance, being apparently constructed in steps, five of which appear above the sands, each step being upwards of twenty-five feet high. What the real elevation of this pyramid was it is difficult to say, as the entrance, which, like all the rest, is on the north side, and was very likely about the centre of the mass, is now several feet below the level of the surrounding ground. The sand must have covered up the greater part of it, as even in Pocock's time there were six ranges of steps, and that which was above ground in his day is now far below the surface; either this monument has never been finished, or much more than the coating has been torn off. This pyramid is seldom entered, and the hole to which our Arab guide, Alee, pointed, had very much the look of a fox earth, and was nearly

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choked with sand, stones, and rubbish. As considerable difficulty is experienced in passing this aperture, the Arabs stripped themselves to the mere loin cloths, and Alee taking the lights with him, contrived to insinuate his thin sinewy body into the hole, where he remained with his head out, and the sand again closing round his neck; and as he grinned to me to follow, his bright eyes, swarthy cunning face, and shaven pate, partook more of the appearance of one of the inferior animals peeping out of its hole, than the human face divine. I wished Paulo to accompany us, but the calculating Maltese having but little of Egyptian enthusiasm in him, stated his willingness to remain outside, as he very seriously informed me, to prevent hyenas or other wild beasts from rushing *in* upon us during our stay; so taking off my hat, coat, and shoes, I prepared to follow, not on all fours, but backwards, and *a la serpent;* the sand and dust getting into my mouth, and the heat and closeness of the passage rendering the attempt exceedingly difficult and most annoying. As I was quite unused to the movement, and made but little way, my friend Alee gave me an occasional pull by the feet, which considerably assisted my ingress through this exceeding narrow passage, which is at an angle of 27°, similar to those in the rest of the pyramids.

We are now in the first chamber; and the Arabs having struck a light, which they do very adroitly with a piece of the dried pith of the palm branch, and the usual flint and steel, it enabled us to see that we were in a very extensive hall, domed, and of greater comparative height than that in any other of the pyramids. This is the only one which wood enters into the construction of; it is used in the roof, the floor and sides of the hall being cut out of the solid rock, similar to those at Geza. Toward the side opposite the entrance, and to the right hand, is a large sarcophagus of polished sonorous granite; but the floor of this apartment is now covered for some feet with stones and dirt, which have been carried there from excavations made by some one in the eastern side. The roof of this chamber is worthy of note; it is not flat and formed of large blocks of stone laid cross-wise, as in all the larger pyramids, but is constructed in the manner of a bee-hive dome, similar to that of the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ, and the tumulus of New Grange, in Ireland; where the arch is formed of large stones laid flat, each one projecting beyond that underneath, and the whole crowned by one large flag

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at top; here, however, although the type is retained, it is somewhat different, from wood being used, not so much to support as to close in the centre. It requires a considerable quantity of light to examine this carefully, and I am inclined to think that the beams of timber still seen in the top of this apartment may have been used but for the purpose of scaffolding or a temporary support, and not to keep up the roof, as no wood could be sufficiently strong to sustain such a vast weight as the upper part of this enormous mass. I throw this out, however, merely as a hint to future explorers, who would do well to examine it more carefully than my time permitted. The observant Dr. Pococke remarked a similar form of roof in the great pyramid of Dashour, called by him El Herem Elkebere-El-Barieh, or the great pyramid to the north. He says, "at the height of ten feet six inches there is a tier of stones set in, on each side five inches, and in the same manner twelve tiers, one over another, so as that the top either ends in a point, or, as I rather conjecture, it may be a foot broad." From this hall the guides led me through a low narrow gallery, that descended at an angle greater than that of the external passage, to three small chambers, the doorways of which were beautifully adorned with flowers and other ornaments, and the walls covered with hieroglyphics. Those chambers were cut out of the solid rock, and faced with stones similar in every respect to those I have already described in the adjacent tombs. They must be at least 100 feet below the level of the ground outside, and are of exceeding elegance of design and execution, but they are now nearly choked up with stones and rubbish, and their walls and roofs have in several places been pulled down in search of treasure, &c., the Arabs say by the French, some time ago. The passage leading to them was the most difficult to get through I ever experienced, as my torn clothes and bruised person could attest; and when I had seen every thing, and crept every where I could, and was once more in the light of day, I do not think I ever felt the refreshment of a drink of bad water and the delights of pure air so much as after that hour's work.

From the examination I afterwards made of the other pyramids, I am inclined to believe that this one belonged to an era different from the great pyramids of Geza. Besides differing in external construction, internally, its first chamber differs in the architecture of its roof; it has also a second passage leading from its principal

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hall, and in it are found hieroglyphics. Were I to offer a conjecture as to its date, I should say that it was constructed prior to the pyramids of Geza. Its roof shows a very early form of architecture, and there being no hieroglyphics in those of Cheops and Chephrenes, may be thus accounted for. Cheops, who, Herodotus informs us, constructed the great pyramid of Geza, may have been one of the race of shepherd kings, who were an abomination to the Egyptians. He was particularly disliked on account of his despising their religion, forbidding sacrifices, and shutting up their temples; and as he would naturally be held in disrepute by the priests, who were, in all probability, the only persons acquainted with the hieroglyphic or sacred writing,* he was therefore unable to have such in his monument, as the Egyptian writings, said to be on the outside of the coating, and detailing the account of the work, are believed by Larcher and other learned commentators to have been common, not hieroglyphic characters. Herodotus tells us they had two sorts of letters, the one appropriated to sacred subjects, the other allowed for common purposes. Thus it appears to me that the finding of hieroglyphics in this pyramid is a decided proof of its antiquity, as the very oldest edifices in Egypt are those whereon we find such writing. I trust some future visitor will inquire into this pyramid more accurately.

As it was very late, and I felt so much exhausted, I sent some of the Arabs to the mummy-pits to bring me a few of the pots containing the embalmed ibises, and then retraced my steps to the tombs, where I took up my night's bivouac. The donkey-boys had arranged my pallet in one corner, with the lid of a mummy-case for my pillow, and the under part of the coffin serving as a corn-trough for the asses to feed out of. I found several visitors on my return; wild, savage creatures, each bringing some trifling bit of crockery-ware, or small blue idol, and crying out, "Antique, antique—Buckshese, buckshese—Inglese, a buckshese." Odious word! How it yet echoes in my hearing. The cunning and finesse of these people was beyond any thing I could have imagined; and were it not for their annoying importunity, it would have been ridiculous and amusing.

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* Hieroglyph from ἱερος sacred, and γλυφω to carve.

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They seemed to study the taste of the purchaser, for at one time seeing me examine some bits of linen, they all rushed out, collected it in armfuls, and coming in one by one, each held out his portion, crying, "Buckshese." At another time bones and pieces of mummies were the articles in demand; and finding that I had no paras, or small copper coin, they brought each article separately, in hopes of obtaining a piaster. I endeavoured by every possible means to get rid of my tormentors, but all to no purpose; they continued to increase to upwards of twenty, and fearful of losing sight of me for a moment, and so giving up even the chance of reward, they sent into the village to get themselves some bread. If I mentioned the name of Mohammad Alee, they all bowed the head, but none stirred to go. If I turned them out by force, it was but to see them in a few minutes come creeping in again by some of the different holes and crannies of this many-chambered sepulchre; and if I walked out myself, or turned suddenly round, some wily Arab whispered in my ear, "Buckshese," and held out some foolish, valueless article for my inspection. This never-ceasing theme of Eastern cupidity is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the first word a European hears on landing, and it continues to ring in his ears till he leaves the country. If you ask a question, buckshese is demanded; no bargain is concluded without it—nay, the very appearance of an Englishman is enough to make the young children run out and cry "Buckshese." I verily believe it is the first word taught in lisping childhood, and, like the obolus of the Roman, it is the last thing in their mouths. They will do any thing for, and nothing without it. An old Arab proverb says, "Give a Turk money with one hand, and he will let you pluck out his eyes with the other."

This tomb, which is the usual resting-place of travellers visiting Sackara, and called by the Arabs Beer-dor-etho, is of great extent, having many series of chambers, with upright niches for the bodies, and also sarcophagi of scienitic granite; but there are no hieroglyphics in it. Immediately over where I had taken up my abode, there was an elliptic arch, cut in the stone, between two of the upright posts; but that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, is now so well known, that I need not dwell upon the circumstance here, as the labours of Wilkinson and Belzoni have put it beyond question.

It was now near sun-down; I walked forth, and as I sat upon

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one of the adjoining hillocks that crown this range of rock, while Paulo was preparing my coffee, I enjoyed the splendid picture that lay stretched beneath me, and mused upon the days of the past—till fancy conjured up the recollection of far distant eras, and gave shape, form, and life itself to the undulating line of gray sand that occupied the space between me and the glowing, fertile plain of Fayoum. This space, now so lone and desolate, was once crowded with the edifices, and noisy with the people of Memphis.

Notwithstanding the learned descriptions, as to the site of this vast city, by the savans of both ancient and modern times, the unpretending traveller who sits thus, with a view commanding the whole range of country, and the quotations of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, fresh in his memory, may be able to advance an opinion as to its probable situation. If we consult the works of the last two centuries we find them disagree, some placing it at Geza; others, and those the most numerous, at Metraheny, a village a few miles further up the Nile than Sackara, and near to the pyramids of Dashour, which were then in sight, and rising like so many huge tents or pavilions out of the desert. It appears to me that Memphis stood not exactly at either of those two places, but lay along the *whole length* of the pyramids—extending from Dashour down to Geza, which latter it did not quite reach, as Pliny tells us the pyramids (evidently the large ones) were between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Busiris. Herodotus says, that to reach Memphis from Naucratis they had to pass by the pyramids; and Strabo speaks of it as eleven miles from the Delta, and five from the heights on which the pyramids are built. But whatever discrepancy may occur among writers, the vicinity of these tombs and the pyramids, which most antiquarians are now agreed have had a sepulchral use, ought to decide the question. The French, in their *Description de l' Egypt*, boast of a great discovery, and will fix the place at Metrahaine, because Citizen Contelle found there the broken wrist of a statue forty-five feet high!! although Denon says—"The multitude of pyramids scattered over the district of Sackara, the plain of the monks, and the caves of the ibis, all prove that this territory was the necropolis to the south of Memphis, and that the village opposite to this, in which the pyramids of Geza are situated, was another necropolis, or city of the dead, which

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formed the northern extremity of Memphis, and by these we may measure the extent of the ancient city." The contiguity to the lake Meris, the canal, and barrier mentioned by Savary, Pococke, Clarke, Wilkinson, and other travellers, as proving its site to be Metraheny, only show that it was in the neighbourhood, without being able to fix an *exact* locality for this immense metropolis, which, as the country was narrow, must have been a long city. And the testimony as to its being eighteen miles in circumference, it is more than probable meant its length, which will alone accord with the extent occupied by the pyramids, beginning from the southern side of Geza to beyond Metraheny;—and the vicinity of these tombs and pyramids is no doubt that alluded to by the prophet Hosea, who, speaking of the destruction of the Hebrews, says, "Egypt shall fatten them up, and Memphis shall bury them."—Hosea ix. 6.

It was here the Pharaohs reigned; it was here a Joseph ruled, and an Herodotus was initiated into the Egyptian mysteries. It was here a Sesostris and a Rameses held their court; here, perhaps within my view, were executed those signs and wonders when the Nile, now glancing in the sunbeams, ran thick and red with blood, as the rod of the Israelitish law-giver was stretched over its dark waters; here plague and pestilence swept off millions, and those very rocks and caves that now surround me, once flung back the midnight cry that rose throughout the land, when the first-born of Egypt were smitten by the angel of destruction, who breathed his deadly mandate on the host of Pharaoh; and farther on the mental diorama moves, when Israel's bond-children rose to go, and countless numbers crowded the streets, laden with the spoil of their Egyptian lords; and lastly came, in a still more recent age, the King Bokhtnasr, to avenge the wrongs of Judah, and receive the reward of conquest performed in another and a distant land; and a small volume which lay before me, printed in a far distant isle, and in a language then unknown, tells me all this.—Ezekiel xxix. 18–20.

But all that was great or grand of Memphis is no more; the sand rolls its destructive wave along the ground whereon it stood, and Egypt lies beyond, its noble river margined by tall quivering palms; the hamlet's rustic music, the jackal's evening whine, and the pelican's plaintive note, are the only sounds that wake the stillness of this sequestered spot.

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When I re-entered the cave, I found the Arabs had returned with the mummy-pots, several of which I opened—their contents I found in a state of great decay, and lighted a fire with—they burned with a bright flame, and peculiarly aromatic smell. The light thus created illumed the whole cave, and fell full upon the forms of the Arabs scattered through its gloomy chambers—some stretched in sleep, some in the act of prayer* at a little distance from the rest, and others squatted round the fire; and the glare now thrown back from their dark sun-burnt faces, formed altogether a picture such as pencil might depict, but pen is inadequate to describe. Finding I could not dispossess the Arabs, who, to say the truth, seemed to have a much better right to the place than I had, I determined to make the most of them; some I employed in thinning a few hieroglyphic tablets, left by the Frenchman, to make them more easily transportable to Alexandria; others occasionally entertained us with some wild song; and again an eastern tale was told and translated to me by the Maltese, as we sat smoking our pipes round the fire, composed of the bits of wood that formed the coffins of the people of ancient Egypt.

It is remarkable how the superstitions and prejudices of countries and people vary. How few English or Irish of the lower orders would like to inhabit tombs, surrounded by the mouldering remains of human bodies, as the Arabs of Sackara do!

It was now late, and I settled to rest in a sheltered corner; some time elapsed, however, ere I could procure sleep; the peculiar novelty of my situation, the faint glimmering of light from the expiring fire, the group of curious beings I was surrounded by, and the remembrance of the people and the era that erected this sepulchral hall, filled my mind, and long as memory lasts that scene shall never fade; but bodily exhaustion will overcome even

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* It is curious that the Mohammadans practise a deception on themselves similar to that of birds. Every one has remarked that sparrows and other small birds, in dry weather, roll themselves in the dust of the road, and perform with their wings the action of washing, by throwing the dust upon their backs, and ruffling up their feathers. Here, in like manner, when the Arabs had no water at hand, they used the dry sand and dust in the manner they perform the ablution before and after prayer, sprinkling it over the head, back of the neck, beard, and arms, &c.

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such stirring thoughts; and I do not think I ever enjoyed a more peaceful slumber, or awoke more refreshed than next morning.

At an early hour I set forward to rejoin my friends at Geza, and having sent two of the donkeys round by the plain with the antiquities and baggage, I proceeded with Paulo and the Arab Alee to the mummy-pits of the sacred animals. Having arrived at the place so famed in travel and in Egyptian mythology, my mortification was great to find we had forgotten the lights; nevertheless my curiosity got the better of my fears, and as I could not see it, I resolved to *feel* my way into it, and bring away some of the urns containing the embalmed ibises.

An arch cut out of the rock led into a small apartment or shrine, in the centre of the floor of which a square hole, about the size of a large chimney, descended perpendicularly to the sepulchres of the animals. Holes cut in the sides of this passage enabled us to get down to a low, narrow, and perfectly dark vault, the commencement of a series of chambers cut in the rock, about thirty feet below the surface, and extending a great way on all sides. I should say as much as half an acre has been yet opened, and no possible conjecture can be made as to how far it may extend beyond where the ibis-pots now commence. I was here exposed to a most extraordinary scene, and such as few explorers of catacombs have gone through, or I would advise to try.

All was utter blackness; but Alee, who had left all his garments above, took me by the hand, and led me in a stooping posture some way amidst broken pots, sharp stones, and heaps of rubbish, that sunk under us at every step; then placing me on my face, at a particularly narrow part of the gallery, he assumed a similar snake-like posture himself, and by a vermicular motion, and keeping hold of his legs, I contrived to scramble through a burrow of sand and sharp bits of pottery, frequently scraping my back against the roof. Sometimes my guide would leave me, and I could hear him puffing and blowing like a porpoise, as he scratched out the passage, and groped through the sand like a rabbit for my admittance. This continued through many windings, for upwards of a quarter of an hour, and again I was on the point of returning, as half-suffocated with heat and exertion, and choked with sand, I lay panting in some gloomy corner, while Alee was examining the next turn. I do not think in all my travels I ever felt the same strong sensation of being in an

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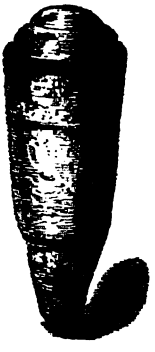
enchanted place, so much as when led by this sinewy child of the desert through the dark winding passages, and lonely vaults of this immense mausoleum.



At length we arrived at a place where we could stand upright, and creeping over a vast pile of pots, and sinking in the dust of thousands of animals, we came to where we felt the urns still undisturbed, and piled up in rows with the larger end or lid pointing outwards. How extensive this hypogeum may be I cannot possibly say, but from the echo it must be very great indeed. Thousands upon thousands of the urns have been removed and broken, either in the cave or outside, where they form an immense heap, yet thousands still remain. With great labour we succeeded in removing six of these, and having them eventually conveyed to England. So fatigued was I, that on reaching the aperture it was with the greatest difficulty I could gain the top, where I lay insensible for some minutes; on recovering, I found I had been carried out into the open air, and Paulo, not seeing me awake so soon as he thought I ought, was on the point of taking vengeance on poor Alee for some injury which he supposed I had received while so long under ground;—but a short rest restored me, aided by the thought that I was setting forward to visit the pyramids of Geza.

So very much has been written upon the sacred attributes and natural history of the Sacred Ibis, that I have little to add to the description of others; and to attempt the history of it, either religious, fabulous, or authentic, would form a chapter in itself. Bruce has confirmed the account of Herodotus, by establishing the fact, that the Abou Hannes of Ethiopia, and the Sacred Ibis, are the same. In the museum of the school of medicine at Cairo, I had an opportunity of seeing and comparing both the black and the white ibis with the bones of those found in the mummy-pits at Sackara, and can add my testimony as to their identity; but as far as I have been able to discover, the black ibis is the one found most frequently embalmed. Great heat must have been employed in the preparation of these mummies, as the majority of them are so much roasted, as to crumble to dust on being opened. The black ibis sometimes visits Greece

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in company with the Tantalus. There is one preserved in the collection at Athens that was shot near Napoli di Romania.*

Numbers of desert partridges (*Pterocles Alchata*) sometimes called the pin-tailed sand-grouse, ran in flocks before us, and though pursued, seldom or never took wing; they trust more to their exceeding swiftness, and their similarity of colour to the desert for escape or protection, than to any power of flight.† A trivial circumstance took place concerning a covey of these birds, that speaks more for the honesty of the Arabs than we are willing to assign to them. Seeing a number of birds start from our feet among the tombs, Alee requested the gun and some ammunition to have a shot; the experiment was a trying one, and Paulo advised me not to give it, but trusting in the poor fellow's face, I gave the gun, and off he darted like an arrow. After some minutes I lost sight of him, and an hour elapsed before I saw any thing of Alee, who, I was beginning to have strong suspicions, had decamped, as he easily might, with the gun, but he met us on the way, bringing some birds.

Hyenas frequently started up from our path, but always kept out of shot; they are plenty in this part of the country, particularly about the ruined pyramids of Aboosier; they sometimes make excursions to the neighbouring villages, and are frequently taken in traps by the fellahs, who appear to entertain a particular aversion to the animal, probably from its so frequently disinterring and devouring the dead bodies, even when in a state of extreme putrefaction. At last we are at the pyramids.

We experienced the usual deception mentioned by travellers approaching these monuments, of their appearing to recede as we drew towards them; for hour after hour passed, and still they were far distant.

Persons can have no possible conception of the vastness of those structures without standing beside them, looking from their bases to their summits; measuring with the eye of sight their huge dimensions, and with the eye of mind measuring back

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* For a particular description of the embalmed Sacred Ibis, see "Pettigrew on Egyptian Mummies."

† The plumage of this bird is lighter in those I procured in Egypt than the ones figured in most zoological works.

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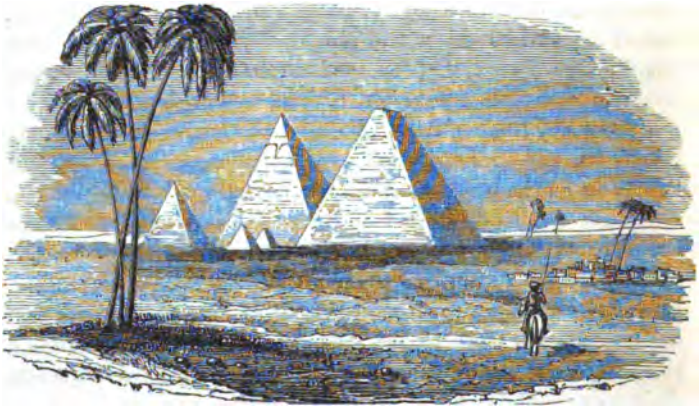
the ages upon ages they have there remained. No noisy rapturous expression of surprise or wonder breaks from the traveller; no hastening forward to rush into the interior; with me, at least, it was a calm, subdued, speechless, but elevated and lasting feeling of awe and admiration, which took possession of my very soul. Could I embody all the overwhelming thoughts that rushed across my mind, I would say that the uppermost was that of time—time, standing as a particle of eternity, is written on these edifices, the greatest human industry ever reared, or human pride or vanity can boast of.



A line of camels slowly pacing across the dreary waste on which they stand, or a Bedawee careering his horse beside the base of one of them, give, by the comparison, some faint idea of their stupendous size; and an Arab pirouetting his charger on the sphinx* afforded me the desired contrast, at the same time that it showed me what was the magnitude of that emblem of Egyptian reverence and superstition.

I found my friends from Cairo had arrived early in the morning, and had just returned from the ascent of the larger pyramid of Cheops, and were now waiting for me to join their pic-nic, one

* The sand has again accumulated so much on the back of the sphinx, that it is easy to ride to the top.

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of the pleasantest and most exciting I ever partook of. Our table was spread in the façade of one of the rock-tombs, at the foot of the great pyramid, commanding a prospect of the lovely verdant country beneath, and shadowed by the mass of masonry some four hundred and fifty feet above us. Several foreigners, travellers like ourselves, or residents at Cairo, had accompanied us; and in the variety of their costumes, and the diversity of their languages, formed as motley a group as ever visited the sepulchres of the ancient kings of Egypt, or made these vaults resound with the toasts and songs of their native lands. How time rolls, and spins from its distaff;—this sepulchre was once the scene of some priestly mystery; the habitation of some noble body, perhaps that of the progenitor of kings in times long, long before the countries, its present occupants acknowledged, were ever heard of.

While my friends remained to rest themselves, I engaged two of the Arabs to conduct me to the summit of the pyramid. My object was explained to them by an interpreter; but whether from not understanding it, or their supposing that I had formed one of the party, which had been already on the top of the more accessible one of Cheops, and wished to attempt the second, I know not, but off we set, the men leading towards the second pyramid, and crying out "Hareem Belzoni," at the foot of which, near the eastern corner, we presently stood. This pyramid, supposed to have been erected by Chephrenes, it will be recollected, was originally somewhat lower than the neighbouring one of Cheops; but it is now nearly of the same height, as it stood upon higher ground; and the coating, or outer layer of stones, is perfect for about one hundred and forty feet below the top, which is nearly as complete now as when it originally ended in an apex of a single stone. I was totally unaware of the difficulty and danger of this ascent, and of its having been undertaken by but five or six travellers of late years; the natives themselves never scaling it but for some reward. Had I been acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered, I much doubt whether my enthusiasm would have induced me to venture up.

This, like the others, was first built in steps, or courses of enormous stones, each row placed the breadth of itself within the course beneath. Some stones in the base of this pyramid are larger than those of Cheops, and from four to five feet in depth,

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so that we had to clamber over them on our hands; but in this, I was assisted by the guides, one an old man, the other aged about forty, and both of a mould, which, for combination of strength and agility, I do not think I ever saw surpassed. We soon turned to the north, and finally reached the outer casing on the west side. All this was very laborious to be sure, though not very dangerous; but here was an obstacle that I knew not how they themselves could surmount, much less how I could possibly master; for above our heads jutted out like an eave, or coping, the lower stones of the coating which still remain, and retain a smooth polished surface. As considerable precaution was necessary, the men made me take off my hat, coat, and shoes at this place; the younger then placed his raised and extended hands against the projecting edge of the lower stone, which reached to above his chin; and the elder, taking me in his arms, as I would a child, placed my feet on the other's shoulder, and my body flat on the smooth surface of the stone; in this position we formed an angle with each other, and here I remained for upwards of two minutes, till the older man went round, and by some other means contrived to get over the projection, when creeping along the line of junction of the casing, he took my hands, drew me up to where he was above me, and then letting down his girdle, assisted to mount up the younger, but less active, and less daring climber of the two. We then proceeded much as follows:—One of them got on the shoulders of the other, and so gained the joining of the stone above, which was often five feet from that beneath; the upper man then helped me in a similar action, while the lower pushed me up by the feet. Having gained this row, we had often to creep for some way along the joining, to where another opportunity of ascending was afforded. In this way we proceeded to the summit, and some idea may be formed of my feelings, when it is recollected, that all these stones of such a span are highly polished, are set at an angle less than 45′, and that the places we had to grip with our hands and feet, were often not two inches wide, and their height above the ground upwards of four hundred feet! a single slip of the foot, or a slight gust of wind, and, from our position, we must all three have been dashed to atoms, long before reaching the ground. On gaining the top my guides gave vent to sundry demonstrations of satisfaction, clapping me on the back, patting my head, kissing my hands, and

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uttering a low growl, which presently rose into the more audible, and, to my ears, less musical cry of "buckshese!" From all this I began to suspect that something wonderful had been achieved; and some idea of my perilous situation broke upon me, as I saw my friends beneath waving their hats, and looking up, no doubt with astonishment, as we sat perched upon the top, which is not more than six feet square. The apex stone has been removed, and the top now consists of the four outer slabs, and one in the centre, which is raised upon its end, and leans to the eastward. I do not think that human hands could have raised it thus from its bed, on account of its size, and the confined space on which they would have to work. I am inclined to think the top was struck with lightning, and the position thus altered by it. The three of us had just room to sit upon the place. I saw two or three names scratched upon the central slab, to which of course I added my own: and as a memento of the spot, collected some bones of the jerbil, which lay scattered about us. At first, I imagined these might have been carried up by hawks, but I soon heard the living animals squeeling under where I sat. I could not discover the Arabic inscription mentioned by Wilkinson, on any of the stones; but I had far more interesting and absorbing objects to attract my attention, for the grandeur and extent of the picture that now presented itself from this giddy height, was almost as intoxicating as the ascent I had just completed. Around me lay the vast plain of interminable sand, that marked the Lybian and African deserts, the scorching, echoless wilderness, which mingled with the clear blue of the atmosphere at the horizon. In a sloping vale, bounded by massive rocks, the unvaried hue of barrenness was enlivened by what appeared to me a narrow silver ribbon, that wound its tortuous course for miles and miles, as it seemed to rise out of the junction of sand and sky above, and was lost to vision as it sunk into it in a similar manner below. Its banks were green and verdant, with the richest foliage, and groves of waving palms were now and then relieved by the gleam of noon-day light, that glanced from the snow-white minaret, or the stately dome of a marabut. This ribbon was the river Nile—its banks, the land of Egypt.

The thousand pinnacles of the mosques of Cairo rose to view beyond the goodly land; the white sail of the kanghia looked but as a sea-bird's wing, and the drove of camels, as a black dotted line upon the plain beneath. The whole of the pyramids

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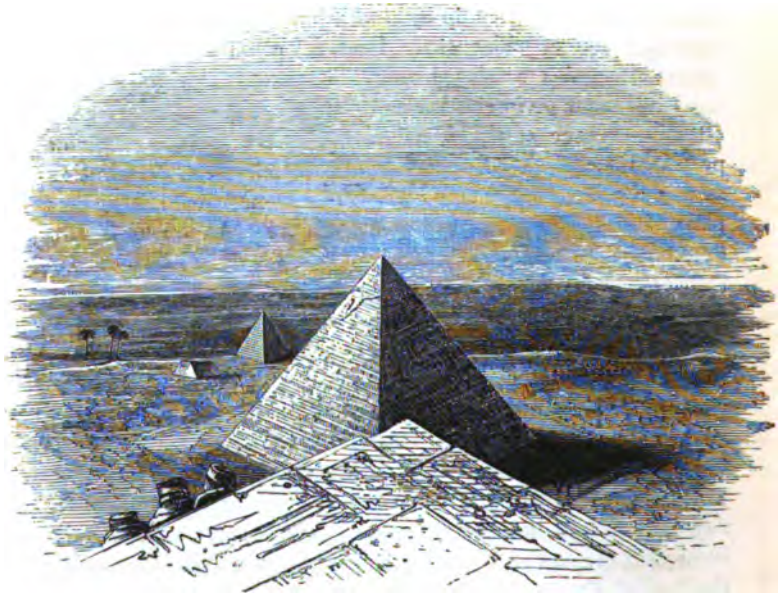
were below me, and appeared almost at my feet. What remembrances—what inexpressible emotions must not the traveller ever feel, while viewing such an exciting picture, where the shadows of the past, and the realities of the present, rush together on his senses! Memphis and Heliopolis stood within my view; but these are gone, as are the people that raised those stupendous sepulchres themselves. Battles have been fought round their base; the storms of above three thousand years have played harmlessly upon them; men, the most renowned the world ever saw, heroes and philosophers of every age and from every land, have come to wonder at their greatness; dynasties and kingdoms have passed away; the very bodies of the persons for whose use they were erected, were most likely ransacked for the bit of gold that may have ornamented them; and the earth itself has changed much of its external form since they were built; yet, there they stand, as if waiting for the dawning of another transformation of our planet.



This view of the pyramid of Chephrenes was taken from the platform on the top of the great pyramid of Cheops—the figures are sitting on the second step.

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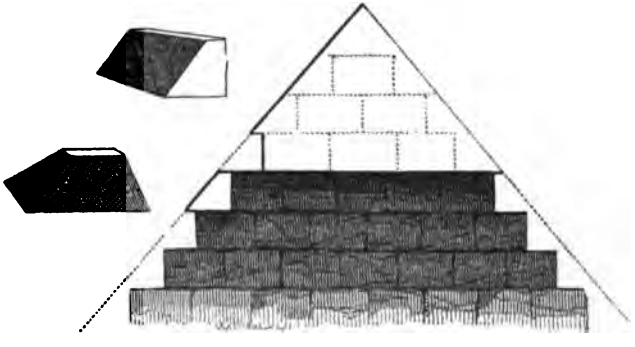
The heat was most intense, and the stones so hot, that it became unpleasant to sit on them very long, and it would be rather too daring an experiment to attempt standing. The descent was, as might be expected, much more dangerous, though not so difficult. The guides, however, tied a long sash under my arms, and so let me slide down from course to course of these covering stones, which are of a yellowish lime-stone, somewhat different from the material of which the steps are composed, and totally distinct from the rock of the base, or the coating of the passages. The elevation of this pyramid is about 450 feet, with a base, according to Belzoni, of 684 feet; but I am of opinion, as all will be who examine it, that the sand has accumulated to a great height up its sides. The smooth coating on the upper 140 feet, is part of that spoken of by Herodotus, and was what the olden authors styled marble—a term applied by them to all polished stones. The Halicarnassian historian likewise informs us, that these stones were raised by small pieces of wood, and the coating commenced from the *top!* This has been denied; but an examination on the spot will, I think, convince any observant inquirer of its truth, and that, in fact, it was the easiest and perhaps the only way in which the pyramids could be so finished.



The accompanying wood-cut shows the shape of these stones, and how they were placed; and as the pyramid was first completed, except the casing, it explains to us this apparently difficult problem.

The upper part of this design shows the coating, and the lower the steps: the upper left-hand figure gives the shape of one

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of the casing stones, and the lower that used at the corners. It was easy, by the pieces of wood, (which I consider were used as levers, and not pulleys,) to raise each of these stones, from step to step, to the summit, and so carry it on to the top, as each step was sufficient to support a range of the coping-stone. But had the work been commenced from the bottom, it is plain, either that an enormous scaffolding and apparatus must have been used to raise these great blocks as the work proceeded, or the earth heaped up, as was supposed by Strabo, round each course, and so an inclined plane formed—to erect and remove which would have been a work little inferior to the construction of the pyramid itself.*

On my descent I rejoined my party, and we entered the great pyramid, for the improvement of the entrance to which, as well as the clearing away of much of the sand from its base, we are indebted to the zeal and liberality of Colonel Vyse, and the labours of the enthusiastic and indefatigable Caviglia. The different chambers, wells, and passages of this pyramid have been so frequently and accurately described in works treating expressly of the antiquities of Egypt, that I can do little more than draw a brief outline, and conduct the reader in a few minutes over the ground I spent some hours in examining.

The Arab guides, who amounted to about half a dozen for each of our party, conducted us down the first low, narrow, and sloping passage, to another which led up to the queen's, and afterwards to that denominated the king's chamber. This latter

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* In the 829th number of the "Athenæum," (Sept. 19th, 1843,) we read, that at a meeting of the Egyptian Society held in Cairo, the German antiquary, Dr. Lepsius, gave an exposition of the mode of constructing pyramids, in which he puts forward the very views which I advocated in the foregoing text in the year 1840; and in that article will be found a section or diagram of the architectural structure of the outer casing, precisely similar in principle to that exhibited in the illustration on the previous page. It may, however, be possible that Dr. Lepsius had not seen, or was not aware of my explanation. He stated, "that he was indebted to Mr. I. Wild, architect, for this suggestion, and it agrees with and explains the *account given by Herodotus, who states that machines were placed upon the steps, and the stones raised from one step to another.*" See also an article on the same subject, by Mr. Perring, in the "Athenæum" for March 9, 1843.

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is an oblong apartment, the sides of which are formed of enormous blocks of granite reaching from the floor to the roof; similar stones span the whole extent of the ceiling, and at the distant extremity of the chamber is the sarcophagus, seven feet six inches in length, of polished granite, which rung loudly when we struck it with any metallic substance. In the walls of this apartment are several small apertures, which proceed upwards through the pyramid. These may have been made for the purpose of admitting air from without; or to be more Egyptian in our speculations, they may have been used as acoustic tubes during the mysteries that were here enacted. The natives informed me that some time before, water which had been carried up and spilled on the outside, found its way into this chamber through these channels. In the ascending gallery are grooves cut in the sides, in order to let down a massive stone portcullis, which, in all probability, closed up the passage, (like to that raised by Belzoni, in the second pyramid,) after the body and sarcophagus had been placed within.

A pistol having been discharged in the chamber, the echo it produced was deafening, and by its repetition fully verified the conjecture that there were many other yet undiscovered apartments and cavities in this vast pile. The noise of its report was most stunning, and the reverberation that followed tremendous; in the vaults above, in the wells and depths beneath, and around on all sides of us, it was continued for almost a minute. When the smoke, which nearly filled the chamber, had partly escaped, the grouping of our party afforded a picture of great interest—each standing in an attitude of deep attention, intently listening, to catch the last retreating sound as it sped its way into those mysterious recesses, which it alone was permitted to visit—some eight or ten wild, bearded, and half-naked Arabs holding the lights—and the Europeans in their various costumes, motionless, and with the expression of amazement and anxious curiosity strongly pictured on their countenances, afforded a subject worthy the pencil of a Salvator Rosa.

Owing to the industry of Colonel Campbell, a ladder has been formed of pieces of wood fitted into the stones that line the passage leading to Davison's chamber, an apartment of about the same length and breadth, but much lower than the king's, over which it is placed, and barely admitting us to stand upright

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within it. From this chamber the same perpendicular aperture is continued to a second room of a similar kind, occupying the same relation to it that the other does to the king's. A few of us contrived to clamber into a third and fourth in succession; and indeed it was a work of much toil and difficulty; for the passage, which greatly resembles a narrow chimney, admitting but one at a time, can only be ascended sweep-wise, by pressing the back against one side, and the feet and knees against the other—a slow and very uncomfortable operation, owing to the heat and dust that it creates.

The stones forming the floor of each of these apartments roof the one below it; their upper surface is slightly convex; and the whole of them are coated with a remarkable incrustation of a shining white, curly, and crystaline substance, not unlike the moss called *ursnea barbata*, which I before described as covering some of the trees at Madeira. It is found in little bunches on the roof, more abundantly in the upper than the lower chambers, and as it has not, that I am aware of, been yet accurately described, and is generally supposed to be nitrate of potash, or saltpetre, I submitted it to the chemical analysis of my friend, Professor Kane, and he found it to be common salt *(chloride of sodium)*, and states that "its occurrence in this form is of considerable interest, as it illustrates the manner in which some species of the alum family assume the curious fibrous and contorted figure of these specimens." A question of exceeding interest here presents itself—how did it get into and crystalize on the sides of those chambers? Three modes of solving this problem have occurred to me—either that the granite itself was filled with this substance in its original bed, and that it oozed out and crystalized in this curious form afterwards; or that the atmosphere from the desert, where salt is found, (as it is in the neighbourhood,) becoming impregnated with fine and impalpable saline particles, and getting into the interior of the pyramids, thus encrusted it, although we know that for centuries there was no apparent inlet for it; or thirdly, that it was used in some of the mystic rites that were of old practised in the lower chambers, and being carried up in the form of vapour, cooled and crystalized in the upper apartments. But at the same time I must acknowledge, that none of these modes completely satisfy me as to the way in which the salt is formed. I have never heard of its being

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hitherto discovered in this very remarkable form, and it is one well worthy the attention of the learned.

The three uppermost chambers, recently discovered by Caviglia and Colonel Vyse, have the names of Wellington, Nelson, and Campbell painted on them. As yet we must bow to the opinion of Colonel Vyse, that these chambers appear to have been constructed for the purpose of lessening the superincumbent weight on the king's chamber, the principal cavity, to which all the others seem subservient. At the same time, as I before stated, they may have served some secondary purpose in the rites observed in this structure, which, taking it for granted that it was a tomb, (the most general opinion at present,) does not at all lessen the character and importance of these chambers. Certain it is, that they could not have any thing to do with the astronomical purposes assigned to the pyramids.

Our time not permitting us to descend into the well, we passed out, and proceeded to explore the second pyramid, now rendered much more easy of access since Colonel Vyse has raised up the stone portcullis to the whole height of the passage, which Belzoni had left just high enough for persons to creep under. This passage was sufficiently wide and high for walking in without much inconvenience. We spent some time in examining this chamber, and saw the name of its celebrated but ill-treated discoverer, with the date on which it was opened, printed in Italian on the wall opposite the entrance; and numberless names, in many different characters and languages, have been since scratched upon every square inch of its walls. The roof is different from that of Cheops, as the blocks of which it is formed do not go across, but meet at an angle in the centre. No doubt other chambers remain yet to be discovered in the upper part of this monument also.

A hasty glance at the third pyramid, lately opened by the enterprising and spirited English antiquary, Colonel Vyse, and a peep into some of the tombs in the vicinity, brought us, at the close of a day of most exciting interest, to the chamber from which we had set out some hours before, where a few flasks of champagne were quaffed, as we parted from our pleasant companions, among whom were my friends, Mr. E. B. Cullen and Mr. Bell, to whose kindness we were much indebted during our stay at Cairo, and who by their knowledge of the manners of the people saved us from much annoyance and imposition.

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After filling my case with specimens of the nummulite limestone of the rocks from which the under part of the pyramids were cut, we remounted our donkeys, and set forward to the Nile, where a boat waited to take us aboard a large kanghia lying at Boolack, in which our luggage was already stowed, and every thing made ready for our instant departure for Alexandria.

Ever and anon did we stop, glad of the slightest excuse to linger on the road, and gaze upon the scene we had just quitted, for the sun was setting behind the great pyramid, and the radii of his extending rays seemed to spring upwards from around the summit of the glory of Egypt, the dark outline of which was deeply defined on the roseate tint that smiled away the god of day. But were I longer to dwell upon the splendours of that evening, I fear the mind of my reader would be as much wearied as was my own body with the fatigues of this day, which must for ever form an epoch in my life.

Those who visit Egypt, as we did, seeking health as well as amusement, will not be much benefitted by proceeding at this season further into this land of wonders; and the daily increasing cold, and the privations that would necessarily be experienced in journeying to Thebes, &c., for the present prohibits my visiting scenes I hope to live to see, and to describe.

We arrrived at Alexandria on the 4th. All here, both natives and foreign residents, were complaining of cold and damp, and said they never recollected such severe weather. Influenza had just appeared, and as this was its first visit to any part of Egypt, it caused a great sensation among the Mooslims, but although very general in its attacks, few deaths occurred.

I suffered from a slight attack, but on the 6th was well enough to visit the last remaining object within my reach—the catacombs, which are situated on the shore along the S. W. side of the harbour, about two miles from the town. They consist of a vast number of connected chambers, of greater magnitude than any I had yet seen, and all excavated out of the soft grey sand-stone rock on which the peninsula stands. Paulo made me bring a coil of line to act as a clue, fearing that we should lose our way in this extensive labyrinth, but the guides are now too well acquainted with all its windings to require any such assistance. The examination of this necropolis has little in it to gratify or astonish the ordinary traveller, except its ex-

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tent, and the labour that must have been expended on its construction. To those, however, who are interested in studying the forms of tombs, and the modes of burial of different nations, these have many remarkable peculiarities, and exhibit the type of buildings on a large scale, which will be found in all the rock-carved sepulchres, both throughout Egypt and in all the countries which derived their customs, arts, and architecture from her.

In a large outer hall, now used as a donkey-stable, and filled with dust and rubbish, we lighted our tapers, and were conducted through chamber after chamber, in most of which the sand and dirt had accumulated to within two or three feet of the roof. Some of these apartments are square, others round; but in all there was a soros or crypt opposite the door, and one on either side, for depositing the bodies; and several of them had a chimney-like aperture at the top, communicating with the open air above. In the farthest recesses of these chambers, I found holes cut in the sides through the solid stone, and leading upwards, but to what place I had no means of determining. In shape and situation they exactly resemble the air-holes that I before noticed in the chambers of the pyramids. It is surprising that a knowledge of this circumstance did not sooner lead by analogy to some reasonable explanation for the apertures in the pyramids. There was one room of great size, which struck me as remarkable; it was circular, the doorway adorned with Doric pilasters; the roof slightly domed; and in its sides were three minor spaces, shaped like crosses, with three niches in each space for bodies, as exhibited in the plans of Dr. Clarke. In one of the distant rooms we were pointed out a narrow hole, which barely admitted the body; this we were told led into another series of tombs, but Paulo endeavouring to creep through it, stuck fast, and as he could neither proceed nor retreat, we had to pull him out by the feet, which fortunately were within our reach.

The absence of hieroglyphics, the comparatively modern appearance of the work, the traces of Grecian architecture upon it, and there being no remains of bodies, sarcophagi, or mummy-cloths, to be found in or about them, leave little doubt that these catacombs are of a more recent date than has been usually assigned to them. They have been most accurately detailed by the enterprising traveller whom I have already mentioned; but from the fatigue, bruises, and the coating of dirt and mud with which I had become covered, in endeavouring to find out something

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new or remarkable; which I did not, (with the exception of the air-holes, and the similarity of the ground-plan to other tombs to be mentioned hereafter,) I was, I must confess, on the whole, disappointed. But with regard to this, as well as all the other subjects of antiquity which I had an opportunity of examining in this country, I must say, that I am of opinion that, although so much has been done already, *fully as much more remains for future explorers.*

As the lake Mareotis lay but a short way from this place, I spent the remainder of my ride in examining it. The shores of this lake are quite flat, presenting the same appearance all round; and seeing a raised spot from which to view it, I rode onward for a great distance, momentarily expecting I should come to it, but it still seemed to recede, and appeared as far off as ever; thus affording a singular optical deception, similar to that sometimes seen upon the desert.

The ground here affords a good specimen of fossil formation; thousands of bivalve shells (the *cardiacea*) are to be seen imbedded in the sand, and coated over with an incrustation of chloride of sodium. Some of these shells are loose in the sand; others quite hardened, and with difficulty detached, as the sand is yearly consolidating, the greater part of the sea-water having been evaporated or drained off, and, with few exceptions, the hinges of these shells were turned towards the lake, or the last retiring wave. Should this fact be found to hold good elsewhere, it might enable us to give some probable opinion as to the direction in which water receded in other formations. Large quantities of sand, impregnated with common salt, are dug up here, and carried to Alexandria to be refined; and from it the principal supply of salt for this part of the country is obtained. This substance is also collected in smaller pieces in the form of thin plates, not unlike ice, over the holes where the water has evaporated, since the embankment was broken down at the time of the French occupation of Egypt in the first years of this century.

The climate was then so cold, that not deeming it prudent to go farther up the country, we determined to try the coast of Asia Minor; but before I leave this place, or conclude this part of my narrative, I am anxious to condense my scattered notes into a more regular form, upon that most important topic:—An Inquiry into the present state of Egypt under Mohammad Alee—which will be considered in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XIV.

EGYPT.

The present condition of Egypt and character of Mohammad Alee—Diversity of Opinions—Impressions received in the Country Parts and in the Cities—Egypt tried by an unfair standard—Prophecies of Ezekiel—Introduction of the Memlooks—Their debasing Government—Testimony of Volney—War of 1802—Rise of Mohammad Alee—Destruction of the Memlook Beys—Exchange of Tyrants—Native Instruction—Colleges, Institutions, and Factories—Grades in Society—Railroads—Steamers—Basha's Household—His Knowledge of the State—Affection for his Wife—Taxation—Effects of the Battle of Koniah—Regeneration of Egypt, a Fulfilment of Prophecy—Affairs in the East—Political State of Egypt—Instability of the Turkish Empire—Extent of Mohammad Alee's Territory—Consequence of this returning to the Porte—Symbol of the Euphrates—Right to Independence—Present State of Turkey—Sooltan's Rule compared with the Viceroy's—Effect of Mohammad Alee's Independence on European Powers—His Hereditary Possession.

THE extraordinary diversity of opinions expressed in Egypt as well as in Europe, regarding the character and government of Mohammad Alee, and the present state of that country, over which he rules, is so remarkable, as to demand an inquiry how those opinions have arisen, and how views so different have in their turn been adopted by the visitor and the writer.

Opinions as opposite as the poles, are daily formed and promulgated by the traveller, and these will be found to arise not so much from previously conceived ideas, as from the mode in which he views the country, and the reception he there meets with; circumstances which must, even to the mind least liable to be prejudiced, tend to bias its judgment. A few years ago, Europe rang with the praises of this wonderful man, and lauded the regeneration which he had been the means of bringing about in this ancient, highly-favoured, but long-degraded land. It has now become the fashion to decry the character of the viceregal occupant of the throne of the Pharaohs. Let us see how these opinions are formed.

A traveller arriving in Egypt, by way of the Red Sea, lands at Cossier, and reaches the Nile in the vicinity of the first cata-

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ract, for the purpose of examining the ruins of Thebes, Luxor, and Karnak, and the other antiquities of Upper Egypt. The impression there received of the former grandeur of this ancient people is brought into the strongest contrast with the present unutterable poverty and wretchedness of the natives. Nay, the trivial circumstance of their inhabiting, in all the squalid misery of want, those mighty monuments of their bygone glory, affects his mind, and warps it from a sober and impartial judgment. Unprovided, perhaps, with the magic signature of Mohammad Alee, numberless obstacles present themselves to his antiquarian researches, and the very difficulty he experiences in procuring a kanghia to convey him down the Nile, (all the boats here belonging to the Bâsha,) prejudice him against the fellaheen; to obtain redress of whom, for some fancied wrong, he applies to the next ravenous sheykh, who, for a bribe of a few piasters, submits the unfortunate and ignorant accused to the agonies of the koorbag—the rhinoceros-skin whip.

As he proceeds down the river against untoward winds, and suffering daily annoyances from want of the luxuries he has been accustomed to, he meets the conscription-officer and the tax-gatherer, in the full exercise of their hated and oppressive power; the former of whom, he sees dragging the peasant from his home, and followed to the water's edge by the curses of the infirm, and the wailings of the mother and the wife; while many of those who are left behind have purchased their exemption by the mutilation of their limbs, or the partial deprivation of their sight; and moreover he beholds much of this fertile land lying waste for want of cultivation.

Arrived at Cairo, disgusted with the country, and out of humour with himself, he looks with a jaundiced eye upon the modern manufactories, and other improvements made by the viceroy, whose reception of him may no doubt remove some of the impressions he had already received on his voyage down the Nile, but which may be shortly afterwards restored, perhaps, by the company he meets at his consul's, or the renegade European instructors he may find at his hotel, at the faro table, or in the billiard-room.

On the other hand, a traveller landing at Alexandria, receives the opinions of the agent or consul he may be most in contact with, whose judgment may, in turn, have been biassed for or

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against the government by the result of his last presentation at court—by the political feelings towards the Bâsha, of the nation he represents—or, by the result of the last commercial speculation he has had with Mohammad Alee, who, being the sole merchant of the country, transacts his business in person, and often drives a hard bargain. It is the object of all who are not then in favour, to enumerate to the traveller every instance of oppression or fancied misgovernment; and to place before him those dreary pictures which almost every country affords of hardship and distress.

Again, another visitor appears furnished with such recommendation as insures him a certain degree of attention at court; a deal of pains is consequently taken that he shall see every thing in the best possible light, and it is the business of the officials to make the most favourable representations to him of every circumstance connected with the state of the country, in order to raise it the more highly in his estimation. Thus, he is led to see thriving manufactories, public schools, and splendid hospitals, together with well-disciplined troops, fully qualified instructors, artizans skilful in their different departments, and a well-fed population crowding the principal and most opulent parts of the city. To all these his views are at first generally confined, and in the din and bustle of such movements, the court paid to himself, and the interest excited by the novelty and diversity of the scene, he knows not, or hears not, of the misery without. Poverty and oppression are studiously kept out of sight, and should he ascend into the country, he is borne along in all the ease and luxury which can be furnished, and with such supplies for his comfort, that he has no opportunity of demanding from the inhabitants what they could not possibly procure. Yea, more than this—it is a positive fact, that he is frequently supplied with every necessary for his journey, at the expense of the very man whose government he is going to review. In a word, his first impressions are received, and his opinions formed, from the extreme good he has witnessed and enjoyed in the neighbourhood of the *city*, as those of the other are formed from his observations of the extreme ill seen in the *country* parts.

Egypt has been tried by the standard of civilization and refinement at present to be met with in the countries of Europe; whereas, to make a fair comparison, we should try her by the

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state those countries were in at a similar or parallel epoch of their progress, when it will be found that the fellaheen, or lower class of Egypt, are now in a far better condition than when England, in the age of her escape from barbarism, placed collars on the necks of her serfs, bearing the names and titles of their owners.

To try Egypt fairly, we must inquire what she was at the beginning of this century, under her Memlook governors. But it has been altogether forgotten or overlooked, that about 2500 years ago, an artist, then a captive at the Babylonish court, who, seeing coming events in the light of *actual* occurrences, was enabled to draw with the unerring pencil of inspiration a picture of what this land was yet to be—wasted by the hand of the stranger, and sold into the possession of the wicked. Is not this literally true?—does not every line and touch in this picture still stand out in bold relief—has it not come to pass what the seer predicted—is she not "desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities in the midst of the cities that are wasted?" We are told that "the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away, and there shall be no more a prince of the land. They shall be a base kingdom—it shall be the basest of kingdoms." Was ever prophetic language more literally fulfilled; yea, in the full force of each and every jot and tittle! For centuries was this fertile land laid waste and governed by *strangers*, without a sceptre, and without a prince;—compared with the pomp and splendour, the wealth and honour of three thousand years gone by, she is desolate within herself, by reason of her bad government and want of cultivation;—placed in the midst of a vast desert, by which she is on every side surrounded—her cities, if cities they can be called, rising out of, and many of them formed of the very materials and rubbish gathered from the ruins of the ancient metropolis—and within the walls, and upon the very roofs of some of her most stately temples and gorgeous edifices, the Arabs build their huts, nay, absolutely erect their villages. And she is *base*, too, because degraded by crimes that make man blush for his fellow, and make us wonder how it were possible that man's form could have clothed the spirits of wretches such as then possessed the country.

In the year 1230, a prophecy which remained outstanding against this land was began to be fulfilled. The Moguls and Tartar hordes, by invading Persia, became lords of that great

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territory which extends from the Caspian to the Tigris, and returned from the conquest with a vast number of captives from Georgia, Circassia, Mingralia, and other countries bordering on the great Caucasian range. Struck with the fine athletic forms and fair complexions of this noble race, their masters conceived the idea of forming a band of warriors, who from that period received the name of Memlooks, or military slaves, and who were in a short time introduced into Egypt. These, in time, deposed their masters, became lords of the country they were sent to protect, and erected a new dynasty of their own, with the title of Egyptian Sooltans, under which Egypt continued up to the year 1517, when—"the sword, the bow-string, or poison, public murder, or private assassination now became the fate of a series of tyrants, forty-seven of whom are enumerated in the space of two hundred and fifty-seven years." At this period the Ottoman Sooltans rose up, and for ever put an end to the dynasty of the Memlooks; yet was not the race destroyed, though their power was abridged, for now the full outpouring of denunciation came upon the land—it was left without a prince, and became a country of strangers. And here, instead of drawing from the usual historic records, I would pause, and turn to the descriptions of one who, though he denied the truth of the Great Original, yet retinted the picture of Ezekiel with such fidelity, as to ratify all the threatenings which it had shadowed forth.

In ordinary cases, it might be expected that even a foreign race would, by intermarriage and naturalization, become assimilated to, and form part of the people of their adopted country. But, no; it is a fact, startling but undeniable, that every Memlook who ruled in Egypt during the whole of that long period, was born in a *distant* land—sold as a *slave*, and adopted to fill the place of one who, too proud to intermarry with the natives, had no family of his own—and left no successor by the wives introduced from the slave-markets of Constantinople. So truly remarkable was this, as to drag from Volney the observation, that—"on seeing them existing in this country for several centuries, we should be led to imagine their race is preserved by the ordinary means; but if their first establishment was a singular event, their continuation is not less extraordinary." Many have been the causes brought forward from ancient writers, and from the analogy of natural history to account for this; but it has been forgotten that the land was to be "wasted by the hands of *strangers*."

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The horrors that were perpetrated by this hated race, steeped in infamy, and black with crime, are too disgusting to be enumerated, for Egypt under them became "*the basest of kingdoms.*" Split into cabals, torn and distracted by civil broils, and the continual bloodshedding of rival Beys, the Egyptians groaned under a succession and a multiplicity of tyrants, the baneful effects of whose demoralizing influence still hang over and weigh down a people who, under their sway, became a disgrace to the very form of human nature. "True it is," says Volney, in 1785, "the Porte still retains there a Pasha; but this Pasha, confined and watched in the castle of Cairo, is rather the *prisoner* of the Memlooks, than the representative of the Sultan. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by those natural ties which unite the rest of mankind. Without parents—without children—the past has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and superstitious from education, they become ferocious from the murders they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, seditious from tumults, and base, deceitful, and corrupted by every species of debauchery. And what could be expected of the condition of the people under such masters—without commerce or arts—for the most simple of these are still in a state of infancy? The work of their cabinet-makers, lock-smiths, and gun-smiths, is extremely clumsy. Their mercery, their hardware, their gun and pistol barrels, are all imported from foreign countries; with difficulty you can find one watch-maker at Cairo who knows how to repair a watch, and he too is an European. Every thing the traveller sees or hears, reminds him that he is in the country of slavery and tyranny. Nothing is talked of but intestine dissensions, the public misery, pecuniary extortions, bastinadoes, and murders. There is no security for *life or property*. The blood of men is shed like that of the vilest animals. Justice, herself, puts to death without formality. The officer of the night in his rounds, and the officer of the day in his circuit, judge, condemn, and execute, in the twinkling of an eye, without appeal. Executioners attend them; and on the first signal, the head of the unhappy victim falls into the leathern bag, in which it is received for fear of soiling the place. Were even the appearance of criminality necessary to expose to the danger of punishment, this would be tolerable; but frequently without any other reason than the avarice of a powerful chief, or the information of

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an enemy, a man is summoned before some Bey, on suspicion of having money. A sum is demanded from him, and if he denies that he possesses it, he is thrown on his back, and receives two or three hundred blows on the soles of his feet, nay, sometimes is put to death. Unfortunate is he who is suspected of being in easy circumstances! A hundred spies are every moment ready to accuse him, and it is only by assuming the appearance of poverty that he can hope to escape the rapaciousness of power."

It is a recorded fact, that scarcely a sailor knew the compass; and so utterly hopeless did the master-mind of Volney consider this scene of desolation's triumph, when in one of his walks he saw, under the walls of Alexandria, two poor hungry wretches sitting on the dead carcass of a camel, and disputing for its putrid fragments with the dogs, that he was forced to exclaim, "I am, above all, led to believe that *Egypt can never shake off this yoke.*" But He who upholdeth all things—who can curse and none can bless; and bless and none can curse—who can bring down and raise up, even from the dead, by his power, hath promised that He "shall smite Egypt; He shall smite and heal it; and they shall return even to the Lord; and He shall be entreated of them, and shall heal them."—Isaiah xix. 22. Let us see how this is being brought about:—and in the contrast exhibited at present to the traveller in Egypt, although we must allow that much more could, and, it is to be hoped, will be done; yet, it is also to be acknowledged, that by means of her present governor, Egypt, like her own fabulous bird of old, is even now rising from her ashes.

At the commencement of the present century, Egypt was subject to still greater desolation than it previously experienced; for, in addition to the increasing broils and exactions of its own masters, it became the theatre of war between France and England. A partial calm, however, took place on the removal of the armies in the early part of 1803, when the Albanians and Memlooks formed that memorable combination against the Turkish power, which it is supposed was fanned and fostered by the emissaries of Napoleon, in order to pave his way into British India.

During the two following years, nothing but anarchy and confusion prevailed. The arts of peace were so far neglected, that the natural produce of a country which ought to be the granary of Africa, and is one of the richest in the world, was incompetent

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for its own support. It was then that a poor Albanian soldier, of obscure origin, conceived the bold idea of not only reducing this country to a state of regular and settled government, but of regenerating it by means hitherto unknown—and strictly prohibited by the tenets of Mohammadanism—the introduction of the arts and sciences, commerce, tactics, and manufactories, together with the habits, manners, and customs, of European Christian nations. Even to *hint* at this, he had obstacles to contend with of no ordinary magnitude, and materials to work with of the very lowest and worst description. It was then that the buoyant spirit of this man raised him to the surface of that troubled sea, and the talents, courage, and daring of Mohammad Alee, shone forth as the rescuer of a country, in one of whose markets (if report speaks true) he himself had been sold as a slave.

Personal prowess and military skill must ever be respected in a country where every man is more or less a soldier, and where the unsheathed sword remains the sceptre; but with his military prowess, or his exterminating war with the Wahabees, we have at present nothing to do. It was the order of his master, and it was as natural for him to attempt the rescue of Mekka and Medina, as for the Crusaders to war for the restoration of Jerusalem under Godfrey de Bouillon; and as to the massacre of the five hundred Memlooks—a deed conceived in treachery, and executed under the faith of hospitality—it was a dark and bloody crime, let it be varnished as it may, that no chronicler dares defend. Yet, humanly speaking, it produced the regeneration of the country; for, possessing, as the Memlooks did, a power equivalent, if not superior, to that of the viceroy, and determined to resist what they termed innovation, even the bitterest enemies of Mohammad Alee must allow, that, as long as their rule existed in Egypt, no one step could he have taken towards her improvement: and, in the hour of their downfall, (even if Mohammad Alee be a tyrant,) Egypt exchanged five hundred tyrants for one. From that period arose her power; and the tide of science and of learning, that once swept over the land, and too long had ebbed, exposing the filth and offal of its degenerate condition, has returned, and the sullen murmur of its measured swell is already heard, chasing from these ancient shores those unclean beasts, which for centuries wallowed in its polluted mire.

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One of the first acts of Mohammad Alee was to invite artizans and manufacturers to come and settle in the country; and he shortly afterwards procured engineers from several countries of Europe, to explore the different parts of his dominions. But he did a greater work that even this—he sent, at the expense of the state, a number of Egyptian boys to Europe, to be instructed in the different arts and sciences—many of these were educated in British universities, and are now teachers in their own. He caused a vast number of his people to be collected and instructed in the different trades necessary to more civilized nations. He erected dock-yards, arsenals, and manufactories, that have not only given *employment* but *trades* to many thousands that heretofore knew but the handling of a mattock, or unsheathing of a yatagan. Not contented with having them educated in other countries, he erected and endowed polytechnic and military schools, with colleges of law, physic, divinity, and belles-lettres; in these he clothes, maintains, and *pays* several hundred boys, the first of whom had to be dragged by the kidnapping conscription officers from the filth of mud hovels, the raggedness of a torn blue shirt, the pains of hunger, or the fare of bad beans and dowrah bread, and the more pleasing task of raising water in a bucket from the Nile, and remaining in a state of the most blissful ignorance, to receive the blessings of education.*

He has attempted, and is carrying into effect, that great step towards civilization in any country, the introduction of *grades in society*. By the security he has given to life and property, he has brought into the cities the wares, and also the manufacturers of Europe, hundreds of whom are every where settled in the

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* The following is a brief summary of *some* of the labours of Mohammad Alee in Egypt:—In the naval college there are 1,200 pupils; in the military, 1,400; in the Eugeun, 100; in the veterinary hospital and school, 150; there is also a school of music; and, in addition to the several institutions and factories that I have mentioned in these current remarks, I may add 1,000 men in the turboosh manufactory at Founah. There are printing establishments and paper mills at Boolack; sugar manufactories; chemical works for saltpetre and chloride of lime at Old Cairo; powder manufactories and pyrotechnic schools; together with power loom, calico printing, dying, bleaching, and woollen cloth manufactories, copper mills, glass works, and brass and iron foundries, &c.

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country; and by the protection he has afforded, and the respect he has caused to be shown to all who travel here, he has opened up a field for scientific research till now unknown in any Mohammadan country; and the daily number of arrivals at his capital of European savans, and wealthy travellers, fully attests this. But it is not alone in Egypt, or under his immediate eye, that this exists; for the traveller of 1837 can proceed through places such as the hill country of Judea, and the mountains of Syria, with as great (perhaps greater) safety than through many of the large towns of Europe; though, a few years ago, it required both bribes, promises, and often force of arms to effect a passage through these countries.

He has established courts of justice, and in his own person hears petitions, and gives redress to manifest grievances. In 1819 he commenced and completed that great national work, the cutting of the Mahmoudie canal, and although he has long delayed, and may never commence the railway from Suez to Cairo, yet he has opened a safe and direct passage for *us* to India, by way of the Red Sea, on which our steamers now ply.* And, as an instance of the liberality of the Bâsha, as well as of the state of the arts here, I may mention that part of the machinery of the British steamer, which, at the period of our visit, became damaged in her passage from Bombay, was, at his cost, and by his artizans, repaired at Cairo. Had not this been the case, the vessel must have returned to England to be repaired.

He has also introduced and established the cotton trade in Egypt; a commerce particularly well suited to that country. He has, it is true, made a demand of soldiers that the population of Egypt cannot afford; but these he has washed, shaved, clothed, disciplined, and armed, like Europeans. He has, since 1827, by native hands, furnished, armed, and manned a navy little inferior to any in Europe. He has caused a toleration of religious opinion unknown in any other Mohammadan country, and has afforded protection even to the

* Notwithstanding the outcry raised about his not commencing this road, although the rails have long been completed at Cairo, those who are at all acquainted with the country must know how utterly foolish such an attempt would be, in a place where the sand-storm of an hour or the caprice of a few Bedawees could destroy the work of months.

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poor despised Jew. Not only by the efforts of government, but in his own household, and in his own person, has this great reformer commenced the work of improvement. He has done away with the hareem attendant on an Eastern prince. His household exceeds but little that of an European noble, and his children are instructed in polite literature and accomplishments. by an English lady of the Methodist connexion. With a moderation in expenditure nowhere to be found in the court of a person of similar rank—with a frugality and temperance of habit never before exhibited by an Eastern prince, Mohammad Alee is perhaps, as a governor, better acquainted with all the different details of his kingdom than any other ruler in existence. There is no one department of the state that he is not acquainted with; no account of any consequence that he does not audit; nor is there any office that is not held by his immediate appointment. The finances of a kingdom; the state of commercial interest; the intrigues of diplomacy; the value of stock; and the very working of each department of the dock-yard or arsenal, where he may often be found, are severally under the superintendence of this great man. He—unlike a character to whom he has been often compared—forgot not, in the plenitude of his power, the Josephine of his poverty, whom he consulted and cherished with a fidelity that a Turk seldom bestows on female old age; and now, in the midst of all the troubles and anxieties of a life so arduous as his, he finds moments to spend over the tomb of the partner of his early life. He is another proud instance of the power of mind over every obstacle that may be opposed to it;—in him, it raised a soldier of fortune, who, it is said, could not sign his name at the age of thirty, to the rank he now holds amongst the earth's rulers.

But with all this it is true, and lamentably true, that the country is over taxed. Every date-tree bears a tax it is scarcely worth; every *ardab* of wheat is subject to a like exaction; every camel, every boat, and every cotton-tree in Egypt is the Bâsha's. He is the chief and indeed the only real merchant in the country, and is now, perhaps, the greatest merchant in the world. It is true, and lamentably true, that he regulates the price of corn and other kinds of food, which must be stored in public granaries. But do we find the people perish for lack of sustenance?—no; but great as this taxation now is, it is acknowledged to be far lighter than what it had been previously.

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The overweening ambition of Mohammad Alee, and his desire of conquest, together with the mistaken endeavour to force Egypt into what nature never intended she should be, a warlike country, is the great fault of his policy. It is to support his large army that the unjust taxation has been resorted to; but with this force I see that Syria has been conquered and reduced to a state of quiet, which, with the immunities granted by Mohammad Alee, has induced a greater number of Israelites to go forward to Jerusalem than was ever known since its destruction; and in the glorious consequences of the revolution of Syria at the battle of Koniah, I see brought about the plain and direct fulfilment of that prophecy, in which we are told by Isaiah (xix. 23) that there shall "be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria."

Altogether I am of opinion that the balance must now lie on the side of the good done by Mohammad Alee in Egypt. He has, however, done another great work; he has placed it in that position from which *it can never return to its former degenerate state;* for the very tradesmen, the artizans he has trained, and the thousands who are now educated, must prevent such a catastrophe ever occurring. Would, or could Mohammad Alee recall even a part of that soldiery who are now retained to hold Syria, and perhaps Egypt, from the Sooltan, and place them in their native villages, they would not make the worse subjects, or worse agriculturists, from having been subjected to order, cleanliness, and discipline.

That men like Mohammad Alee have, for a particular purpose, been raised up, have flourished, conquered, decayed, and fallen, Scripture warrants, and experience proves; and on that warrant it is for the thinking mind to say whether he has been allowed the power he now possesses, but

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale;"

or that he is the instrument employed to hasten that glorious day when Egypt shall be "sent a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land; whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance."—Isaiah xix. 24, 25.

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In the foregoing sketch I have carefully avoided mixing up the present *political* condition of Egypt, or the relation in which the Bâsha stands with the Porte and the different powers of Europe; but the affairs of the east have now become a topic of such absorbing interest, and the Egyptian army has assumed such a threatening position, that even the passing traveller will be asked for an opinion as to the comparative merits of the contending parties, and the probable issue of the present crisis.

That the age we live in is one fraught with interest, and that we are hastening towards the dawning of great events, is a fact the most apathetic and indifferent must admit. The theatre on which those coming scenes are likely to take place, is one on which were enacted deeds the most wonderful that ever swayed the destinies of mankind. Knowledge is running to and fro in the world, and "tidings out of the east, and out of the north," (Dan. xi. 44,) are already beginning to trouble us. War is bursting out upon the frontiers of British India; Persia, urged on by Russia, is exhibiting a front that neither her inclination nor her power would warrant; the different independent but heretofore friendly states of Hindostan are conniving at, and, in some instances, offering assistance to powers aiming at Indian possessions; the Burmese are daily gaining strength and knowledge wherewith to meet the soldiers of Europe with their own arms and their own discipline; China, impressed with the state of degradation to which *our* traffic has brought her, is threatening the very life and existence of Anglo-Indian commerce; and we have daily proofs of the weakness and instability of the Turkish empire, and the general breaking up of the Mohammadan power. And with reference to that power, our attention is naturally directed towards the cause of the Syrian war, and the claims that Mohammad Alee has to urge in behalf of his right to independence, and the hereditary possession of the vast territory at present acknowledging his sway. To trace the progressive steps that led to his extraordinary elevation would be foreign to the purport of a work that does not profess to give the history of the Bâsha. Many such sketches are already before the world; but when the life of that great man can be written with accuracy and fidelity, it will form a biography almost unequalled in the nineteenth century, for it will be the history of one of those meteor

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lights that at times start up to astonish by their brightness, and dazzle by their glare.

Let us consider three subjects:—The extent of territory of the Egyptian Viceroy; his right to independence; and the effect that independence would have on the balance of power and the general state of affairs in Europe and Asia.

The extent of territory under the dominion of Mohammad Alee is almost unknown in England. It far exceeds that of the mother country, and would, if again added to the Turkish empire, make it a more cumbrous machine than it was ever before; for territories and people that never acknowledged the Sooltan, or Mohammadanism, have been subjugated, and are now ruled by the Egyptian Viceroy. He wrung Egypt from the Porte, and has added to it the whole of Syria, and a great part of Asia Minor, as far as where the Euphrates enters the Persian Gulf. In all the Arabian Peninsula, except Muscat; in Nubia, Abyssinia, the ancient Ethiopia; in the plains of Sennaar, Koordofan, and far as the foot of civilized man has followed the various wanderings of the blue and white Nile, Mohammad Alee's power is more or less acknowledged. The extensive borders of the Red Sea, even beyond the Straits of Babelmandel, to the confines of Persia and the Indian Sea, with Candia, and the whole upper border of the Mediterranean, are now included in his dominions; and the great nomad tribes of the Bedawees of Petra, Babylon, and from Bagdad to Medina, with few exceptions, own him as their prince. All this, greater even than the mighty empire of Sesostris, was conquered, and is now governed by the orphan boy, whose precarious livelihood was, at one time, gained by the huxtering of tobacco, but who now fills the throne of the Pharaohs, and wields the sceptre of Zenobia!

Were this vast extent of country to be returned into the hands of Turkey, it would but increase the difficulties under which that tottering state now labours, scarcely able to support the pressure of its own weight; for the sixth angel has already begun to pour out his vial upon the great river Euphrates (the acknowledged symbol of the Ottoman empire); and the water thereof is fast drying up. And why is this?—"That the way of the kings of the east might be prepared."—Rev. xvi. 12.

But were it possible that the Porte could even for a time regain its influence, Syria would, upon the death of Mohammad Alee,

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instead of being governed by his successor in Egypt, be undoubtedly split up into small bashalics, and the people be once more reduced to the horrors and oppression, moral, physical, and religious, that history informs us was their lot some twenty years ago. That the Viceroy is more than a match for the Porte none can deny; and that, but for the interference of foreign diplomacy, and the threats of foreign aid, he could, at this moment, wrest Constantinople from the descendant of Othman, is equally acknowledged; of which the late battle of Nazib is too conclusive a proof. His right to the kingdom he has conquered, and which I have already described, is no doubt the right of conquest and the strong arm of power; but that kingdom has as good a claim to independence as America had when she threw off the English yoke, or as Greece had, when, *assisted by England*, she freed herself from Turkish slavery.

That Mohammad Alee's rule is a more beneficial one for the country we see daily, in the effort he is making to raise the character and condition of the people from that state of degradation in which the baneful influence of Turkish power had kept them for so many centuries—a power, one of whose most firm tenets was war upon the liberty of thought, and death to the introduction of reform, and that regarded all innovations upon the habits, forms, customs, and prejudices of five centuries gone by, as an offence to be punished with the loss of life. Mohammad Alee's present right of tenure to those countries which his sword has won, is a right that, in a moral point of view, the powers of Europe should well consider, for it is the benefit he is conferring upon those countries, by being made the instrument of breaking down the wall of prejudice, ignorance, and superstition, that held them in barbarity—by letting in the light of freedom on them, by opening up the avenues to civilization, and preparing them for that great process of assimilation, which is now taking place among the different nations, tongues, and people of the world.

But it will be asked, was not the late Sooltan a reformer too? had he not improvements in his army and in his capital? did he not shoot his thousands of Janizaries, and endeavour to Europeanize his people? I will let another, who knew the Turkish Empire well, answer these questions. "Of these reforms," says Marshal Marmont, in his late work on the Present State of the Turkish Empire, "it has been thought that the Sultan has

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created a new order of things, and commenced an era of civilization in Turkey; whereas, in reality, little more has been effected than the destruction of the Janizaries, and the establishment of the new military force. The former was a useful and important act, for which the Sooltan is deserving of the highest praise; but the troops by which the Janizaries have been replaced, are far from realizing the hopes that were conceived of them; and as to the boasted reforms, they bear only on matters of a frivolous nature, such as the change of titles or of dress—thus the turban has been proscribed, the Reis Effendi has changed his name to that of 'Minister for Foreign Affairs,' the power of the Grand Vizier has been curtailed, the extent of some of the provinces altered, and the army is recruited by conscription, according to the arbitrary will of the Pachas.

"The great Timars, or Fiefs, which existed in Asia, and were wisely governed, furnished the empire in time of war with twenty thousand good cavalry; but the Sooltan has destroyed those fiefs, and as his agents cannot exercise over the population the same degree of authority that the original owners possessed, he neither receives troops nor money from these districts, which are a prey to disorder; every thing, in short, exhibits weakness, and the elements of dissolution are spreading in all directions." Even those changes, insignificant as they appear, are being done away with by the present young Sooltan, who is said to be particularly wedded to all the forms of Mohammadanism, which he is re-introducing, in order, if possible, to become popular, to allay the present ferment in Constantinople, and win back the affections of the people to his government, which had been estranged through the reforms *attempted* to be introduced by his father, who wanted however the energy and decision of Mohammad Alee to carry them into effect. In fact, whatever were the improvements of the late Sooltan Mahmoud, he was in them but a copyist of his viceroy, to meet whom upon equal grounds he introduced them, and not from any wish to serve his people by the change.

The states of Europe, jealous of every effort at the destruction of ancient monarchies, and anxious to maintain the peace of the world, have refused to acknowledge the independence of Mohammad Alee, who naturally desires to see the kingdom he has raised up pass into the possession of his family, for whom he bears a very strong affection. Were that independence now acknow-

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ledged, it would bring back to the fertile plains of Egypt and Syria at least one hundred thousand men, the majority of a force he is now obliged to retain, to hold that position which he has assumed. Should Egypt alone become an independent kingdom, what influence will it have upon England? how will it bear upon our Indian frontier, or alter our passage by the Red Sea? Certainly, as beneficially as while in the possession of a government whose counsels are so swayed by Russia, that in violation of all her ancient treaties with England, she consented, at the treaty of Unkar Skelessi, to prevent all English men-of-war from passing through the Bosphorus, so that to reach the Russian capital, the ambassador of Great Britain has to lower the pennant of a line-of-battle ship, withdraw her guns, shut up her port-holes, and enter the Black Sea as a yacht!

Finally, let me observe that, to prevent war between Mohammad Alee and the Porte there is one remedy: let his kingdom remain dependent on Turkey at a stated tribute, but make it hereditary in the family of its present governor.

1844.—We have lived to witness the fulfilment of many of the predictions on which I ventured in the foregoing chapter. The event of the Syrian campaign has restored that portion of the Mohammadan territory to the Porte; Acre has been demolished, and the Turkish fleet sent back to the Golden Horn; but Mohammad Alee and his family remain hereditary lords of Egypt, as I hoped they might, four years ago. It would be out of place, in the revision of a second edition, to notice all the effects of the late war in the Levant; there are, however, two circumstances connected with it which I cannot omit mentioning:—the one, as highly characteristic of the Bâsha's mind, and the present state of civilization in Egypt; the other, as a specimen of Turkish courtesy towards England, and the mode the Sooltan has taken of offering a return for our loss of life, and expenditure of specie in reconquering Syria for the Porte.

The first is, that while we were at war with the so-called savage Mohammad Alee, blockading his ports, levelling his strongholds, and either annihilating or dispersing the flower of his army, he was permitting a free passage to—nay, was actually *transmitting* our Indian mails, containing diplomatic dispatches, valuable commercial intelligence, money, and private domestic letters, through the heart of his dominions; and every British subject was per-

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fectly secure in Egypt! This is a fact—call it a policy if you will—that not only redounds to the immortal honour of the Bâsha, but is, I believe, unparalleled in the history of the world.

The second circumstance is, the stop put by the Sooltan to the completion of the Anglo-Prussian Christian church at Jerusalem within the last year. This building had been permitted by the Egyptian viceroy, whose law—whose word, more potent than the prejudices of the Mohammadan hierarchy, was a sufficient guarantee to the undertakers of the work; yet although a promise of undisturbed possession was given to the English by the Porte, no sooner is the Sooltan's power re-established in Judea, and a new Bâsha takes possession of the Holy City, than a fanatic war is waged against the Frank Christians; our countrymen are insulted and beaten in the open streets by the Turkish soldiers; and the erection of the church, over which an English and Prussian bishop is to preside, prevented!

Besides all this, there is scarcely an oriental traveller with whom I have communicated for the last two years, who has not had reason to regret the alteration in government in those provinces over which the Bâsha formerly ruled.

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CHAPTER XV.

ASIA MINOR.

Departure for Rhodes—A Hurricane—The Gulf of Symi—Its Scenery—Description of the Bay—The Island of Vurnos—Greek Colony—Island of Patelina—Remains of the Knights of St. John—Village of Darachia—Water Tortoises—Climate—Rhodes—Its Harbour—The Knight's Tower—Fortifications—The Strada Cavaliere—Its Council Hall—Escutcheons—A Dream of the Past—The Burial Ground—Ancient Guns—Inhabitants—Greek Quarter—Condition of he Island—Cause of its Decay—Auction of Bashalicks—Effect upon the People—The late Reforms—Climate—Leprosy—Zoology—The Colossus and Ancient Harbour—The Bâsha—His Residence and Costume—Troops—Petrified Beach—A funeral—A Launch—Visit to Marmorice—Its Scenery—Town—A Serenade—Neighbouring Valleys—Summer Houses—Inhabitants—Bees—Mountain Vegetation—Land Tortoises—The Ancient Physcus—Grave-yards—Fat-tailed Sheep—Bay of Karagatch—The Surrounding Country—Plane Trees—Turkomans—A Shooting Excursion—Proceed to the Gulf of Glaucus.

We left Alexandria with a fair wind, on the morning of the 7th of February, and sailed for Rhodes, whose snug harbour promised us secure head-quarters for some time, and whose climate was said to be particularly mild at this season of the year. In the commencement of this, as in nearly all our other voyages, we encountered a gale of wind shortly after setting out. On the 8th it blew a perfect hurricane, and towards evening the jib-boom was snapped across! At day-light on the morning of the 9th, the island was in sight, but the breeze continuing with unabated violence, and there being a sea of great fury breaking at the narrow entrance to the harbour, it was deemed more prudent not to attempt it, so we shot past with the swiftness of an arrow, and steering to the north-west, made for the Gulf of Symi, on the opposite coast of Asia Minor.

Accurate information concerning this extensive bay is much wanted, as both the present charts and sailing directions are lamentably deficient. Passing the high rocky island of Symi, that stands at the entrance, we pursued our course along the western shore, keeping as near the land as possible, and sounding as we went along, but the cry was still "no bottom at twenty."

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The wind, though somewhat less violent within this deep gulf, was still very high; the clouds low, and coursing through the dark gloomy atmosphere with great velocity. A more inhospitable shore I never beheld; wild barren rocks rose abruptly from the water, now standing out in bold relief, as if opposing our further progress, and now shrouded in the drifting mist; with deep hollow gorges through which the wind howled, and into which the swollen angry water rolled its foaming waves; with nothing of life, no trace or appearance of man—all combined to give these regions an air of stern grandeur, heightened by the hour and the tempest. The night promised to be one of great severity, and the thought of again "beating" out of this bay, to seek safety in the confined sea-room of this part of the Mediterranean, and with so dangerous and unknown a lee-shore, was any thing but cheering. At length, however, upon rounding one of the numerous headlands, a narrow strait suddenly opened to us, towards the extreme end of the bay; we entered, and in a few minutes were in a secure harbour, and cast anchor in seven fathoms water, amidst some of the most magnificently grand and wild mountain scenery I have ever witnessed.

As this part of the bay of Symi is almost unknown to modern travellers, I may be excused for dwelling a little longer on its description than I have done in other parts of our voyage. On the north-east is a long narrow island, rising in a slope from the water's edge, to the height of about 400 feet, and stretching to the north for about three-fourths of a mile, with very little vegetation; and composed as is all this part of the coast, of compact grey limestone, veined with red. This island walls off an extensive, secure, and land-locked bay, in which there is anchorage for vessels of at least five hundred tons burthen. As we lay but a short way off the shore, we soon perceived that it was inhabited, and on landing found a small community of Greeks, who informed us that this part of the bay, between the island and the mainland, was called the bay of Vavarra, and the island itself Vurnos. The head of this little settlement was a fine patriarchal old man of eighty, the father of nineteen living children. The colony then consisted of about twelve persons, and a more primitive, simple race I do not think there could be found; quiet and inoffensive, completely ignorant of, and perhaps caring little about what the rest of the world were doing. These simple, pastoral people live

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in the greatest harmony with their Turkish neighbours of the mainland; and without the knowledge of wants, they sigh not for luxuries which they could not command. Their wealth consists of 1000 sheep and goats, which they feed in this and the neighbouring islands, and which form their yearly support. Their habitations are miserable huts, and their place of worship a small, square, stone building, on the top of one of the surrounding knolls. We procured some mutton and fresh milk from them, and determined to remain in our present position, till some favourable change in the weather invited us out.

To the north is another small island, called Patelina, on which are the remains of a considerable town, said to have belonged to the Genoese, and to have been destroyed by them on their leaving this place in the sixteenth century. There were here several small, Greek chapels, the walls of which were covered with Scripture pieces, and painted in fresco, which have been sadly defaced by the Turks. The whole island is now, however, covered with a close underwood of mastic, broom, white gum-cistus *(cistus creticus)*, and fœtid sage, so that it is difficult to do more than relate the fact of this place being the site of a city. In the water along its shores I found quantities of the mollusc, called *Pyrosmea*.

An arm of this bay of Vavarra turns to the N. W., and within it stands a most remarkable conical island, that has all the appearance of a fortification, but which is a steep craggy rock, crowned by an ancient wall, not, however, of any great antiquity, for over one of the entrances we found a Maltese cross; probably it belonged to the knights of St. John, either a colony of those that held the island of Rhodes, or a settlement made here after their expulsion from thence by the Turks. On the mainland, to the west of our position, we found considerable ruins of a like age and structure with those I have already described. It must have been a delightful retreat; and the remains of several villas running along the water's edge are still traceable, but the whole place is choked up with weeds, which have become the abode of numbers of porcupines, whose burrowings are to be seen on all sides. The *salvia fœtida, salvia Æthiopis, polerium spinosum*, and different varieties of brooms clothe the hills; but there are no traces of the heath to be seen, and no forest trees whatsoever. The different curves and sinuosities of these bays give them more the appearance of Highland lakes than parts of the sea.

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12th. We visited the Turkish village of Darachia, situated to the N. W., in one of the deep narrow arms of the bay. We found it to contain about a dozen families. The men were a robust, well-made, noble-looking race, and were to us civil and obliging. They had never heard of detonating guns before, and expressed the greatest surprise at ours. A small stream empties itself into the sea near this village, its banks fringed with magnificent oleanders, on the exposed roots of which were hundreds of small black tortoises,* that dropt into the water at our approach. Some fine olives flourish here, and also fig trees and almonds; the latter covered with their lovely pinkish blossoms. We saw numbers of jays and hoopoes, and bought several red-legged partridges, which abound in the hills, from a venerable old Turk, who had with him a decoy bird, one of the best trained I ever saw.

We found the weather much milder here than at Alexandria; for although the mercury did not rise above 63° in the day, the evenings were fine; and the air, though not so warm as we could have wished, felt healthful, and totally different from that of Egypt. During the 14th and 15th we experienced much cold; the wind east, and veering to the N. E.

On the morning of the 16th we left the bay of Symi, and reached Rhodes during the day. The island is rugged, and the coast in many places precipitous, but the point on which the town stands is a low sandy beach, running down towards the sea. On it are rows of windmills, which, with a few arrow-like minarets and the summits of some of the towers and fortifications, are all that catch the traveller's eye, till he enters within the small square modern harbour, or, to speak more correctly, *dock*, for the high walls and forts around, together with its sheltered position, really

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* *Emys decussata*—the water tortoise.—These curious animals abound in this part of Asia Minor; they swim with wonderful swiftness, and are to be distinguished from the land tortoises by their greater flatness or compression; by their being plantigrade, *i. e.* walking on the planes of the anterior and posterior extremities, while the land ones are digitograde, *i. e.* walking on the toes; also, by a membraneous expansion between the toes, which are furnished with long hooked nails; and, also, by a greater length and mobility of tail, which acts as a rudder.

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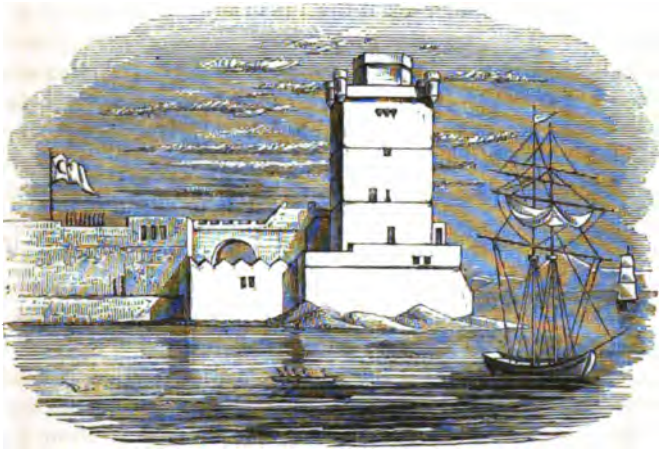
deserve for it this appellation. Our position was delightful; high walls shut us out from the sea; on our right was the tall stately form of the knights' tower, washed on the one side by the calm water of the harbour, whose only motion arose from the impetus of the passing bark, and on the other beaten by the rolling swell that dashes up its base.



This square tower is memorable, not only on account of its being one of the most beautiful of its age, but because within it was made the last stand of chivalry in the east; and around it took place the last struggle between Christianity and Mohammadanism at the close of the crusades. Several other towers and castles, both round and square, raise their heads above the surrounding battlements, and in front is a handsome quay, which generally presents a scene of great and varied interest; being crowded with the natives of many lands, differing in costume, language, and appearance, yet all engaged in that common pursuit of mankind—gain. Some sheds and coffee-houses, shaded by an aged plane tree, relieve the monotony of the line of dead wall that forms the back ground of this landing-place.

The British consular agent, Mr. Wilkinson, sent his dragoman on board, a venerable old Jew, who had served Sir Sidney Smith in a similar capacity. With him we proceeded into the town, passing through the gate of St. John, a noble specimen of its

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kind, and perhaps the most perfect of its day now existing; combining with great beauty of architectural adornment, every mode of defence that the ingenuity of the designer could devise, or the warfare of the period require. The town of Rhodes is beautiful in itself, and finely situated; and we may still take up the theme of the ancients, and praise it for the regularity of its streets, which are laid out with more accuracy, are kept cleaner, and have a more christianized air about them than any Turkish town I ever saw.

But, of the many objects of interest and antiquity in this most interesting place, all fall into comparative insignificance before the Strada Cavaliére, (the Street of the Knights,) which is situated nearly in the centre of the town, rising up a gentle ascent, and consists of a row of palaces on both sides, leading to the gothic ruins of what was once the council-hall of Asiatic chivalry. An arch is thrown across the upper end of the street, as if to heighten the effect, and by carrying the eye through a vista, to concentrate it upon this building. The pavement of this street is very peculiar; it is similar to that at Pompeii, and is the most perfect I have ever seen; indeed, I do not think that a single stone has been stirred for the last 300 years. It is constructed of large blocks of stone, forming a smooth raised pathway, or *trottoir*, in the centre, and one on either side; between which is a rough pavement of smaller stones. The palaces on either hand bear the escutcheons of their original owners, emblazoned in white marble tablets, set in the walls over the entrances. With few exceptions, these are in most perfect preservation; and as they consist of the armorial bearings of many of the proudest and most ancient families of France, Spain, and Italy, they offer a study to the heraldic antiquary, which, for interest and variety, is unequalled. But many a noble name, and many a daring cavalier, whose feats, performed upon the plains of Palestine, or in the lists of Europe, were set forth, and still remain upon the walls of the Strada Cavaliére, have been effaced from the world's peerage by the axe or confiscation. The dates attached are mostly about 1500, or from 1490 to 1520 A. D.

Around the doors and the remains of the windows are some splendid specimens of arabesque and fret-work. The tops and upper stories of many of these buildings are now no more, and the window-spaces are filled by close lattices, which are fre-

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quently replaced by bundles of rags; while the squalidness and misery that appear within, contrast but ill with the empty grandeur of those memorials of proud deeds of arms, gathered in the breach or on the battle-field, still emblazoned on the walls without. From the dryness of the atmosphere, no moss or lichen had gathered upon the tablets; yet numerous creepers hang in graceful festoons around them, or have entwined themselves among the mouldings and fret-work.

The council-hall is now a roofless crumbling pile; yet, though deserted and unnoticed, its noble pointed arches, clustered pillars, and groined-roofed passages, remain to teach the artist, and to charm the antiquary of the present day, as doth the remembrance of the men that built it call up the valour, arouse the spirit, and nerve the arm of the modern soldier. What scenes must not those walls have witnessed, when within them sat the conclave of the knights and Christian princes, clad in all the panoply of war! What tales could they not whisper, what volumes could they not indite! But all, all now is ruin and decay; and where of old the silken banner of the Red-cross Knight fluttered proudly in the breeze, the henbane rears its head, and waves the lonely banneret of the present. Adjoining this place is an extensive mosque, formerly the Christian chapel, and still containing the tomb of one of the grand masters.

So deserted a street within so populous a town I could not have believed to exist, for frequent as were my visits to it, I do not remember to have ever seen three of the inhabitants in it together. It has an air of stillness, an impressive startling silence, that overawes the feelings of the visitor. The wind sighs mournfully as it sweeps through the rank hemlock that springs from the ruined wall or crowns the house-top, and the footstep of the passer, who hastens through it, echoes among the cloisters of the neighbouring buildings.

During our stay at Rhodes, it was my evening walk; and as I rested on some mouldering buttress or prostrate pillar, while the shroud of twilight closed around me, my waking dreams would conjure up the days, the arms, and the men that once occupied this place: and the martial tread of the mail-clad baron, once more rung upon the pavement, and the long mantle of the templar seemed to rustle past me on the breeze; and, again, methought I heard the tones of the minstrel's harp, and the song

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of the troubadour, that in other days resounded through those walls, with the love-tales of Europe and the feats of chivalry—for still

> "There is a power
> And magic in the ruined battlement,
> For which the palace of the present hour
> Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

Proceeding through the council-hall, we pass to the palace of the grand master, a building of vast size, and originally of great strength; but the greater part of it is now in keeping with the neighbouring ruins, and what little of it is still tenantable is used as an hospital. Beyond this, a massive drawbridge, guarded by a portcullis, leads over a deep fosse, to the burial-ground: a plain of great extent, surrounding the upper part of the town, and at once eliciting the inquiry—whence came such an enormous necropolis for so small a city? But answered by the fact which history records, that sixty thousand men perished before its walls during the memorable siege of Solyman.*

The ancient town is completely fortified, and the works are of enormous strength, combining the defences in use both before and after the general introduction of gunpowder. Among them, and scattered over the town in different places, are numbers of marble shot, the largest I ever saw; several that I examined were above twenty inches in diameter. These were generally thrown from machines. Indeed, I do not know the place that can afford the traveller a better specimen of the defensive architecture of the fifteenth century than Rhodes.

The bazaars are small; and, notwithstanding that its admirable position with regard to Asia Minor, the security of its harbour, the number of vessels in port, and the apparent commerce of the

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* In the year 1308, the Emperor Emanuel, upon the expulsion of the knights from St. Jean D'Acre, made them a grant of this island, which they continued to possess until the year 1522, when, after a glorious resistance, the grand master, Villiers, was compelled to surrender it to Solyman. The knights then retired, first to Candia, and afterwards to Sicily, where they continued till the year 1530, when Charles V. gave them the island of Malta.—*Egmont and Heyman.*

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Marino, would lead us to expect a thriving trade, yet there is little or no business transacted in the town, where the people have a lazy, listless air, that is obvious to the visitor the moment he sets his foot within its walls. Its inhabitants are Turks, with about one hundred Jewish families, (for the long-cherished prejudice is still in existence, and no Christian is yet allowed to sleep within the gates); and the Greeks who have shops, or carry on their trades inside during the day, all retire to their own settlement at night.

Besides the palaces in the Strada Cavaliére, there are several scattered through the town, and the cross of St. John meets your eye at every corner.

Some noble plane trees (*platanus orientalis*) occupy an open space, where are the remains of a splendid mansion, on the wall of which there is a large panel, with the arms of old England emblazoned in good relief. This, in all probability, was the hotel, or place of public resort of our nation, as we know that, independent of their private houses, each of the nations (or tongues as they were then termed) who retired here after the crusades, had such an hotel.

The Greek quarter is very extensive, but daily becoming more deserted, owing to the wretched government of the Porte, the tyranny and exactions of the Básha, and the many opportunities now afforded to its inhabitants, both in Egypt and their own country, for displaying the spirit of enterprise that has never forsaken this ancient people even under the most trying circumstances.

I know of no place that offers a fairer example of the mistaken policy of the Deewan of Constantinople, than the island of Rhodes, and no place that exhibits a clearer and more lamentable instance of its effects; for although possessing within itself every capability of becoming what a bountiful Providence intended it should be—one of the finest and richest islands in the Mediterranean—with a climate suitable to every production that the wants or luxuries of man could possibly require—with a soil fertile and easy of cultivation—an inland scenery beautified by the monarchs of the forest, and varied by the mountain and the glade—a position which for commercial advantages is almost unequalled, and a harbour such as few islands, except Malta, can boast—it is yearly becoming deserted by its inhabitants, daily

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failing in its trade, and hourly losing even the advantages of the passing visit of a vessel. Although capable of supporting in comfort from five to six hundred thousand inhabitants, the whole population of the island does not amount to above thirty thousand souls! And from neglect and want of proper cultivation, corn has to be imported yearly; and though the soil is well adapted for the growth of cotton, no more is planted than is barely sufficient for home consumption. In fact, the only exports are sponges, a little fruit and honey, and some timber from the interior, principally for spars and masts, and which costs but little trouble in conveying to the coast.

Whence arises all this? Like most other colonies of the *Sublime Porte*, Rhodes ever remains open to the highest bidder in the diplomatic auction at Stamboul. The governing Bâsha is appointed yearly, and *pays* for it and the tributary territory on the opposite coast, nominally a sum amounting to about £7,000; but which, with bribes to the different ministers and officials, amounts to nearly £10,000 a year. When the year is out, he again puts in his proposal; but even before the expiration of that period, should he not be despatched by poison or the bowstring, he is liable to be, and often is removed, to afford some more wealthy and intriguing diplomatist the opportunity of fattening on the fortunes, ravening on the hard-earned pittance, and crushing the spirit and exertions of the wretched inhabitants. He knows that he can only hold it so long as he is not outbid in the market, and (shall we say *wisely?*) makes the most of his time. This, it may be said, is all very natural in the man; but none will deny that it is most *unnatural* in the state that can thus "let and farm out" the industry of its subjects. And what is the consequence? The languid, luxurious Turk pays his taxes, exorbitant and usurious though they be—puffs the tobacco from his mouth, smoothes his beard, and says, "Allah kerim," God's will be done; but the energetic Greek emigrates the moment he has an opportunity, and quits without regret the country and the government that would neither leave him the means of comfort nor of sustenance. It is said that this disgraceful mode of governing had been put a stop to by the late Sooltan, and it is enumerated among the number of his reforms. No doubt he wished and willed so desirable an end, and may have enacted decrees to that effect; but have they been carried into effect? I believe very partially

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indeed; and I have reason to know, that last year (1837) the bashalick of Smyrna, a place of greater consequence, and which, from its being under the more immediate eye of Europeans, the Porte would naturally desire to have its government reformed, was held by the same tenure, and through the same intrigues.

The environs of the town are very beautiful; and the face of the country, despite the chilling, withering influence of its government, lovely. Sunny banks, clothed with cyclamens, which were putting forth the gayest liveries of spring, and sheltered vales, where "feathery palm-trees rise," and the perfume of the lime and the orange blossom scents the air, can never lose one atom of their charms, though saddened by the reflection engendered by the knowledge of the canker that for years has sapped the indigenous verdure of this beauteous isle.

Could accommodation be obtained, Rhodes has many recommendations to the notice of the invalid. The temperature, though not so warm as other parts of the Mediterranean, is well adapted to those requiring a clear, thin, bracing air. Indeed, clearness has ever been its characteristic, and was that property which, no doubt, earned for it the appellation of Ætherœa among the ancients. The sky is generally blue and cloudless, and damp fogs are unknown; so that on the opposite coast of Caria, every curve and undulation in its mountain shores is plainly visible. The lowest point to which the mercury fell during our stay was once to 60°. I could not learn that any epidemics peculiar to the island existed; indeed, I think experience daily teaches us that islands such as this are invariably more exempt from such disorders than large tracts of continental country. The consul informed me that the summer heat does not rise above 80°, and the sirocco is almost unknown. In fact, what is most to be dreaded is the occasional cold blast blowing off the mountains of Karamania during the winter.

Here I first witnessed the true eastern leprosy, for several unfortunate creatures afflicted with this terrific malady are congregated on the island, and are to be met sitting by the wayside begging. A Greek chief, many years ago, with a feeling and humanity that does honour to the name of Greece, even in her most degenerate state, purchased a small tract of land in the interior of the island, for the purpose of affording lepers a secluded and comfortable asylum, and thither they come from all the

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neighbouring places of the Levant, and now form a considerable village distant about five miles in the interior. As an endemic, leprosy was almost unknown in the island, and so favoured a spot being now used as a place to send the natural outcasts of society to, is another proof of the neglect and wild misrule that has so long contributed to reduce it to its present state of decay. Although I much desired it, time did not permit me to visit this asylum. The sight would be instructive, though humiliating, as a more miserable condition can scarcely be conceived than that of a human being driven an outcast and a leper into such a place. Owing to the want of cleanliness, and the due precaution of quarantine, together with its constant intercourse with the Porte, plague was formerly a constant visitor here; and in the last attack it is said to have taken off nearly a third of the Turkish population, while the Greeks suffered comparatively little.

I was informed that in the interior there is a village where the great majority of the inhabitants are affected with elephantiasis. It is situated high up among the hills, and the people themselves ascribe the frequency of the disease to the water which they drink coming from a great elevation among the high mountains that rise in the centre of the island. Can this affection, occurring in such a situation and under such circumstances, have any analogy to the *goitre* of Switzerland and Savoy?

The white heron of Egypt is frequently found here, and in winter vast numbers of woodcocks migrate thither from the opposite coast of Karamania, where they remain during the summer in the deep-wooded gorges that occur in these elevated wilds. Flocks of ringdoves fly about the town, and nestle undisturbed in the most frequented places. I was astonished at their extreme familiarity, and on inquiry heard that they are held sacred by the Turks, a strange superstition being abroad that they are the spirits of young virgins that have assumed this shape; and that to become thus transferred, it is only necessary for any love-sick damsel to make a dark circle round her neck, and repeat certain prayers and incantations, when she instantly turns into a ringdove! Foxes and a few herds of wild deer are to be met with in the interior. Jays are very numerous, and the coast abounds with mullet. There are few snakes or noxious reptiles on the island; but in my walks about the town I found numbers of the curiously-mailed lizard of the agama species, the *agama spinosa*,

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which I am not aware as having been heretofore noticed as an animal peculiar to this island.

The ancient harbour is now only deep enough to admit the small coasting craft. Here it is supposed the celebrated Colossus stood, and the remains of some ancient cyclopean masonry, running out into the water on both sides of the entrance, rather strengthens this opinion. On the land side this is now submerged, but on that where the harbour is walled off from the sea, it rises several feet above the surface, and is a continuation of the ancient breakwater, which still exists. The space between the remains of the two buttresses is from twenty-five to twenty-seven yards. A figure constructed on this, and with its legs spread without straining, would measure one hundred and fifty feet in height, an elevation quite sufficient to admit under it any vessels used in that day.

The Bâsha and his son visited us, and kindly offered us a piece of timber for a jib-boom, for he possessed the only spars that could be procured here. He was a fat, punchy, good-humoured man, and subject to an evil influence very little known among Mohammadans—gynocracy. His wife is said to be a woman of considerable talent, and it is the interest of her friends at Constantinople that keeps her husband in the bashalick. She was a widow, and if report speaks true, exercises over the old gentleman more power than we are willing to assign to the mistress of a hareem. On returning his visit next day, we were received with considerable state. The apartment, like those of most other junior Bâshas, was large, airy, and furnitureless. His highness sat in the right-hand corner, not cross-legged, but resting on his toes and knees, and took particular pains to hide his feet, the exposure of which he would have considered a monstrous breach of etiquette. A host of attendants served us with refreshments, consisting of sweetmeats, a spoonful of which was handed round to each on a small glass plate—then a tumbler of rose water; after this, another batch of servants handed (kneeling on one knee) first to the Bâsha, and then to each of the company, an amber-headed pipe of the most costly description; and presently the coffee was brought in by one of the most portly, noble-looking fellows I think I ever beheld. The cups were ranged on a large tray along with the coffee-pot; and a magnificent gold-embroidered muslin napkin thrown over all. He

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stood in the middle of the room, and throwing the napkin with an air of supreme dignity over his right shoulder, poured the fragrant beverage into the cups held by one of the attendants, who presented them to the guests according to his ideas of their respective ranks. His excellency talked a great deal about nautical affairs, requested permission for his carpenter to measure the Crusader, and stated his intention of having a yacht built *exactly* similar! He has now a vessel on the stocks, which he said he would have launched before we left, to afford us an opportunity of seeing how well the Turks can manage such matters.

With the dress of the Básha and his suite I was any thing but pleased, for it was both unbecoming in itself, unsuited to their persons, and worn with an awkwardness that gave them a most ludicrous appearance. It consisted of wide bag trousers—red, pointed slippers—a long, ill-made, loose, blue cloth bed-gown, like a surtout, buttoned to the throat in front, and behind gathered into large plaits by a broad strap, like a soldier's great-coat; the head was covered by a high turboosh, which was pulled down on a level with the eyebrows, and at top crowned with a tassel of blue silk flock, in which was twisted a bit of white paper cut in open-work. The troops were dressed much in the same style. I witnessed their manœuvering several times during my stay, and at once perceived their vast inferiority, both in discipline and expertness, to the soldiers of Mohammad Alee. The garrison consisted of seven hundred soldiers of the line, and six hundred artillery. The men were older and of a larger size than the Egyptians.

Along the shores of Rhodes, especially near the consular residences, a phenomenon occurs that is well deserving of attention. You are conducted to what, at a little distance, appears the usual water-marked beach, of rough gravel and sand peculiar to these coasts, but on stepping on it you are surprised to find it to be one solid mass, hard as adamant, and composed of rolled pebbles, cemented together by a substance which, on being broken, has every appearance of finely mixed mortar of a whitish-grey colour, having its interstices filled up with minute particles of sand. The upper exposed surface has a smooth, mottled appearance, like the conglomerate denominated plumb-pudding stone; and so very closely and compactly is the whole bound together, that in some of the older formations it takes a polish little inferior to marble.

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The delusive character of this great petrified beach is further increased by the number of indentures formed by the ripple of the retiring wave; so that at first sight we might be led to suppose that it was the work of an instant. It is curious that the process of consolidation occurs only in those places where the water reaches, either by the insignificant rise of the tide, or where it is washed over it by the surf, which is in some places very violent; and where the water does not reach, the gravel is again loose and uncemented. In some places the water has undermined it, and thrown up large masses of the rock upon the shore; and underneath that the gravel is also unconnected. Some specimens which I brought home with me show the binding principle to be carbonate of lime, with a slight trace of strontian.

Captain Beaufort mentions a petrified beach of a similar character on the opposite coast of Asia Minor, at Cape Krio, Phaselis, Selinty, &c. and has well said, that "the unwary boat that should mistake it for a common beach of yielding materials, and should run upon it before a following surf, might be fatally apprised of its error."

During our stay, I witnessed a Turkish funeral. The person died in the morning; the body was washed immediately, and in about three hours after it was on its way to the tomb. A number of women had proceeded there some time before, and had ranged themselves at some distance from the grave; and, as soon as the procession approached, they commenced a low howling dirge. The body was carried without a coffin on a rude bier, and, when laid by the grave-side, all the people knelt down, and the Moullah, seated at some distance from the rest, repeated parts of the Kooran. The bier was then rudely torn open, and the remains deposited in the earth, along with a small cake, and a piece of money. It is strange how long this pagan custom has been retained here.

19th. We witnessed the ceremony of launching the Básha's vessel this morning, and a most stirring, interesting sight it was; the whole population of the place had turned out to see it, and the ladies of the viceregal hareem were all ranged along a wall at a considerable distance from the scene of action, and no male ventured to approach where they were. The prevailing colour of their dresses was yellow. When all was ready, and the slips and ropes were about to be removed, the two principal Moullahs

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came forward, and invoked a blessing on the vessel, and then repeated portions of the Kooran, in the chorus or responses of which the whole Mooslim assemblage joined. Many of the people knelt down, and the whole formed a most imposing ceremony. There was also music; one instrument was something between a fiddle and a mandolin, with three strings, not unlike that used at Malta; the other a rude attempt at a bagpipe, being nothing more than an inflated dog-skin and a chanter, played after the manner of the Highland pipes. The sound produced by these was most intolerable, but the piper endeavoured to make up for the outrage committed on one sense by an appeal to another, and so kept up a sort of wild Romaic dance all the time, which the people seemed to enjoy very much. After the delays usual on such occasions, the signal was given, the post removed, and the vessel slided rapidly down the inclined plane, amidst the shouting of the people, and the pealing from the batteries. We returned to our breakfast, and bade adieu to Rhodes about twelve o'clock that day.

Owing to baffling winds, we did not reach the opposite coast till sunset, when we beat through the narrow entrance of the harbour of Marmorice. The coast around this opening is truly grand; the mountains, many of which are of a conical figure, rise in bold curves from the water's edge, and all are more or less wooded with pines, heaths, and arbutuses. So narrow is this strait, and so high the rocks that shut out this basin from the open sea, that we were totally unprepared to meet the noble sheet of calm water that met our eye on entering this noble land-locked gulf. The mountains that surround Marmorice are higher, more wooded, and have a greater appearance of vegetation along their sides, than those that skirt the coast. At the northern extremity of the bay is the town, a small place, consisting of a jumble of flat-roofed houses, huddled together without order or regularity, and without streets, unless the dirty lanes that lead from house to house can be so denominated. These dwellings rise in terraces to the towers of an old castle, probably of the time of the Crusaders or Venetians, which crowns the peninsular rock on which the village stands. Mean and inconsiderable as it was, yet in that wild and lonely region, amidst the alpine scenery that surrounded it, and the lake-like sea that washed its base, it reminded us of the small towns of Switzerland and the Tyrol, and

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had rather a pleasing and picturesque effect. We anchored about half a mile to the west of the town; not wishing to hold communication with the natives, or approach closer to the place, in which we had been informed at Rhodes that plague had recently broken out. Our appearance seemed to cause no small bustle and excitement among the inhabitants.

At night, when a light sparkled in every window of the town, it had a pretty effect; but as soon as it became dusk, the most deafening serenade was set up by hundreds of frogs, in the marshes and shrubby plains in our immediate vicinity; and they kept it up with much spirit during the greater part of the night, interrupted occasionally by the mournful howl or sharp bark of the jackal prowling along the shore. Upon visiting this place next morning, I found that our annoying friends were the tree frogs (*rana arborea*), numbers of whom swarmed in every bush. They are small, and of such a beautiful light green colour, as to be with difficulty distinguished from the leaves that surround them. The toes of this species are longer, and less webbed than the common kind, and have a small viscous spongiole at each extremity to enable them to climb with the greater facility. The membrane beneath the throat is flaccid and expansible, and swells out to a great extent when the animal utters its peculiar note.

In the morning we rowed to the shore, and landed to the westward of the town, in a lovely valley of great extent, divided into neat enclosures, containing corn fields, some orange groves and vineyards, and intersected by streams of crystal water, the banks carpeted with verdant turf, or shadowed by willows, rhododendrons, and oleanders. The almond tree was clad in the delicate pink mantle of its early blossom; jays and rollers chatter in the bushes; and as the warm sun called forth the young energies of created nature, we felt for the first time that it was spring. Small black cattle, fat-tailed sheep, and flocks of Syrian goats we met upon the hills, on which the Scotch fir and stone pine grow and attain a considerable size, and are principally used as ship timber; these, with the brushwood which is employed for fuel, form the trade this small place has with Rhodes and Kastelorizo. Most of the inhabitants have summer-houses in the lovely dells and valleys that occur among the hills, and though but rudely constructed huts, they were most beautifully situated, and shaded by carobs, acacias, and bay trees, some of which were the largest I ever

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beheld. Many of these bowers command a prospect, whose equal for mountain, wood and water, forest glade and smiling valley, snowy peaks and grassy knolls, waving pines and enamelled turf, is only to be found among the scenery of Switzerland or the Tyrol. Several of the Turks (principally old men) were enjoying their pipes in the entrances to these retreats, and did not seem altogether insensible to the charms of nature that surrounded them. The inhabitants were all Turks; an athletic, well-made, handsome race of men, who dressed to great advantage, did not wear beards, had broad turbans, and were armed with long guns, daggers, and pistols. Numbers were engaged out of doors cultivating the land, contrary to the general report of travellers, who affirm that the women are employed in such laborious occupations, while their lords and masters are hunting, or enjoying the ease and luxury of the shibook. The females whom we met in our rambles appeared unusually cautious of encountering the unhallowed gaze of a Christian; for not only did they cover up every feature except one eye, but they invariably stopped and turned away their faces until we passed by. As far as we could observe, the people seemed quiet and inoffensive, and totally different from the character given of them at the time of the visit of Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, the sailors of which, it is possible, may have earned for themselves the inhospitable treatment mentioned in the works written about that period. On the evening of the second day we weighed anchor, and took up our station in the south-west angle of the bay, behind the island that forms the western barrier of its entrance.

21st. We had a night of great severity; it froze so hard that there was ice on all the neighbouring fresh water in the morning; the wind was keen, and blew from the north-east, and, as it passed over the higher range of the snow-clad mountains of Karamania, the cold it carried with it was very annoying. To the west of the island is another valley, still more beautiful than that we visited yesterday, though not quite so extensive or so cultivated. It has a fine pebbled beach, descending almost as perpendicular as that at Madeira. The sides of this valley are formed of precipitous rocks, that lead up the highly wooded mountain side, and gradually narrow into a mere mountain-pass at its upper end. Two streams, abounding with eel and grey mullet, meander through it, among low woods of myrtle and dwarf oak; the former were

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the largest shrubs of this description I ever beheld. Woodcocks were plenty in the copses, but although the lower part of the plain is marshy, snipes are very scarce. Towards the upper end there is a village of about a dozen circular houses, with flat roofs, formed by boughs of fir trees, covered over with clay. Bees seemed the principal stock of the inhabitants of this village, and apiaries abounded every where; the hives were formed out of the hollowed trunks of palm trees, closed by circular pieces of wood at either end, and altogether resembling small casks; they were placed in rows, one over another, under sheds, some of which contained above twenty hives. The people find a ready market for their honey at Rhodes, from whence it is forwarded to Turkey; it has a peculiarly wild but not unpleasant flavour. The bee is held in great veneration by Mohammadans, and is spoken of in the Kooran as "a sign unto the people that understand." The mountain limestone extends all along the north-west side of the bay, with the serpentine appearing in some places at the water's edge. The eastern side of the bay has a reddish volcanic appearance, but from the quantity of brushwood with which the ground is covered, it is difficult to ascertain its geology with accuracy. The hills are difficult of ascent, owing to their exceeding steepness, the closeness of the brambles, and the number of loose stones that are put in motion by the attempt; but the view from the summit is superb, embracing the numerous bays, creeks, and islands along this varied and beautiful coast, as well as the inland country, which consists of a succession of mountains similar to those surrounding the bay—wild, rugged fells, without a trace of cultivation, but with forests of enormous timber, too massive and too far distant from the coast to be turned to any account by the dwellers in these regions. At an elevation of eight hundred feet I found the splendid *erica mediterranea*, growing in great luxuriance, and perfectly white with its fragrant blossoms, that perfumed the air with a scent like that of meadow-sweet. It here attains the height of eight or ten feet, and forms a belt along the hills at an elevation of about five hundred feet above the sea level, and altogether presents one of the most magnificent decorations that the vegetable world affords these alpine regions. It swarms with thousands of bees, and seems to be their principal food. I remarked that the bees, having finished their repast upon its flowers, flocked to drink at some of the many rills and miniature

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cascades that trickled through the rocks, before proceeding homeward with their store. The *arbutus andrachne*, then in full flower, was also plentiful at this elevation. Bears and wolves are reported to inhabit these parts, but it was not our lot to encounter any of them.

Here, and still higher up the mountains, I found numbers of land tortoises (*testudo græca*), several of which were upwards of eighteen inches in length, and were busily engaged in rooting for their food among the stones and decayed vegetable matter. This the animal does with great adroitness with its horny snout; but if it wishes to raise a stone that is too heavy for its snout, it withdraws the head, and placing the anterior end of the shell against it, converts itself into a lever, by raising and pressing forward the hind legs; or finding this ineffectual, it converts itself into a battering ram, and knocks at it with great force till it overturns it. I have watched these curious animals for hours, and have been astonished not only at the extraordinary strength but at the instinct displayed by them. The male and female can be at once distinguished by the recurved lip or prominence at the posterior edge of the *carapace*, which is characteristic of this species, being more marked and turned downwards in the male, as well as by the hacked and broken edge of the anterior part.

Of the ruins of the ancient Physcus, said to be in this neighbourhood, I could find no trace, unless it could have been the following:—Upon a small mound in a thicket near the shore of this valley, I stumbled over the remains of a building, whose foundation is now nearly covered up with shrubs of myrtle and mastic. Here were pieces of broken marble, a fluted doric pilaster, and a portion of a frieze of white marble, on which were still visible three triglyphs, and on the intervening metopes the Greek word ΣΩΙΚΑ, the last letter of which occurs just where the stone is broken off. In the neighbourhood of this were some remains of more modern date, probably of the Genoese or Venetians. Of the pillar discovered by Dr. Hume upon the other side of the bay I could gain no tidings; but in the Turkish burial-ground adjoining, there is the shaft of a white marble column, in length about four feet, used as a head-stone, and alongside of it a rude Tuscan capital, on which, however, there is the cross of St. John; but this may have been carved on it at a period long subsequent to its original construction. This graveyard, which is situated in a most

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romantic, lovely spot, is not of a character with those usual among Mohammadans, for the graves are simple barrows, without any stone-work at top. I may here remark, that burial-grounds are among the first places the antiquary and ruin-hunter should visit; for whether it be that the odour of sanctity still remains about them, or that they are usually situated on the site, or in the vicinity of ancient places of worship, like the round towers of Ireland, I do not know; but *there* will generally be found the indications of ancient ruins, if any such exist in the vicinity.

Not hearing of any cases of plague in this district, we became emboldened to hold some communion with the natives; and as a relief from salt provisions, procured a fat-tailed sheep,* which, however, was passed through water on our receiving it. There is a very general opinion throughout the Levant, that passing any substance through water clears it from all infection.

July 24th. We sailed out of Marmorice, and coasted to Karagatch, distant about ten miles by water, but separated from it by a sandy isthmus of not more than a mile in breadth. The hammer-shaped peninsula that spreads over the southern margin of these two noble bays, was, in all probability, an island at no very remote age, and resembles in its character the rest of the coast, in its bold cliffs, overhanging rocks fringed with fir-trees, and vast natural caverns, into which the sea rolls with terrific fury; and the reacting swell from which is perceptible at a considerable distance from the spot where it is generated.

Karagatch is still a finer bay than that we had left; for though fully as much land-locked and as well protected, it is better suited to vessels of a larger class, being more easy of access, and having within it several small sheltered nooks, that afford secure riding for the smaller craft. Here also the mountains rise abruptly from the water; in some places wooded from their base to their summits, and opening out into verdant vales, with rivulets running toward the sea. At its distant extremity a point of land separates two broad basins of calm water. The western one of

* The tail of one of those sheep will weigh as much as six or eight pounds, and is often much heavier than a quarter of the same animal. Although when fresh this is not very palatable food, yet when salted, it is delicious, being of a substance much resembling the hump of the bison. I remarked, that in all the fat-tailed sheep there was scarcely a vestige of the suet or adipose substance that surrounds the kidneys in the common kind.

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these is surrounded by a very extensive plain, the greater part of which is marshy, and covered over with sedge, tall reeds, and brushwood. A considerable stream of clear water, having a sandy bottom, empties itself into the sea by a number of mouths at this point; and as it forms many windings, and rushes over several falls, it forms a pleasing object in the landscape. It was filled with tortoises and numbers of small fish; and several kinds of kingfishers were very common along its banks. I shot the white egret; the nuthatch was in every tree, and woodcocks were plenty; but there were very few snipes. We procured some coarse sponges from the people, who report them to be plenty in this bay. None of the timber grown here is of a size sufficient to make a stun-sail boom. The common arbutus grows on the hills, also the lime and the plane-tree (*plantanus orientalis*), which latter is, I find, used in a manner that I was not before acquainted with. In the spring or autumn it is stripped of its bark, which is pressed in a rudely-constructed machine, placed between two trees, and by a board at top and bottom, acted on by a long lever, so compressed that it exudes a kind of yellow resin, somewhat like Burgundy pitch. This is used as incense, principally by the Greeks. Heaths were numerous, laburnums were coming into blossom, and the scarlet anemone and blue crocus gave presage of the returning season. With the climate of this place we were much pleased; at ten o'clock at night the thermometer on deck was 63°, the highest point marked at this hour since we entered the Mediterranean. On one of the neighbouring headlands a remarkable geological formation appears:—next the sea is a stratum of green stone, on which rests a band of precious serpentine, and over both occurs a grey marble, which at one point is let down like a dyke between them, thrusting aside the strata, and contorting it in a very singular manner. In the retired and sheltered parts of these bays, the green, shining serpentine is distinguishable at a considerable distance; but opposite the entrance, or where the wind plays with great force against it, it has become partially decomposed, and has assumed a brown, crumbling appearance.

There is no modern town within this bay; the few stationary inhabitants residing in scattered cottages, and living as woodcutters and hunters. The wandering tribes of Turcomans that are still to be found in Asia Minor frequently resort hither with their flocks, which consist of sheep, kine, and goats. These

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they drive wherever pasture suits, or convenience prompts them to settle for a time, living in temporary sheds, or in tents formed of dark brown stuff of the rudest construction. A small community of these people were encamped in one of the adjoining dells. Dromedaries of a fawn colour were not uncommon here, and buffaloes were in great numbers. The young buffalo is, without exception, one of the most uncouth I have ever met.

Having been informed by the natives that the woods in our vicinity contained bears, leopards, jackals, and wild boars, a hunting excursion was planned for the 26th; on the morning of which great was the preparation on board—guns, pistols, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and tomahawks, were put in requisition, and battle, murder, and sudden death vowed against the Feræ of the neighbouring mountains. Sailors love a frolic, and care not whether it be the riding of a jackass or the baiting of a lion, so that fun, excitement, and personal hazard are connected with it. Formidable was the array we made, and no doubt a cause of admiration to the simple natives who met us on the shore; the armed men were posted at the passes, and the beaters set to work in the wood; great was the noise and tumult; every thing that had life, large or small, was doomed to destruction; whole volleys were discharged, and running fires kept up with much spirit against hares, woodcocks, and waterhens. Bullets and small shot whizzed and peppered on all sides, front and rear. Jack called to his comrade, and was answered in an unknown tongue by a Turk; sheep and goats were mistaken for, and in one instance suffered the fate of, wild beasts. The scene was one of considerable interest, and not without personal danger—not from ravenous animals, but from the fire of some worthy tar who wanted to *have a shot*, no matter when, where, or at what. Of the animals we came to destroy, none such were seen; so, late in the day we sounded a retreat and called in all stragglers, who, wet, bruised, and torn, but not disheartened, plied the supple oar, and soon sent us dashing over the blue waters to our wooden home. Such scenes are necessary, in one form or other, to the life led on board ship, and, accidents excepted, contribute in no small degree to the comfort, health, and happiness of a sailor, who is debarred from sources of amusement that landsmen can avail themselves of daily.

We left Karagatch on the 28th of February, intending to proceed to the Gulf of Glaucus.

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CHAPTER XVI.

ASIA MINOR.

The Gulf of Glaucus—Macri—Its Scenery—The Modern Town—Its Inhabitants—Unhealthy situation of the place—Telmessus—Its Tombs—Barrows—Stelæ—Pillars mentioned by Josephus—Inquiry into the origin of Pillars—Found in the British Isles—Their different uses—The Soros—The Tomb of Helen—Sarcophagi peculiar to Asia Minor—A Warrior's Tomb—Rock-carved Sepulchres—Regal Mausolea—Their Facades—An ancient Temple—Remarkable form of its Roof—Reflections upon Tombs—The Theatre—Description of its Ruins—Acoustics of the Ancients—Cyclopean Proscenium—Magnificent prospect of the Spectators—Surrounding Scenery—The Grecian Drama—The charms of Travel—The Soothsayer's Cave—Baths—Dromedaries—Climate—Classic Authorities upon Telmessus—The Isle of Cavallière—Bay of Kalamaki—Kastelorizo—Its Town, Harbour, and Navy—The Island of Cyprus—Limasol—The Cyprian Wine—Malaria—We sail for Syria.

MARCH 1st—We sailed for Macri, in the ancient Gulf of Glaucus. As we proceeded eastward, the coast became bolder; and, owing to its greater exposure, it is less wooded. Within this deep gulf the scenery becomes quite changed; here there are none of the valleys, the rivers, cottages, and cultivated spots that surround the smaller and more western bays. The mountains rise to a greater elevation—many of their more distant summits being covered with snow; and the whole aspect of the country has been well described as that of "gloomy grandeur."

We found this great arm of the sea much more extensive than we had anticipated, or than the charts and maps we had seen could have led us to suppose, being from twelve to fifteen miles in depth, with its entrance wide, and very much exposed. As the wind fell, and the night began to close in upon us, we were compelled to anchor in fourteen fathoms water, to the westward of the point that forms the north-western barrier of the bay, in which are situated the ruins of Telmessus—to examine which was the object of our present visit. A heavy swell sets in here from the

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open sea; and yet that there is a current setting *outward*, I can have little doubt, both from the information I obtained from the people, and the fact that several Greek boats which passed during the night were carried southward, without a breath of wind to fill their canvas. The temperature of the different bays along this coast varies considerably, owing to the position of the mountains in their vicinity; and here, the height of those around caused us to feel the cold very much. Next morning we towed the vessel round, and lay a short way off the town of Macri.

Dr. E. D. Clarke has said, with great truth, that "there is no part of the Grecian territory more interesting in its antiquities, than the Gulf of Glaucus. The ruins of Telmessus are as little known, as they are remarkable in the illustration they afford with regard to the tombs and theatres of the ancients." His labours, and those of Mr. Fellowes have done so much to elucidate these ruins and antiquities, that future inquiries must of necessity partake more or less of the character of commentaries upon their works.

The approach to Macri is strikingly grand, and strongly impresses the beholder with an idea of the refined taste of the people who chose it for the position of their city; for the scene combines all that nature can bestow to charm the senses and adorn the landscape. A broad sheet of water, broken with many islands, and forming bold curves and sheltered basins, is bounded on the south by a range of hills, whose sides are channelled by columnar rocks, which, rising in broken and irregular masses, present at the top a sharply defined outline; in some parts partaking so much of the castellated form, that one is almost disposed to believe they are the effect of the line, the plummet, and the chisel. In other places they are fringed with pines, which, owing to the excessive clearness of the atmosphere, are distinguishable from their stems to their topmost branches.

Upon a gentle slope, between those mountains and the sea, stood Telmessus, and to the north-east of the bay extends a vast marshy plain, through which a considerable stream winds its tortuous course. Beyond this plain, bounding three of its sides, and stretching far away into the distance, rise the lofty mountains of Caria, the lower and adjacent wooded to their tops—the higher and more distant, crowned with snow the greater portion of the year.

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At the distance of more than a mile from the shore, the southern hills present a remarkable appearance, as if studded with rows of yellowish white spots, which, upon a nearer inspection, develope the contour of porticoes and the façades of temples, but which, on examination, prove to be the celebrated rock-carved sepulchres of this ancient Doric colony. The modern town of Macri is a collection of miserable houses, huddled together without even an attempt at regularity; it stands upon a low point of rock, and is, in fact, partly surrounded by the ancient walls. It is well supplied with pure water, which springs out of the rocks in several places, and is distributed through the town; it is included in the bashalic of Rhodes, is governed by an Aga, and its inhabitants are now mostly Greeks. Some of the females whom we met were noble-looking, but had the sallow aspect produced by the unhealthy situation of the place. The only peculiarity in their dress consisted in three large silver clasps, which confined the boddice over the bosom. This ornament is common all over the country, and is a remnant of the ancient Greek costume. Salt is procured here by enclosing sheets of shallow sea-water, which in dry weather evaporates, leaving a saline crust on the sand similar to that at lake Mareotis. In one of these ponds, at the period of our visit, were innumerable grey mullet, which the natives spear with great dexterity; and thousands of water-fowl abound in these lagoons.

For many years past, this place has been the southern point of communication between the Porte and her colonies in Egypt and Syria; couriers are always in readiness to transmit dispatches, and camels and horses can be always procured for travelling. Owing to this constant intercourse with Constantinople, the village is seldom free from disease for six months at a time. Plague generally lurks within it or in its neighbourhood; and it suffers periodically from intermittent fever, which generally breaks out in the month of May.

Since Egypt and Syria have changed masters, Macri has continued to decrease in every respect except in disease. A few months ago, plague was introduced by some Turkish soldiers; and although no case had occurred lately within the town itself, a small village, about four hours' journey from it, had been nearly depopulated. The place had a most forsaken look at the time of our visit; and the extreme quiet that prevailed, with the sur-

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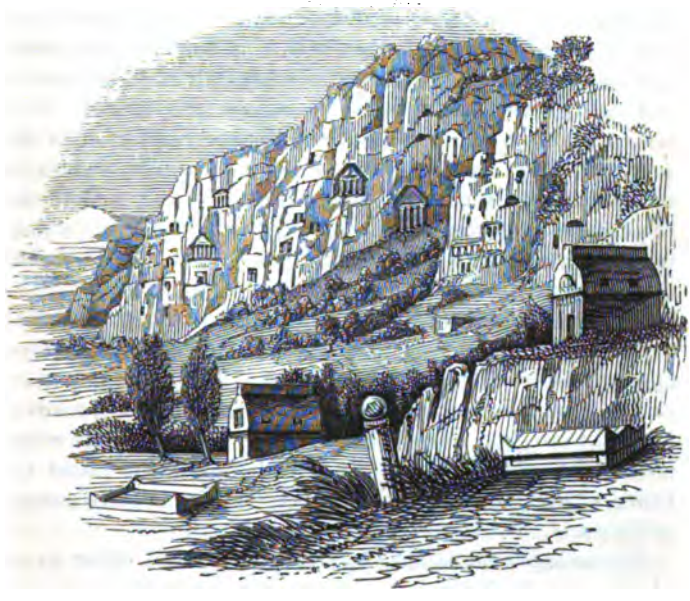
rounding tombs and ruins, and the paucity of its inhabitants, gave it a most dreary and desolate appearance. Its exports are inconsiderable, and at present consist of timber, tar, salt, and honey; but even these have decreased very much of late.

Around Macri, on all sides, are the remains of the ancient Telmessus; we commence with the most remarkable—its tombs.



These here present a mixture of the Asiatic and the Egyptian, the Persepolitan and modern Grecian. The greater number of them extend over a rugged valley to the east of the town, but numerous detached soroi are scattered on all sides. History records no spot that contains so many different forms of tombs, or that affords such opportunities of studying the modes of burial practised by the ancients; for, with the exception of the pyramidal, we have here nearly every species of sepulchre, from the simple mound of earth, or barrow, to the elaborately wrought mausoleum carved in the living rock. They may all be classed under four heads. First, we have the simple grave, or *Barrow*,

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formed by a mound of earth heaped over the body of one or more persons. That this primitive form of interment was that first adopted by man, I think there can be little doubt. When Adam was expelled from Eden, and the curse passed upon his posterity, it was said that he should return to the ground from whence he was taken; and the first written record of a grave is that erected over Deborah, whom Jacob buried under an oak in Bethel. Among many of the early nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, a certain degree of disgrace was attached to the exposure of a dead body; and when such was found, it was incumbent on the passers-by to throw three handfuls of earth upon it, and by this means a tumulus or barrow was formed. It is remarkable that this custom has been preserved even to the present day in Ireland, where in cases of murder, sudden or unnatural death, the peasant stops, crosses himself, and throws *three* stones upon the spot where it occurred;* which in a short time is accumulated into a tumulus, thousands of which still exist in different parts of that country.

Of the ancient barrow mode of burial we have numerous instances in Greece, Siberia, Russia, Malabar, the British isles, in North America, the Steppes of Tartary, and particularly wherever the Celtic nations settled, as well as in the lava mounds of Grand Canary, and upon a large scale in the memorable monument of Marathon; and under this head may also be placed the *Cairn*, of which so many instances occur in almost every country of the world.

The second kind is the *Stelé* or pillar, placed either as an addition over the barrow, or without any mound or elevation of the ground; these are numerous at Telmessus, and without ornaments or inscriptions. The headstones in our graveyards are all such, and as it is a sepulchral monument in most extensive use every where, some inquiry as to its nature and origin may not be irrelevant to our present subject. If we believe the authority of Josephus, the children of Seth, the son of Adam, were the

* So rooted is this superstition among our peasantry, that on a murder taking place some years ago near a small market-town in the west of Ireland, a police force had to be placed on the spot to prevent the demesne-wall of a clergyman from being levelled to furnish the necessary material.

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original constructors of these *pillars*, two of which were formed by them—one of brick, the other of stone—on which they inscribed their own discoveries in astronomy, &c., and the predictions of Adam as to a deluge and a conflagration. Both of these, the historian says, were emblematical—that of brick being removable by water—while the one of stone would only yield to the power of flame. This last was reported to have existed in the land of Syriad or Syria even at the time when the Jewish historian wrote. But it seems more than probable that Josephus has in this case jumbled names and dates, a fault frequently found in that great writer; for Seth, the son of Sesostris, the very originator of pillars, erected many such in Syria, for reasons enumerated by Herodotus. Pillars were also set up as witnesses. Lot's wife looked back on Sodom, and she became her own sepulchral monument, a "pillar of salt." Jacob "took the stone he had used for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it," thus consecrating it an altar; and this practice we can trace through the classic nations, even to modern times; for at the consecration of Roman Catholic houses of worship in some countries, they anoint the altars, door-posts, and pillars. The first mention of it as a funereal emblem is that over the grave of Rachel. The patriarch Jacob erected another pillar to bear witness to his solemn covenant with Laban, and directed his brethren to gather stones and make an heap. Now the Hebrew גל *gal*, which is here translated heap, properly speaking, means a *circle;* and this circle was, no doubt, placed round the pillar. From this fact, we naturally revert to the remarkable stone circles found at Stonehenge, Grange, and Aubry, in the British isles; and in this locality also the pillar alone is found, as in the case of the curious pillar of Rudstone; and several such are found in Ireland under the name of "giant's finger-stones." That after a time these funeral monuments were made in the likeness of some object, and adored, would appear from the command of Moses, that the Jews should not erect any such, as they might lead them to the practice of idolatry. At the farewell exhortation of Joshua, he set up a great stone under an oak in Sechem, for a witness or memorial, as it heard all that was said. The Nasamones swore by laying their hands on the tombs and pillars of eminent persons; and in like manner the famous pillars of Jachin and Boaz, in Solomon's temple, were not only ornaments, and had many mysti-

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cal meanings, which are known to the initiated, but were afterwards used by the kings of Judah, who "witnessed" (standing by them) to any solemn covenant that was made. Numbers of such stelæ, corresponding to those at Telmessus, and representing an ancient Hebrew rite,* have been lately dug up in the ruins of ancient Athens. Pompey's pillar was most likely a sepulchral monument. The Samians inscribed the names of eminent men upon public columns; and pillars were placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, with the names of diseases, and their remedies, inscribed upon them.

The third form of tomb is the *Soros* or sarcophagus; and of these there are many varieties: one kind is the cyclopean prototype of those to be met in every English churchyard, and consists of an oblong chamber, formed by four stones placed upright, and roofed by one immense slab. Some of these flags are flat, others raised into a ridge in the centre; and several of them that I measured were ten feet eight inches long, by nine feet nine inches broad. The entrance is at the end; and on the right-hand side is an inscription, that usually written by the ancient Greeks, being a recital of the name of the person buried within, by whom the tomb was erected, and imposing a fine to the state, and also imprecating the wrath and vengeance of the infernal deities on all disturbers of their ashes. Beneath this chamber is another smaller vault of stone, in which the body was placed. The upper apartment may have been used as a place of mourning for the friends who, we read, occasionally resorted to such places for that purpose. Many of these upper chambers are of such a size that whole families of the poorer inhabitants have taken up their abodes within them, and others are converted into donkey-stables, and are filled with filth and rubbish. The tomb of Helen, a woman of Telmessus, situated in a small enclosure by the sea-side, near the town, which, from its inscription, Porson considered

* As to what relation the round towers of Ireland may bear to the oriental pillar I will not take upon me to say, as Mr. Petrie's work is now in the press, which will no doubt treat upon that subject. And those who may wish to be further informed upon this interesting topic should consult "An Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities previous to the landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, by Miss L. C. Beaufort," published in the fifteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

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to have been built two thousand two hundred years ago, belongs to the class I have now described.

The second variety of soros is a tomb of great elegance and beauty of form, and seems to be peculiar to Asia Minor; none of this kind having been as yet found in any other part of the world, except two or three in the valley of Waddy Mousa, in Arabia. It consists of a sarcophagus of one solid stone, raised upon a pedestal, and having a roof like that of a trunk-lid, ornamented with a ridge at top, and knobs jutting out on either side. The knobs, independent of their ornamental character, may have been used in raising these massive stones into their present position. There is also in these an upper chamber, serving the purpose of a *cenotaph*. Some of these monuments are entirely formed out of single blocks of stone, limestone bolders, which for ages occupied their present position, and which the Grecian artist took advantage of for hewing into tombs. These had their entrances at the end, the stone doors of which moved up and down in a groove carved within. When either the repository or the top was a separate piece, no such opening was required, as it was raised on the pedestals after the body was placed within. Some of these monolithic monuments are perched upon the rugged, unhewn rocks; others have their situation in corn-fields and enclosures, and form some of the most picturesque objects I have ever seen. There are inscriptions on several, but greatly defaced; and others have groups of figures embossed upon the sides, representing death-scenes and groups of mourning friends at the last farewell. In several of these entablatures the principal figure is represented sitting, and with an outstretched hand seems to be in the act of admonishing the others, who stand in a row, with the right-hand holding a napkin or part of the drapery applied to the eyes. There is one of these tombs so very extraordinary that I cannot refrain from briefly describing it, as it is by far the most interesting of this kind, both from the beauty of its construction, and the position which it at present occupies.

This, which was, in all likelihood, the mausoleum of a warrior, has several boldly-designed and well-executed bas-reliefs upon its panelled sides, representing battles, horsemen, and chariots. It is not unlike the marble tomb at Xanthus, lately drawn by Mr. Fellowes, but it is in a state of much better preservation. The pedestal of this stood upon a square platform, but it now leans

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very much to one side, having been shaken by an earthquake, which has shifted some of its parts out of their places. This monument, which was certainly erected on the shore, is now upwards of thirty yards from it, and the sea covers at least two feet of its base! Beside it, to the west, ran the ancient city-wall, part of which, of a quadrangular form, still exists.

There are two subjects connected with this monument that also claim our attention: the first is, the positive proof that it affords of land and water having changed their relative positions in this part of the Mediterranean; but whether this change is caused by the rising and encroachment of the one, or the sinking of the other, is a question that will be considered when discussing that interesting topic in connection with the ruins of ancient Tyre. The second subject is, the possibility of having the monument removed to England. From its being composed of many pieces; and being placed within the reach of a boat, it could with great safety be carried out to one of our men-of-war that make a summer-cruise to these parts, and thus conveyed to England. This is well worthy the attention of those who have the power to do so; and so very little labour and expense would attend it, that I feel assured it could be placed within the walls of the British Museum for £20.*

The fourth and most magnificent form of tomb is that hollowed out in the face of the rocks that form the base of the mountain that completes the back-ground of this picture to the south-east. It is these which form such conspicuous objects on entering the harbour, owing to the lime-stone, in which they are hewn,

* Since my visit to Telmessus, the very elegant works of Mr. Fellowes upon Asia Minor have appeared, in which he has established the topography of some of the ancient cities in that country, and drawn with great truth and fidelity several tombs of the kind that I have described as existing in Lucia, at Xanthus, Antiphellus, and other places. It will also give much pleasure to all lovers of antiquities to learn, that, at the suggestion of the trustees of the British Museum, several of the beautiful marble tombs at Xanthus have been removed by the government to this country. It would be well if those employed upon that object, had also possessed themselves of the warrior's tomb at Macri, which is fully as beautiful as any of the Xanthian antiquities, and could have been removed without much trouble or expense.

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being stained yellow by an ochery fluid which exudes out of the rocks above. Some of these tombs are carved with consummate art into the resemblance of the fronts of houses, having panelled doors, and bearing a striking similarity to those of Petra. They are found in groups or clusters, and were probably appropriated to particular families. Each has before it a square platform, approached by a flight of steps, and at the entrance to which originally stood a small gate. In some of those cut in the detached rocks upon the plain of the necropolis, there was an anteroom for the mourning visitors; and also in the top of the sepulchral chamber was an aperture through which to pour the libation. On the panels were inscriptions; and on one I found a tragic mask, probably indicating the occupation of the owner. Terraces led from one set of tombs to another.

Three of these mausolea so far exceed the rest in splendour, that I am led to believe they must have been those of the Telmessian kings; and for elaborate workmanship and beauty of effect, they are acknowledged by all who have seen them to be among the most extraordinary specimens of their kind. These are placed in the most inaccessible places on the face of the mountain, and are now entered with some difficulty. The front of each is a portico, consisting of two Ionic pillars and two pilasters twenty feet high, supporting a pediment. Behind this is carved a handsome door of the same height as the pillars, and composed of four panels, the stiles and cross-bars studded with large-headed bolts. The entrance was originally through the lower right-hand panel, which moved in a groove at the top and bottom; but the present entrance to most of these is by one of the other panels, which has been broken through long since. With such accuracy was this door fitted in, that you cannot distinguish in which compartment it was placed. The interior is a square apartment, with a raised bench running round three sides of it, measuring ten feet by eight in length, and six feet six in height, on which the bodies were placed. The fronts of these tombs were evidently made to resemble temples; many of the simplest of the Grecian temples being fronted by similar porticoes, or what is termed in technical language "in antæ." These temple-faced tombs bear a close analogy to the Indian, the Persepolitan, and the Syrian; while those without porticoes partake more of the Egyptian and the Edomite character, of which the

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type is found in the cave of Machpelah, although some of the mausolea in Idumea are temple-faced, as mentioned by Job, who was probably a contemporary of Abraham. A first view of some of the façades is curious; the lower end of some of the pillars

have been broken off to supply a neighbouring lime-kiln, but the upper part, being an integral portion of the rock, hangs from the architrave like an enormous stalactite, as shown in the wood-cut above.

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The light gray lime-stone, out of which all these excavations are formed, is similar to that in the bay of Symi; and some portions of it being hard and others soft, the atmosphere and sea-air have acted on the latter, and given the whole a rough, and, if I may be allowed the expression, a *pock-marked* appearance. It is this action that has caused the obliteration of many of the carvings, inscriptions, and embellishments, of the many hundred sepulchres in this vast city of the dead, whose streets and squares are only tombs. I could not discover a siugle sepulchre which had not been broken into and rifled.

Clarke has drawn attention to a singular ruin, presenting externally the form of a solid cube, and standing on a sloping bank near to the shore. This my friends and I examined with great care. In his (Clarke's) time, this quadrangular building, the stones of which are of immense size, was only entered by a narrow chasm produced by an earthquake. It has since, however, undergone considerable dilapidation, evidently from a similar cause, and now affords a better opportunity for examining its structure. From out to out, it is twenty-five feet four inches square; the walls being four feet five inches in thickness. The stones of which it is composed are of great size, and bound together with cement. I state this, because Clarke supposes no such building material was used in its construction, and his mistake arose from the cement being washed out of the joinings; but the increased dilapidation it has suffered since his day, has fully disclosed such to have been used. This fact should not, however, detract from the age of the building, as some of the oldest specimens of architecture in the world have mortar in their walls. On entering, we found circular arches occupying one half the thickness of the wall on three of the sides; in the remaining side, which faces the mountains, the entrance is placed. This doorway extended to the roof, and its enormous lintel is still in situ. The roof of this building demands attention; it was formed of stone, and when standing, must have been a very splendid piece of architecture, being domed with vast stones put together so as to represent a piece of mail-work in the interior. It was thus constructed:—at each corner was placed a large slab that rested on the angle of the side walls, and projected inward, the inner edge being a segment of a circle, with the convexity toward the centre, and this edge was also grooved. Four similar stones placed over

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the arches, filled up the spaces between these corner ones. Eight slabs of a like form, but somewhat smaller, were placed over these, which they overlapped, their joinings meeting in the centre of the lower ones. Another course was placed above this, and so on till they approached at the top, when one stone closed the aperture. All these stones gradually decreased in size toward the centre. The four lower corner stones, besides resting on the walls, were supported underneath by a portion of the mason-work that projected inward, in the same manner as that found in the modern mosques, at the point from whence the dome springs. Although somewhat different in style and finish, I found a similar form of dome in the pyramid of Sackara, formed by one stone projecting within another; and it has a great similarity to the bee-hive dome of the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ,* where the type is preserved, though it exhibits a different appearance, this being by far the most rich and elegant of that kind. Here we find it in connection with the *arch*, although it is said to have been of a different era. There were no means of admitting light to the interior of this building, which the learned antiquary from whom I have already quoted considers to have been a sepulchre. That it was such I will not deny; but I am inclined to think it had a religious use also, and was a temple of very ancient date; temple-tombs being now generally acknowledged to have been among the most ancient places of worship.

This extended inquiry into the character of tombs in general, and the description of those of Telmessus in particular, may, to many of my readers, appear a dry and uninteresting subject; but have they never beguiled an hour in Westminster Abbey, or St. Paul's, or, alone and unobserved, stolen into the country churchyard at twilight's close, and sat amidst its grassy mounds and modest unpretending grave-stones? If they have not, let them read Gray and Hervey. The antiquary, the historian, the philosopher, and the naturalist, will find in tombs relics of the past

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* The similarity in the construction of a rude dome, formed upon the principle of that of Mycenæ, has been pointed out by my esteemed friend, Mr. Petrie, at New Grange, county Meath. Several such forms of domes and arches are also found in both the military and ecclesiastical architecture of this country.

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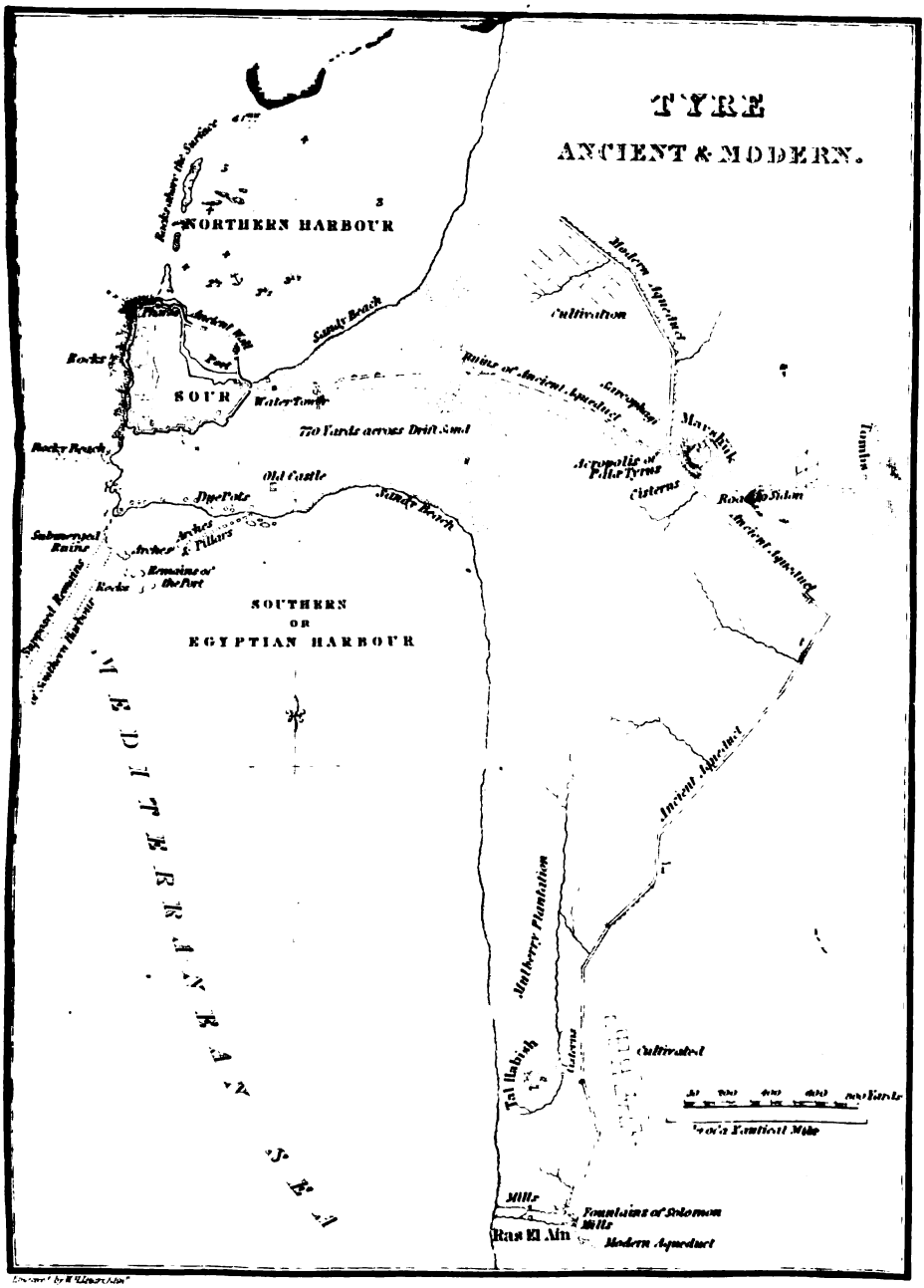

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ages, exhibiting obscure customs and mysterious classic allusions, and traces of extinct races of mankind, and ceremonies connected with the religion of the age and country in which such races lived. Similarity of modes of sepulture also affords proof of identity of origin. No effort of man's hand has survived so long as the trophy raised to the King of Terrors; and our immortal dramatist has truly said, that the gravedigger's houses are the most durable, for "those he builds last till doomsday." But though ages may have passed away since these monuments were crowned by the garland of the Grecian maid, and though ages have yet to pass before the dust of their inmates is awoke by the cry "Resurge," there is still a warning voice to all that bids us

> "Pass with melancholy state
> By all these solemn heaps of fate,
> And think, as soft and sad I tread
> Above the memorable dead,
> 'Time was, like me, they life possessed,
> And time shall be when I shall rest."

A castle and fort, whose walls are still in very tolerable preservation, occupy the summit of an eminence, lying about half a mile to the S.E. of the present village. Seen at some distance, it strongly reminded me of the old Moorish castle at Cintra. It consists of an outer wall at some distance down the hill, and a citadel at top, flanked by several square and octagon towers still standing; on the land side the rock is perfectly inaccessible. Two distinct eras are marked in the walls of this place. The lower part, which is of ancient mason-work, and built with enormous stones, was certainly constructed at a much earlier period than the upper part, which is of more recent date, and was probably built by the Venetians or Crusaders; but there is no date or inscription to determine the exact time.

As we neared the shore upon the west, our attention was arrested by a pile that bore a great resemblance to the druidical remains of Stonehenge, but which, on examination, we discovered to be the enormous portals of the *prosceneum* that fronts the *coilon* of a theatre, which, though not quite so extensive as some other Grecian edifices of a similar nature, is in point of site and surrounding scenery inferior to none. This theatre was partly built and partly hewn out of the rock, in a sloping hollow of the mountain, which here partakes of an amphitheatrical form. It was

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divided by a stone flat or corridor, nine feet in width, into two sets of seats, having thirteen rows in each. The two lower seats have been covered up with earth and brambles within the last thirty years. Each of these seats was twenty-two inches broad and twenty high, and the face was curved so as to form about one-half of a Norman arch, constructed, in all probability, on the principles of acoustics, so as to render the voice of the actor more audible throughout the *coilon*. We know that the seats of many other theatres were so constructed, and that vases or hollow vessels (Ηχεια) were also placed under them to produce this effect.

This edifice is in a state of wonderful preservation, and measures in front of the *prosceneum* one hundred and thirty-one feet, to which is to be added the breadth of the seats at the widest part. The stage can still be traced, with the scene behind it formed of that cyclopean work before alluded to, the enormous portals of the doors of which excited our highest admiration. In most Greek theatres this scene represented the front of some palace or stately edifice; and in some instances, as at Herculaneum, a villa, or country seat. In these, the central doorway, only entered by the principal actor, was called *basileon* by the Greeks, and by the Latins, *valva regia;* the smaller one upon the right hand side, being appropriated to the second actor, and that to the left by those who took the minor parts. This *basileon* measures sixteen feet by seven, and is formed of five stones—two for each post, and one at top, which is ten feet long from end to end. The circumstance of the intervening wall between these doors no longer existing, adds very much to the effect. Two other and still smaller entrances have been enumerated; but I conceive they could not have belonged to the *prosceneum*, but must have been used as doors to the lower tier of seats, and probably were entered only by the aristocracy. Outside these portals are the remains of a platform, evidently the *parascene;* and beneath this are seven arched entrances that led into the *thymele* or pit, that is now filled up with rubbish, and overgrown with bushes and luxuriant vegetation; which, though we may regret for the sake of scientific inquiry, yet rather adds to than subtracts from the romantic and pictorial beauty of the place. The corridor dividing the seats was entered by an arched passage, partly cut through the rock, and corresponding to the *peristile*, or lobby, and the seats themselves were intersected by rows of steps,

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crossing them diagonally from right to left, called *klimakes*, which allowed the spectators to ascend to the upper rows, and not by ladders, as some have supposed.

The prospect from this theatre is one of the grandest, the most sublime, and exciting that I have ever witnessed; and though much fatigued by six hours' groping among the tombs, it lost none of its powerful effect upon me as I rested on one of the upper seats, while my companion, Mr. R. Meiklam, was making a sketch of what Clarke has described as "one of the most perfect specimens which the ancients have left of this kind of building; for by the plans of Grecian architects, the vast operations of nature were rendered subservient to the works of art."

This theatre, unlike our modern ones, had no roof, but a canvas awning, or *tectum*, stretched across the top, shaded the spectators from the effects of the sun, and allowed the eye to wander over the extensive view that formed the vast natural scenery of the piece.

Different, indeed, is the effect produced by the painted daubs that modern art has rendered necessary to convey an idea of scenic beauty. Here the foreground was a real palace of huge dimensions, beyond which appeared the calm waters of the bay, with the numerous craft passing and repassing upon it. The towers, the tombs, and temples of the city rose upon the right, and to the left appeared the picturesque island of Cavaliére. Across the blue waters was a smiling, fertile plain, rich in vineyards, cornfields, and meadows; the flocks and shepherds on which required no propping from a scene-shifter. In the rear of the spectators, the heaths and myrtles on the well-wooded mountain perfumed the air; and far in the distance rose one of most glorious scenes that an artist could possibly compress into a picture—the Carian mountains, placed beneath a sky of intense clearness, which allowed the beholder to trace the transition from plenteous vegetation along the gentle slopes at their base, to that of glistening snow upon their summits. It is a landscape which would almost repay the trouble of going thus far to see. How different the luxuriant revelling and midnight waste of time and health indulged in by the moderns, from the healthful pastime of the ancient Greek, enjoyed in the open day, when listening to the strains of Sophocles and Euripides, or witnessing the performances of Æschylus and Aristophanes. Such comparisons, such recollections, and such excitements it is, that constitute the charm and

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consolation of travel, and clothe with beauty every ruin of the ancients. Such were the sources of excitement which Byron, who experienced them in all their power, has stated to be (next to ambition) the greatest in existence; and he felt how sweet it was thus to sit, wrapt in the mantle of antiquity, and broider the golden web that fancy weaves, till the glorious tapestry of the past curtains from our view the ills and crosses of the present.

> Then 'stay, illusion, stay awhile,
> 'My wilder'd fancy still beguile;'
> But no—'it may not be; it will not last,
> 'The vision of enchantment's past:'

for Telmessus, like many a scene in civilized life, while it delights the eye, gratifies the mind, and leads captive the imagination, warns the traveller to hasten from its pestilential environs, for plague lurks in its streets; the plains teem with miasma, disease and death are floating around, and the desolation that has here for centuries prevailed, still marks it a NECROPOLIS.

Before we leave this place, we must refer to one more memorable spot. To the left of the theatre a flight of steps conducts from the water's edge to a large grotto, twenty-one feet in breadth, vaulted over head, and rudely cut out of the solid rock, as represented in the accompanying vignette.

This grotto is supposed to have been a soothsayer's cave. The upper third of the back wall was hollow and contained a small

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chamber, into which, with some difficulty, I climbed. Originally the front of this was closed up, and the partition wall so artificially plastered that it appeared a continuation of the solid rock. From this it is considered that the answer of the Sybil, concealed behind it, was returned to the inquirer beneath. This recess does not occupy, as Clarke supposed, the whole of the upper third, but only one half of that space. However, from the hollow sound of the partition wall upon the right-hand side, I am inclined to think that there is a second chamber behind it also. That the lower half of the wall is solid, we can see from a large chasm recently made in it. How the oracular priests had access to this, is at present difficult to say. This I may remark, that, on examining it I found several apertures like air-holes, leading upwards, cut through the rock, exactly similiar to those that exist in the chambers of the large pyramid, where jugglery of the same character may have been enacted. The further exploration of this cave would prove highly interesting, and it is well worthy the attention of future travellers.

Several other caves, and numerous tombs, occur along the shore, besides some low buildings with groined roofs, probably minor temples. Between the theatre and the town there is a perpendicular rock, whose face has been smoothed with great care; in it are rows of holes, like joice-holes in modern houses, as well as several apertures carved into the form of fire-places. This place I consider to be the remains of an ancient bath.

The dromedaries here are smaller than any others that I have seen, and are covered with a coat of long, shaggy hair, with black tufts under the chin, on the forehead, and at most of the joints, no doubt to protect them from the cold, which is here at some seasons intense.

We perceived a manifest difference in climate, even during the two nights we spent here, which were piercingly cold. In the mornings a noxious fog or fen-damp rose from the marshy valley, which did not clear off till ten o'clock in the day. It has been noticed that the air is generally tainted in the vicinity of ancient cities, owing, it is said, to the water becoming stagnant in the places where fountains, aqueducts, and streams have been choked up with ruins; but it is the total neglect of cultivation, and the advance of the sea, that have created this swampy plain. Besides these causes, there is at Telmessus a variability of tem-

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perature, even during a single day, that is highly detrimental to health, by the keen winds blowing at certain seasons from the lofty mountains, exposing the inhabitants to sudden chills a few hours after they have been suffering under intense heat.

Telmessus was celebrated for wine and augury; but it is to be regretted that, although mentioned by many of the ancient classic writers, such as Strabo, Pliny, Lucian, Herodotus, Cicero, Livy, Arrian, and others, they merely refer to some passing event that took place there, and do not give any regular description of the city itself or of its kings. Aristander, the celebrated soothsayer of Alexander, was a native of Telmessus. Herodotus relates that, in the days of Crœsus, serpents filled the land about Sardis, and the horses left their pastures to feed upon them; on which that monarch sent to Telmessus to inquire of the priests concerning this prodigy; the interpretation of which was, that, as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy; and that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus;—matters turned out in accordance. The origin of the city may be the following:—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor, whom he endowed with the power of interpreting prodigies. This gift descended to her son, who was buried under the altar of Apollo in the city of Telmessus, of which it is probable he was the founder.

The island of Cavaliére, which forms the break-water to the bay of Macri, is a long, irregular piece of land, lying N. E., S. W., completely covered over with ruins of building which once belonged to the Knights of Jerusalem, and the Genoese and Venetians. The principal of these were forts, chapels, and houses, combining both dwellings and places of defence. After visiting it we got under weigh and sailed out of the gulf, intending to proceed at once to the island of Kastelorizo.

Patera we passed next day, but though perfectly visible to us, it blew so hard that we were unable to land. The coast still decreased in beauty and fertility, the mountains became barren, and the shore in many places resembled the desert, especially about the mouth of the Xanthus. The storm increased in violence, and toward the evening of the 4th we entered the bay of Kalamaki, said to be the port of Phœnicus. Nothing could be more cheerless and gloomy than this place, of which

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so very little is known. On all sides the mountains rise in perpendicular cliffs from the water, which is here of great depth. The darkness was fast closing in upon us, and our situation was any thing but enviable. We could find no anchorage; there appeared no trace of human beings; and the white line of foam that marked the entrance told too plainly of the storm that raged without. Again and again we were on the point of quitting its inhospitable shores, and seeking *safety* in the raging sea without: at length we found bottom at ten fathoms, and cast anchor for the night.

A few Greek peasants had settled on the rocks near where we lay; they seemed to be in a most miserable condition, and all they could afford us was a little goat's milk. The beach, at the extremity of this bay, is petrified similar to that at Rhodes.

At day-break the weather moderated, and we continued on our course, and arrived at Mais or Kastelorizo, so called from its modern appellation of Castel Rosso or Red Castle. This place is about eighteen miles to the east of Kalamaki. It is a bold, rugged, and perfectly barren rock—a block of gray limestone that has received a reddish tinge from traces of iron scattered through the crevices of its strata, and rising in perpendicular cliffs to a height of 800 feet above the sea. The day was well suited for viewing the peculiar loneliness, and extraordinary situation of this island, if such it can be called. The wind still blew fresh, accompanied with heavy showers, and a drifting mist at times softened the outline of its fantastic form, and gave it a somewhat fairy-like appearance, as it revealed its sides, rising out of the mass of boiling water that foamed and tumbled round its base. But barren and inhospitable as it looks, it has upon its north-western side, opposite the coast, one of the most secure and valuable harbours (at least for coasting craft) in this part of Asia Minor. The entrance to it is narrow, and it is protected on the north by a high peninsula, on which the town stands, while a high mass of rock shelters it from any wind that might reach it from the open sea to southward. This harbour is so deep, that, although there is no artificial pier, the vessels are ranged close along the shore, and reached by single planks from the landing place! Two or three stunted sickly olives were the only shrubs or vegetables of any kind on this island, whose sole wealth consists in its beautiful little harbour, and its healthy, but com-

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paratively cold climate. The town is, to all appearance, very miserable; the houses low, flat-roofed, and running in parterres that rise above the water. The highest point of the peninsula is surmounted by a picturesque old castle, built by the Knights of St. John after their expulsion from Rhodes.

I was taken to visit a new church built by the Greeks since the battle of Navarino. This engagement, though it may have been regarded as an "untoward event" by some statesmen, and has been considered as contrary to the laws of nations by a certain class of diplomatists, was an action that the outraged laws of God and humanity loudly demanded. It led, undoubtedly, to the establishment of the independence of Greece, and has done much towards improving the condition of the Greek people every where, and making them more respected by the Turks, even at this distance from their motherland. The roof of this church, which was just finished, is supported by some of the splendid rose-coloured granite pillars brought from the ruins of Patera; and although I regretted their removal here, as causing a great and wasteful spoliation of the ancient edifices to which they belonged, yet I could not help asking myself, who had as good a right to these remains as the descendants of the men by whom they were erected. The building is fitted up with considerable taste, and is not devoid of architectural beauty. It shows that there is an increase of wealth as well as a revival of the arts among the Greeks, and also discovers a degree of toleration on the part of their Turkish lords. The population of this island is estimated at eight thousand, who are all engaged in trade; they are mostly Greeks, there being only about ten or fifteen Turkish families in the place. The island itself produces absolutely nothing, and the most trifling necessaries of life are received from the opposite coast, but owing to its fine harbour, its trade is yearly increasing. It then possessed a navy of seventy vessels, which were in good trim; and several new ones were on the stocks. Each inhabitant has an interest in the welfare of the place, and the sailors have a share in the vessel they navigate as well as in the cargo. The trade is principally in wood, cut on the neighbouring coast of Vathy and Sevedo, made into charcoal, and transported to Alexandria; and also in sponges. Some vessels are in the carrying trade of this part of the Mediterranean; and here we found the pilgrim's flag hoisted on several barks which were laden with

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cargos of devotees hastening towards the Holy City. Several of the Greek vessels were under the Russian flag! The island pays at present a tribute of about £400 a year to the Bâsha of Rhodes.

The people seem to be an industrious, persevering race; the women and children were pretty well clad, and had a healthy appearance—another fact confirmatory of the opinion that islands are far more favourable to the promotion of health than contitents. The inhabitants are never attacked with the fever that yearly ravages the opposite shores; and though their communication with infected places is very extensive, plague has seldom appeared in the island. A British consular agent resides here, though but few English vessels ever touch the island.

We left Kastelorizo on the 6th; and being favoured with a fair wind, we made the eastern point of the island of Cyprus next day, and continued coasting along its undulating shores, under stunsails, till the evening. The weather had improved, and now all was sunshine. Some parts of the scenery here are very beautiful; the ground is pleasingly diversified with hill and dale; and in other places the headlands present a white, chalky appearance, not unlike Dover Cliffs; from between which we obtained occasional glimpses of the distant Mount Olympus. We "brought up" in an open roadstead off the town of Limasol, which is situated upon a low bank of sand, with a surfy beach before it. It has little calculated to interest the visitor, except the minarets of its mosques, that rise into lofty spires covered with tin, and which have a pleasing effect when burnished by the beams of the setting sun. A large plain stretches to the east of the town, and behind it is a range of barren hills, which are by no means picturesque. A quarantine of three days was imposed upon us here, on account of our having touched at Macri; and this rendered our situation very uncomfortable, as there was a heavy swell in the sea, caused by the gale that we encountered off Kalamaki, which had not yet quite subsided. The principal trade of this place is wine, of the fame of which we had heard much; and to procure some of it was one of our reasons for visiting the island. The accounts generally given of this wine are either very much exaggerated, or those who have given these coloured statements must have acquired a vitiated taste that few Englishmen would desire to possess. Mix honey, vinegar, and tar with brandy and water, to the taste of a Cyprian, and you have this much esteemed beverage of

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the Levant; and if you wish to prepare it for Greece, add a certain quantity of resin; or for Spain or Portugal, put in the same quantity of anise-seed. Strength and sweetness are the qualities looked for; and the tarish flavour which it possessed, I found to arise from its being kept in large unglazed earthen jars, which, to prevent filtration, are coated on the outside with tar. There are two kinds of this wine, red and white. It is carried from the country into the port in skins, as at Madeira; but of its mode of preparation the merchants engaged in the trade are totally ignorant, and they generally dispose of it as soon as possible.

We found Limasol to be but a poor place. Its streets are, however, broader than those of most oriental towns. An old castle at the entrance mounts a couple of long brass Venetian guns of the date of 1543. The population is mixed, and consists of Greeks and Mohammadans, who have all (particularly the women) a wan and sickly look, that at once discovers the influence of malaria. There is no place upon, or in the vicinity of, the coast of Asia Minor where fever is so prevalent as this. It continues the entire three months of summer, and we were told that those who may have suffered from it previously are still liable to its repeated attacks. With some it remains, though in a more modified form, during the whole year, so that the place can never be said to be entirely free from its influence; and when I visited the consul, both his wife and child were just recovering from a fit of ague. On my recommending to some of the inhabitants to seek a higher elevation during the time in which the fever is most prevalent, they smiled, shook their heads, and said that they were perfectly aware of the propriety of following my advice, but that they had been accustomed to it from their youth, and, as it seldom caused death, they were unwilling to lose the chance trade, of which they might be deprived by a summer's residence in the mountains. None, even of the better classes, remove from the place, preferring to suffer this intermittent from year to year, to a removal to a more healthful situation during its continuance. The men seemed a slothful race, and the women, as far as we could observe, bore no resemblance to their great progenitrix.

On the 9th we left Cyprus, and sailed for Syria.

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CHAPTER XVII.

SYRIA.

Beyrout—Quarantine—Rise of the Sea—Silk manufactory—Proceed to Jaffa—Lebanon—A Storm—Tyre—Appearance of the Place—Inhabitants—Present condition of Tsour—Comparison of its Ancient Grandeur and Merchandise—Questions proposed for Inquiry—Position of the Peninsula—Water Tower—Whence its Supply—A Remarkable Rock—The Aqueduct—Marshuk—Its Cistern and Water Works—A Threshing Instrument—Discovery of Ancient Tombs—Their Position—Historic Sketch of the Several Cities of Tyre—Its Earliest Mention—Chronology of Sir I. Newton—Palæ Tyrus—Its Antiquity—Siege of Shalmanazer—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Building of Insular Tyre—Besieged by Alexander—Prophetic Fulfilment—Its History up to the Introduction of Christianity—From that to the Crusades—Probable Site of Palæ Tyre—Opinion of the Count de Bertou—Derivation of the word Tyre—Definition of Palæ—Position of Ancient Cities—Sepulchres—Aqueducts—The Modern Town—Its Population—Remains of the Insular City—Rise of the Sea—Harbours—Submerged Ruins—Discovery of the Dye-pots—Fountains of Solomon—Departure from Tyre—Caipha—Proceed to Jaffa.

MARCH 10th.—We arrived at Beyrout, as we understood that vessels would not receive pratique at Jaffa, for which place we were bound. The authorities here finding that we had come from Cyprus, informed us that we could not land on any part of Syria without performing fourteen days' quarantine; but having the privileges usually granted to vessels of war, it was reduced to nine, including our passage, the day of arrival, and that on which the quarantine expired.

The establishment of quarantine laws and regulations is one of the recent reforms effected by the Bâsha of Egypt throughout his dominions, and has been already attended with the most salutary results. At Alexandria a board of health, chiefly composed of the Europeon consuls and medical men, has been some time in operation, and it regulates the amount of quarantine to be performed by vessels in all the other ports under the government of the Bâsha; but at the same time I have reason to believe that it is often made an excuse for gratifying a political hatred, as the different governors at these ports will often inflict a longer quaran-

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tine on ships coming from any port belonging to the Sooltan, even if no disease existed in those places, than on the vessels of any other country. It is, however, on the whole a wise precaution, and the reason assigned in our case I considered a fair one:—that although there may not have been any disease at Cyprus, yet that vessels arriving there from Constantinople, which is seldom without plague, are not placed under sufficient quarantine. We were permitted to proceed toward Jaffa on our parole that we would not touch any of the natives till the expiration of our time—a treaty we were fully as willing to observe as the governor of Beyrout could possibly desire.

Beyrout is a lovely spot, and is now become a place of considerable importance, being the principal seaport of Syria. Our position afforded us a very splendid prospect of Mount Lebanon and the snow-clad heights of Ante-Lebanon, rearing their heads above it in majestic grandeur. The town is embosomed in gardens which were then bursting forth in all the bloom of early spring. Several old castles, remnants of the Crusaders, stand at the landing place; one of them, opposite the Lazaretto, is now completely washed by the sea, and though a dark and gloomy tower it has a pleasing effect. An examination of the ground around this building will show that it once stood upon the mainland; thus affording another proof of the rise of this part of the Mediterranean; or, if the land has sunk (as some have asserted) it must have been very gradual indeed; as had it been produced by an earthquake or a *sudden* submersion of the ground, some traces of its effects would be visible on the doors and windows of this edifice. The greater part of the landing-place is a pile of granite and marble columns, formed into wharfs; and which were probably the remains of the ancient Beritus. Behind these the town rises in terraces, through which peep vines and orange trees; and the surrounding plain is a continuous grove of olives and mulberies, studded with the villas of several of the wealthy residents.

Beyrout offers many inducements to the travelling invalid, or to families desiring to visit Syria; and would, I doubt not, form a pleasant and healthy winter residence for such persons. Its climate is moderate and subject to less change than either Algiers or Alexandria; and the vicinity of mountains affords the means of varying the temperature. There are many European residents here; and there is constant and direct communication with

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England by trading vessels and the government steam-boats, which arrive at Beyrout once a month. With Egypt there is daily communication; Balbeck is but forty miles distant; the interesting country of the Druses is just in its vicinity; and a visit to the cedars of Lebanon forms an entertaining excursion to the tourist; and the cave of St. George a pleasant morning's walk.

The principal export of this place, is silk, and it is very considerable, but though acknowledged to be of a superior quality, none of it finds its way into the English market. The greater part is sent to Marseilles; and although this place is an entrepôt for a large quantity of our manufactures, principally hardware and printed cottons, into Syria, and by Damascus even to Persia, we receive no produce in return; and our vessels, three of which were here at the time of our visit, were going to Alexandria for cotton. All this arises from a trifling circumstance that a few pounds, and a little trouble on the part of our silk manufacturers, could remedy: the winders or reels on which the Syrian silk is wound are smaller than ours, and consequently the hanks do not answer our machinery. How simple the remedy for this!—by sending out machines suited to our factories.

A heavy swell rolls into this open roadstead, so we hove anchor on the evening of the 11th, intending to coast to Jaffa.

There is the appearance of a large population along the shores and hill sides about Beyrout; and several picturesque villages, with their patches of cultivation, mosques, and marabuts, appear among the scattered groves. A light breeze off the land kept us on our course. Presently the moon rose in the most gorgeous splendour; the night was exceedingly mild and calm; and the stillness and strikingly grand scenery of all around was most imposing. The range of Lebanon which runs parallel with the coast for some distance, raised aloft its dark fantastic form, and threw the broken outline of its summits into strong relief, as the orb of night sailed slowly and majestically on her course; now casting the lower hills into shadow, and now glistening on the pearly coronets of snow that cap the topmost peaks. Our vessel seemed to glide almost imperceptibly through the placid waters; and as she rose and fell with the gentle undulations of the subsiding swell, and all was noiseless except the rustle of her cutwater, it required but few touches of the romantic to conjure up the idea

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of a phantom ship, undirected by the hand of man. Even the hardy sailor appeared stricken; forgot his hour of rest, and gazed in silence on the scene, for it was one of those absorbing pictures that by the depth and vigour of their colouring, and the associations connected with their locality, enchant and fix the mind, as by a magic spell, and leave it more tranquil than before. For myself I found it impossible to sleep during the early period of the night, and so remained on deck till near two o'clock in the morning, when we passed Sidon, which has of late years received a kind of minor celebrity, from its being in the vicinity of the residence of that extraordinary and eccentric woman, the late Lady Hester Stanhope.

About four o'clock I was suddenly awoke by a concussion of the vessel, which lay over so much that I was nearly tumbled out of my berth, with a noise of rushing waters, straining spars, flapping ropes, and howling winds on all sides. One of the sudden squalls to which this coast is exposed had commenced, and reached us but a few minutes before, barely giving us time to strip the ship to bare poles and ropes. Studding-sails lay unfurled, and sheets were uncoiled upon the deck, where every soul was now congregated, some almost in a state of nudity, and all in utter consternation at the extraordinary change that had come over the face of nature in so short a time; for now, all was black, black night, sweeping tempest, and boiling surge; I cannot call it waves, for the water was comparatively smooth, so instantaneous was the first burst of storm. So black a sky I never beheld; and could one spot be said to be darker than the rest, it was in the east, to which all eyes were now turned; for every minute this black cloud seemed to open in the centre, and thence shone out a blaze of vivid light that appeared to give us a momentary glimpse into another world, from whose refulgent portals were hurled the sheets of fire that skimmed along the deep, brightening in their transit every nook and cranny of the vessel, and throwing a lurid glare upon the anxious faces of us all. And when this cloud closed, all was darkness as before. Often have I sat and gazed with admiration on the lightning's flash; but here I confess my feelings were those of awe, nay, absolute fear. The thunder was not so loud as I have heard it on land, probably from the absence of echo. For some short time the scene was truly terrific; and when every thing that skill and sea-

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manship could suggest was done, and that each renewed gust of wind sent our bulwarks under the water to a fearful depth; and when our schooner righted but to bound forward without a stitch of canvas through the foaming brine, we had only to let her run and trust to the guiding hand of Him who

> " —— plants his footsteps on the sea,
> And rides upon the storm."

Presently the rain fell in torrents, and pattered like hailstones upon the deck, and about an hour after, the fury of the hurricane abated, and the wind lulled, as if from sheer exhaustion at the effort it had made.

March 12th. The weather cleared somewhat at day-break; but still the effects of the gale left the sea literally white with foam. The motion of the waters was not the regular measured swell of the ocean, but they were tossed and tumbled about as if moved by some hidden force beneath their surface. We endeavoured to continue on to Caipha, but, on passing Tyre, the wind again headed us, and we were obliged to put back and seek shelter within the reef of rocks which runs parallel with the shore, and forms the northern roadstead. The sea broke with great fury over these rocks, the tops of which just appear above the water; and whether placed there by nature or by art, were once the breakwater to the northern harbour of Tyre. The swell, however, though checked, was not arrested by them, but, leaping the barrier, continued on, though in diminished strength, into the basin, where we now rode in comparative security.

Before us lay the present Sour or Tsour upon the peninsula; and, though appearing to exhibit much more of life, and a greater number of houses than we were led by accounts to expect, yet it, as well as every thing around, wore an aspect of dreariness and desolation. The ruins of the old church of Paulinus; some tottering walls towards the shore; a few ancient towers that mark the time of the Crusaders; a white-domed mosque; a few unconnected houses jumbled together on this sea-washed rock; and, rising over all, a couple of waving palms, whose plumy tops seemed to mourn over the surrounding desolation, were the only objects that presented themselves to the traveller, of the once proud, and still celebrated, city of Tyre. The shore is low and sandy, and

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on its edge lay the wreck of a vessel half sunk in the oozing sands—a more appropriate and painful object could not possibly have presented itself, to remind us at once of the splendour and the ruin of all human enterprise. On the distant plain could be distinguished the remains of the ancient aqueduct, as well as several bands of Bedawees, mounted on their camels, slowly pacing onward to the desert. Shortly after our arrival, the British flag was hoisted by our vice-consul from the roof of one of the principal houses, and continued so during our stay.

13th. Although we still continued in quarantine, the governor allowed us to land and examine the ruins, accompanied by a guardian, to see that we did not endanger the health of the city by touching or coming in contact with any of the natives, a surveillance we had not the slightest objection to, and one, we were much more willing to obey than he was to enforce. It was remarkable, that one of the first objects which caught my attention on entering the small boat-harbour, was a large net hung out to dry on one of the adjacent towers, the ruins of which still exist in the remaining portion of the cyclopean wall that surrounds the north side of the town—even at the present day, "the top of a rock—a place to spread nets upon."—Ezk. xxvi. 14. A crowd of the inhabitants were collected at the landing place, and the British consular agent came forward to welcome us and offer his services. He is a Christian of the Latin church, and was dressed in a red striped silk gown or cassock, (the beneesh,) a flowing fur-trimmed cloak with wide sleeves, and a most sumptuous purple turban. The people, who are mostly Greek or Latin Christians, were all dressed *à la Turk*, but much more tastefully than any we had seen since we left Egypt. Their turbans were particularly full and bold looking, and their wide Memlook trowsers, and party-coloured cloaks, gave them an air of respectability, we did not expect to find amidst so much apparent wretchedness.

As an Irishman, I felt no small degree of interest on first touching the motherland, whose colony we claim to be. But when I looked around, and beheld its prostrate columns, its crumbling walls, its deserted cothon, where once the greatest of mercantile navies floated in security; when I saw a heap of wretched houses rising without order or regularity from out the mounds of surrounding ruins—here, perched upon the remains

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of some mouldering tower—there, sunk within the walls of a tottering church; and where the threatening scowl of the swarthy Bedawee frowned on us as we paced through the vacant streets;—I asked myself, was this, indeed, the joyous city, whose antiquity was of ancient days; the mart of nations; the strong city of Tyre; the daughter of Sidon; the sister of Bœotian Thebes; the mother of Carthage, and the correspondent of Egean. Could this be the city which pushed her colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules, even to Gades and the isles of the west; whose merchants were princes; whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth; whose silver was heaped up as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of its streets. Where every precious stone was a covering: the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond; the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper; the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle. Whose ships were constructed of the fir-trees of Senir, the cedars of Lebanon, and the oaks of Bashan; and the benches of which, inlaid with ivory, the company of the Ashurites wrought out of the box-wood of the isles of Chittim; and whose Sidonian mariners, with the sons of Arvad,* and Gebal, spread forth the sail† of the fine linen of Egypt, broidered with purple and scarlet from the isles of Elisha.‡ Whose walls were manned by the Persian; and in whose towers the Gammadians hung the shiled and the helmet, to perfect its beauty, and set forth its comeliness.§ Whose merchandise consisted in silver, iron, tin,‖ lead, and vessels of brass; and whose wares were emeralds,¶ purple, and broidered-work, and fine linen, and agate,

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* An island in the Persian Gulf, sometimes spelled Arpad; it is mentioned in Gen. x. 18. For the extensive intercourse of Tyre, see p. 363.

† Supposed by commentators to mean the flags, or, perhaps, it may mean the awning or covering to the triremes.

‡ Believed to be Elis, or Hellas, a port in Peleponnesus, from whence some of the shells were obtained that formed the celebrated dye.

§ Mr. C. Fellowes, in his interesting work on Asia Minor, informs us, that he discovered at Perge the Greek shield carved as an ornament upon the upper part of the walls, and appearing as if hung from the top. This seems to offer a satisfactory explanation of this passage.

‖ This metal is supposed to have been brought from Cornwall by the ships of Tarshish or Carthage.

¶ Herodotus describes a pillar of emerald situated in the temple of Hercules, which during the night diffused an extraordinary light. Larcher

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and blue cloth, and chests of rich apparel, and the persons of men.* At whose fairs were bartered the horses, and horsemen, and mules of the house of Togarmuth,† with the wine of Heblon, and the white wool of Damascus. Where the merchants of Judah and Israel traded with the wheat of Minnith, with honey, and oil, and balm. Where the gold and spices, and all the precious stones of Shebad, and Barmoth, together with the bright iron, cassia, and calamus of Dan and Javan, were exposed in the markets; and the princes of Kedar and Arabia brought rams, and lambs, and goats; and Dedan purchased the precious cloths for chariots, in exchange for ivory and ebony. A city, whose commercial glory "went forth out of the seas," and did enrich the kings of the earth with its riches and merchandise. —Ezek. chap. xxvii. And whose artificers assisted in raising and

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thinks this was the Psudosmaragdus—others, that it was coloured glass, illuminated by lamps placed within it.

* Slaves—To this may be referred the denunciation against Tyre, on account of selling the Lord's people, as spoken by Joel and Amos: "The children of Jerusalem have been sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from your border."—Joel iii. 6. The Tubal, or Tobel, here mentioned as engaged in this traffic, is understood to be a country north of Armenia, peopled by the sons of Japheth, and was then a Greek colony.

† THE HOUSE OF TOGARMUTH.—We read in the 10th chap. and 3d verse of the Book of Genesis, that Togarmah was the third son of Gomer, who was the eldest of the sons of Japheth, and who is supposed to have peopled Galatia: but Dr. Whiston, the translator of Josephus, who first put forward this opinion, must certainly have erred in calling the Galatians GAULS; for it must refer to the country of those Asiatics to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistle. Josephus, likewise, makes Togarmah, or Thrugramma, the father of the Phrygians, (vol. I. b. i. ch. 6, sec. 1.) Dr. Adam Clarke considers the descendants of Gomer to be the Turcoman tribes; and Calmet and the majority of the learned incline to the opinion that Cappadocia and Armenia were the countries they occupied. From them sprung the Cimbri, or Cimmerians, the most ancient of the Celtic nations, who peopled the greater part of Europe, having spread from their original seat, on the borders of the Euxine Sea. Dr. Wells makes the following judicious remarks upon this geographical subject:—

"The third and last son of Gomer, named by Moses, is Togarmah, whose family was seated in the remaining, and, consequently, in the most easterly part of the nation of Gomer. And this situation of the family of

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adorning the most magnificent temple that ever eye beheld, or hand constructed; a temple worthy of the wisest king, and in which Jehovah condescended to hold personal communication with his creatures.

And why stand I amidst such wretchedness and desolation? "Because, that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha! she is broken that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished now she is laid waste. But the Lord of Hosts hath purposed it to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt the honourable of the earth."

Although not one jot or tittle of a single prophecy contained in the inspired volume has or could have passed away unfulfilled, yet, the doom pronounced against Tyre has been so strikingly and *literally* accomplished, that the attention of the learned has

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Togarmah is agreeable both to sacred and common writers. For, as to sacred Scripture, Ezekiel thus speaks, chap. xxxviii. v. 6: '*Gomer and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands.*' And again, ch. xxvii. v. 14: '*They of the house of Togarmah trade in the fairs,* (i. e. the fairs of Tyre,) *with horses, and horsemen, and mules.*' Now, that the situation we assign to Togarmah does, in a manner, lie true north to Judea, is evident to any one that will view the map; and that Cappadocia, by which name a considerable part of the lot of Togarmah was in process of time known to the Greeks, was very well stocked with an excellent breed of horses and mules, and that the inhabitants were esteemed good horsemen, is attested by several heathen writers, (Solinus of Cappad. Dionysius Perieg. v. 973, et seq. Claudin in Ruffin, lib. ii. Strab. lib, xi.) And, for a further confirmation of the truth of the hypothesis, there are to be found footsteps of the very name of Togarmah in some of those names whereby some of the inhabitants of this tract were known to the old writers. Thus Strabo (lib. xii.) tells us, that the Trocmi dwelt in the confines of Pontus and Cappadocia; and several towns lying on the east of the river Halys, and so in Cappadocia, are assigned to them by Ptolemy. They are by Cicero called Trogmi; and Trocmeni, by Stephanus; and, in the Council of Chalcedon, they are called Trocmades, or Trogmades—there being frequent mention made in that Council of Cyriacus, bishop of the Trogmades. All which names plainly appear to be the same originally, and are, in all likelihood, formed from Togarmah, or, (as the word is usually rendered by the Greek writers,) Torgama; for they retain in them all the radical letters of the name of their progenitor, except the terminative one, if that be a radical."—Wells' Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament, vol. I. pp. 65, 6.

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been more called towards it than to any other place with which we are acquainted. It was a spot I had long and ardently desired to visit—not that I required to become an eye-witness of its state, to convince me of the perfect completion and fulfilment of all the warnings and denunciations uttered against it, but that I hoped to be enabled, by inquiry and examination upon the spot, to arrive at some degree of knowledge as to the precise locality of the original city, and also as to the manufacture of its renowned purple dye, and the real animal from which it was obtained. Historians are undecided as to the exact site of the former; and, although modern naturalists have enumerated several varieties of shells from which a purple colouring matter *may* be extracted, they are not agreed as to the particular one that was used. And although Pliny and others tell us it was a murex, a buccinum, or a purpura, we were till now unable to determine the shell by the descriptions handed down to us.

In this inquiry, I hope I shall be fortunate enough to set the matter at rest, both by the *discovery* of the shells used, and of the very pits or mortars in which the dye was manufactured.

With regard to the topography of ancient, or Palæ Tyrus, I may remark, that many learned disquisitions have been written, and many opinions have been expressed; the contradictions in which, are only to be equalled by the conflicting surmises of travellers. The three or four days I spent here examining the ruins may warrant my offering an opinion on this highly interesting topic, so necessary, not only as a commentary on some of the older historians, but as affording us much light in the study of those prophecies in which Tyre is mentioned.

The situation of Tyre, and of the objects mentioned in the following description of the surrounding country, will be clearly understood by the reader, on referring to the accompanying map, and bearing in mind, that the coast runs almost due north and south.*

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* While examining this place, I made several plans and sketches, with the intention of constructing a map of the topography of the ancient cities. On my return, however, to this country, I found, that an accurate survey of the coast had been made by A. H. Ormsby, Esq., by order of the Admiralty; and through the kindness of my friends, Captain Beaufort, the hydrographer, and Captain Larcom, R. E., I have been furnished with

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The present town, or peninsular Tyre, stands to the west of the general line of the coast, and is connected with the shore by an isthmus of sand. Leaving the town, and proceeding eastward, you arrive at two square towers, about one hundred and fifty yards from the gate; the first of which is built over a well, from which the principal supply of water for the inhabitants is obtained, and to which numerous bands of Arab women, carrying their pitchers on their heads, may be constantly seen passing and repassing. Within is a flight of steps leading to a terrace at the top, from which there is a very extensive view; and underneath there is a khan for the accommodation of those who do not choose to stop in the town, or who may have arrived late at night. This tower is situated on the isthmus, which is now covered, as I have mentioned, with sea-sand; and the water of the well, which is pure and good, cannot rise here, but is, most probably, conducted by some portions of the aqueduct, which still remain pervious, but hidden beneath the sand and rubbish; and this probability is further strengthened, by the fact of the water becoming in the month of September troubled, and of a reddish colour, synchronously with that at the fountains of Solomon at Ras-el-Ain, or the "Head of the Spring." The shore presents, on both sides of the peninsula, unequal concavities; that on the southern being the larger and deeper, and running down to the above-named fountains in the south-east, and with a very heavy surf rolling in upon it. Looking inland from this tower, you see a plain of some miles in extent; its horizon bounded towards the east by the Lebanon range of mountains. On the north stands Sidon; and following with the eye the line of aqueduct, whose broken arches rise at intervals

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the chart, upon whose outline I have transferred my own plans, as well as the recent discoveries of Count de Bertou. I may also take this opportunity of expressing to Captain Larcom my obligation for the facilities and information he has afforded me, in prosecuting this and other subjects of scientific research.

Since the first edition of this work appeared, an accurate military survey of Tyre was made by Lieut. Skyring, R. E., who has kindly corrected some slight errors in the map, and also furnished me with some additional notes, which have been inserted in the text.

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above the sand, a most remarkable object arrests the attention:—a solitary mound, of a white appearance, standing above the plain, and crowned by a mosque, a marabut, and one or two old houses, which being whitewashed, glitter in the sun, and attract the eye almost involuntarily. It is visible from all sides, and may be seen from a great distance, owing to the extreme flatness of the plain; and is instantly remarked by the mariner entering either of the roadsteads of Tyre. "This hill is not fictitious, like those of the desert, but a natural rock, of about 150 feet in circumference, and about 40 or 50 feet in height." Volney, however, who thus notices this rock, has fallen into a slight error, in stating it to be only a quarter of an hour's walk from the village. It is distant from the water-tower on the isthmus, upwards of a mile and a half. It is called by the natives Marshuk, and from the northern aspect exhibits the appearance of the accompanying engraving.

The aqueduct, which is the principal object on the plain, and runs towards the present town from the north-east, has several of its magnificent arches still perfect; it can be seen at a considerable distance at sea, and the water oozing out at breakages, or filtering through the cement, has encrusted them all over with

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stalactites of a peculiar form, which gives them, at a little distance, the appearance of being clothed with some gigantic foliage.

The water was conveyed across the plain on these arches in a trough at the top, lined with cement, and forty-four inches in depth. The arches are not all of the same construction, and are, in all probability, of different dates, as if renewed from time to time. The principal of these are seventeen feet in cord, and the buttresses, eight feet ten inches in breadth, by nine feet three in depth.

Where the sand has encroached, as is the case in some places, the arches are completely obliterated, yet, you can trace the stream-way for a great distance throughout. The aqueduct was evidently repaired at a more recent date, when hydrostatics were better understood. A perfectly water-tight tube of crockery-ware, formed of pieces about two feet long, accurately fitted and cemented into each other, is found connecting the broken parts of the aqueduct, or, in some places, laid in the stream-way. Captains Irby and Mangles noticed a similar form of aqueduct connecting the ancient water-course through the city of Petra. The aqueduct runs nearly in a straight line to the north-east, till it arrives at the rock already mentioned. This rock, which is about one mile from the nearest point of the sea, is of whitish limestone, sloping towards the north-east, and inaccessible on the south. On the north side are the remains of steps leading to the top, cut in the solid rock, similar to those in the prophylea leading to the Parthenon at Athens; and from this part is obtained a most commanding prospect of the sea, and of the surrounding country for a vast distance. At its foot, on the S. and S. E. sides, are the remains of large cisterns or reservoirs, where the aqueduct commences that runs towards the present town; and to this spot the aqueduct was brought in as straight a line as the position of the ground would admit, from the cisterns of Solomon, which lie to the southward.

This water-course, after arriving at the rock, was conducted round a third part of its base in a conduit *cut through the solid rock*—partly bored into a tunnel, and partly roofed over with immense blocks of stone. On getting into this tunnel, I found that it enlarged considerably, and became much deeper than the channel of the aqueduct. It contained a considerable quantity of good and pure water, which supplied the people living in the mosque and

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in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable, that although it is never known to be dry, there is now no apparent communication between it and the fountains through the remaining aqueduct; and it has all the appearance of being a *well* sunk in the place. It is, on the whole, evident, that this was the main water-work. From the north-western side of this cistern runs another aqueduct of a smaller size, and of a seemingly modern construction—I should think not more than a few centuries old, if it be even so much. It is supported on rudely formed arches, and extends about half a mile, when it becomes lost to the view. It appeared to us, that it had been formed merely for the purpose of irrigation. In the immediate vicinity of the rock are the remains of a mill, which was probably turned by the water of the aqueduct in later days; and here also we found the tops or opercula of three large sarcophagi, of a pattern exactly similar to those huge flat stones placed over the vaults at Telmessus, being raised into a ridge in the centre, and having knobs at the corners.

In a vault, which is used as a granary, I saw a most primitive and curious machine, consisting of a large flat block of wood, three feet by four; the under side of this was pierced with holes, in which were inserted a number of flints that projected about an inch beyond the surface. This is the threshing instrument mentioned by Isaiah (xli. 15); and the tribulum of Virgil, (Geor. i. 164.)

Inland, towards the east, the plain becomes more fertile, and was, at the time of our visit, covered with green corn, doura, vetches, and small clumps of trees, together with large bee preserves, similar to those used in Asia Minor. In wandering about here, one of our party picked up the headless bust of a female, executed in white marble, which from the dress appeared to be Grecian.

The high road to Sidon passes by this rock; and pursuing it northward for about half a mile, we came to a low range of hills which terminated the plain in this direction. These ascend gradually to the more elevated heights of Lebanon. In the sides of these hills I found an extensive series of catacombs, cut in the face of the white sandstone rock of which they are composed; and which, from their colour, cause them to be distinguished at some distance on the plain. The ground about these catacombs is much broken, and is now covered with a plantation of fig-trees.

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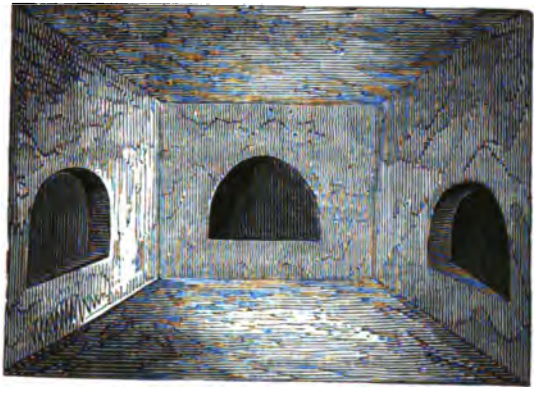
The moment I entered the first of these tombs—that exhibited in the accompanying engraving—I was struck not only with the



resemblance, but the exact similarity it bore to the Egyptian catacombs, especially to those of Sackara and Alexandria. Like them, it had a low, square doorway, opening into a chamber, about fifteen feet square, containing three horizontal sarcophagi, or places for bodies, one on each side; the doorway or entrance filled up the fourth side; and the whole was carved out of the solid rock, which, like that of Egypt, is soft and easily excavated. In another place we found a large circular aperture in the ground, which had around it the entrances to eight tombs. In a third place was an immense deep excavation in the rocks, which we approached by a winding descent. This is nearly as large an excavation as that on Mount Pentillicus, and may, like it, have been originally a quarry for the old city; but in the sides of it are the obvious remains of several tiers of sarcophagi. With few exceptions, the doors of all the tombs look toward the rock of Marshuk. Their similarity to the Egyptian, Grecian, and Irish, I shall have occasion to notice hereafter. I had, however, but little time to examine them in detail. They are, doubtless, of great extent, and just in the spot that we would expect to find the burial-place of a city—the side of a neighbouring hill. Porcupines in great numbers have taken possession of many of these excavations, throwing up large piles of rubbish about their mouths, which, as well as their being choked with weeds and brambles, together with the lowness of the apertures, served at first to conceal them from our

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view. No traveller that I am aware of has described these chambers, though they are well worthy of observation, not only as giving an explanation of the mode of burial practised by the Tyrians, but as helping to fix the site of original Tyre; and of considerable moment in showing the intimate connexion of its inhabitants with the Egyptians. The people here seemed to know nothing about them; but their vicinity to this mosque, the appearance of the rocks, and their being on the side of the road leading to Sidon, will point out their site to future explorers.

In order to explain more fully the topography of the different cities possessed by the Phœnicians near this spot, and denominated Tyre, a brief historical sketch of that people may be found useful, as the antiquity of Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia, has more than once been called in question.

Sidon, its mother, and afterwards its contemporary city, is spoken of in Genesis, (xliii. 13. B. C. 1689.) Although not mentioned by name, it seems to me that Tyre is implied through the medium of its manufactures, (by a figure of prosopopœia, if I may be allowed to use the expression,) as early as when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness; for we will find that the roots of the words used in Exodus to express the blue, purple, azure, and scarlet, the gifts that the Hebrews brought according to God's commandment, to decorate the tabernacle, show us that they were the produce of Tyre, a city from the earliest account of it inin timate commercial intercourse with Egypt; and these were, in all probability, part of the wares of which the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians.

The intercourse between Egypt and Tyre was no doubt great, as we are told it should be sorely pained at its downfall; and although it may be said that the Hebrews, being in bondage, were not able to get these things, it was of such the Egyptians were spoiled. Her connexion with the Egyptians was also very great in the time of Isaiah, when he says, "the seed of Sihor is her revenue." (Isa. xxiii. 35.) This seed was the corn from the Nile, which was called Si-hor from *shachar*, (to become black,) which it does, to a certain extent, during the inundation, when charged with the fertilizing mud.

Justin informs us that the Sidonians, being besieged by the king of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. Thus it was the "daughter of Sidon;" and to this Isaiah may have referred when

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he says, the merchants of Sidon who pass over the sea replenished it. This must have occurred about two centuries and a half before the building of Solomon's temple, if the letter of Hiram to the king of Israel, as related by Josephus, may be depended on, (Antiq. ch. ii. sec. 9.) But it is remarkable, that in the text of the Jewish historian, a passage occurs to which no allusion is made in either the book of Kings or Chronicles:—it is the concluding paragraph of Hiram's answer to Solomon—"But do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, *because we inhabit in an island*;" and the same circumstance is repeated in ch. v. sec. 3, of the same work. Now, it is well established, that Hiram was king of continental, not insular Tyre, and therefore I agree with Professor Whiston, that this is a "conjectural paraphrase" of Josephus.

Strabo tells us that, after Sidon, Tyre was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; he also remarks, that Sidon was more celebrated by the poets, and that Homer has not once mentioned Tyre. The fact of its not being mentioned by the great poet who is supposed to have been contemporaneous with Joshua, or the Judges, and to have flourished 1200 years before Christ, has been often repeated by those who dispute the antiquity of Tyre. But this is a mere negative proof; and there were no doubt many other cities of Phœnicia of great note in his day that he does not so much as name. Besides, being but a Sidonian colony, distant only a few miles, having the same arts, the same trade, and the same language, he would naturally include it with the mother city. And Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of David's message to Hiram, "for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians;" says, that "the new inhabitants of Tyre had not lost the name of Sidonians, nor had the old inhabitants, if there were any considerable number of them, gained the reputation of the new ones." "The Sidonians being still possessed of the trade of the Mediterranean, as far westward as Greece and Lybia; and the trade of the Red Sea being richer, the Tyrians traded on the Red Sea in conjunction with Solomon and the kings of Judah till after the Trojan war; and so also did the merchants of Aradus, Arvad, or Arpad; for in the Persian Gulf (Strabo i. 16) were two islands called Tyre and Aradus, which had temples like the Phœnician; and therefore the Tyrians and Aradians

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sailed thither, and beyond, to the coasts of India, while the Sidonians frequented the Mediterranean; and hence it is that Homer celebrates Sidon, and makes no mention of Tyre. But at length, (2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10, and 2 Kings, viii. 20, 22,) in the reign of Jehoram, king of Judah, Edom revolted from the dominion of Judah, and made itself a king; and the trade of Judah and Tyre upon the Red Sea being thereby interrupted, the Tyrians built ships for merchandise upon the Mediterranean, and began there to make long voyages to places not yet frequented by the Sidonians; some of them going to the coasts of Afric, beyond the Syrtes, and building Adrymetum, Carthage, Leptis, Utica, and Capsa; and others going to the coast of Spain, and building Carteia, Gades, and Tartessus, and others going further, to the Fortunate Isles, and to Britain, and Thule."—*Sir I. Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 107.

This great chronologist dates the erection of this colony during the reign of David, (B. C. 1048,) who having conquered and dispersed the Edomites, some of them fled to the Mediterranean coast, fortified Azoth, and took Sidon; and the Sidonians who fled built Tyre, and made Abibalus king. "These Edomites carry to all places their arts and sciences, amongst which were their navigation, astronomy, and letters; for in Idumea they had constellations and letters before the days of Job, who mentions them; and there Moses learnt to write the law in a book." Yet one would hardly expect a city to have arisen to the eminence, wealth, and splendour that it did in the days of David, if only commenced during his reign. And this is further shown by its being spoken of in Joshua, as the "strong city Tzor," lying between great Sidon and Achzib, the present town of Zib.

Thus it was included in the fifth lot, that was portioned to Asher; the most northern part of the land, bounded by Issachar on the S. E., Manasseh on the S., and Naphtali on the E. From this we learn that the Jews had never complete possession of the *whole* promised land. The promise was made to Abraham; Joshua surveyed and measured out the land; but it remains for the Great Restorer of Israel to put them in possession of the inheritance promised in Sichem.

Quintus Curtius writes, that "it had been built by Angenor, and long held the trident, not only of the neighbouring sea, but of all the seas on which its fleets appeared. If we credit tradition,

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the Tyrians were the first people that taught or acquired alphabetical writing;" and speaking of their numerous colonies, he adds, "I believe that, unrestrained in their naval enterprises, and exploring countries unknown to the rest of mankind, the Tyrians selected these remote seats for their youths, when the population had multiplied to excess; or (for this allegation has been transmitted to us) because their native country was subject to earthquakes."—*Quintus Curtius Rufus*, B. iv. cap. iv.

We must now bear in mind that there were two cities of this name, both of which are mentioned in profane as well as sacred history; and in reading the prophecies we must carefully distinguish one from the other. Sometimes Palæ Tyrus, or the original city built by the Sidonians, and situated on the continent, is the one alluded to, particularly where it is represented as besieged with horses, and chariots, and forts, and engines of war. This was the city taken by the Chaldeans; in the prophecies concerning which Insular Tyre is never included, although it seems to have been co-existent with the other, at least at the time of its invasion; but under the form of a *port, haven*, or *marina*, in like manner as the Piræus was connected with ancient Athens, or as harbours are with several modern cities. In one or two instances it would appear that both cities were included in the denunciation; but Insular Tyre is particularly specified as an island situated *in the midst of the sea*. This latter is that which occupied the site of the present Peninsular Tyre, the former being some distance inland.

The authority of Josephus on points of chronology is so dubious, that he cannot be looked to for an accurate opinion, especially as he mixes up the dates and histories of the two cities. According to him, Tyre was built 1265, B. C.

Herodotus, who flourished 413 B. C., states, that he was informed by the priests that the temple of Hercules* was in

* The discussion as to the origin of the Tyrian Hercules, who was, no doubt, the first who bore that name, would be out of place in a narrative such as this; but I cannot help remarking on the singularity of the circumstance, that Ashtaroth, Astarte, or the Syrian Venus, whose worship is supposed to have been in use at Tyre, is the only person to whom the title of "Queen of Heaven" is applied in the whole of the Scriptures.—See Jeremiah xliv. 17; Baruch iv. 43; Herodotus, Clio, cxcix.; also Drummond's Origines, vol. iii. p. 228. It is curious, that the scallop shell, assumed as the badge of the palmer and the ancient pilgrim, was the emblem of this heathen goddess.

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existence since the time of the first building of the city, (*i.e.* Palæ Tyrus,) 2300 years before;—or A.M. 1290, and B.C. 2710. But the Tyrians would naturally be inclined to add to the antiquity of their city; and to this the prophet may refer when he says ironically—"Is this your joyous city, whose *antiquity* is of ancient days?"

Bishop Newton quotes from the fragments of Santhoniathon, the Phœnician historian, as to its antiquity; and this writer is supposed by Bochart and others to have flourished in the time of Gideon, or 1256, B. C.

The next record of Tyre occurs in 2 Samuel, where we are informed, that after David expelled the Jebusites, and established himself in the fortress of Zion, "Hiram, king of Tyre, sent messengers to David, and cedar-trees, and carpenters, and masons (or as it is in the original, hewers of the stone of the wall), and they built David an house." (2 Sam. v. 11.) This is supposed to have taken place, A.M. 2952, B.C. 1048, or after the departure from Egypt, 443 years, and 272 before the first Olympiad. It is mentioned when David numbered the people under the name of the "stronghold (or fortress) of Tyre." During the early part of its history, its inhabitants appear to have maintained most friendly intercourse with the Jews, and it was not one of the cities attacked, when Joshua led victorious Israel over the Jordan. In the year 1004, B.C., Tyre is again introduced to our notice, when Solomon enters into a league with their king Hiram,* to furnish workmen to beautify the temple.

The first siege of Palæ Tyrus on record, is that in which Shalmanazar, king of Assyria, warred against the Tyrians with a fleet of sixty ships and eight hundred rowers; yet the Tyrian navy, then consisting of only twelve ships, obtained the victory, and made 500 men prisoners, on which Shalmanazar returned home to Nineveh, leaving a *land* force before Tyre, (evidently the *continental* city,) where they lay five years, and then raised the siege. This is supposed to have taken place B. C. 717, during the reign of Hezekiah, and in the lifetime of Isaiah, who prophesied that it should be taken, not, however, by the army then before it, but by

* Hiram, a patronymic name, appears to have been the general title for the kings of Tyre, similar to that of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies of Egypt.

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the Chaldeans. This prophecy, which was repeated in still more awful terms by Ezekiel, was fulfilled by Nebuchadnezzar. It is related by Menander, who translated the Tyrian archives into the Greek language, that the Assyrian king placed guards over the rivers and aqueducts, to prevent the Tyrians drawing water; but "still the Tyrians sustained the siege, and drank of the water which they had out of the wells they dug"—in all probability, the present wells or cisterns at Marshuk.*

It is mentioned by Jeremiah (xxvii. 3, 6) and by Amos (i. 9, 10) among the cities that should fall before the Chaldean conqueror. He besieged it in the reign of Ithobal, set engines against it, broke down its towers, and took it, after a siege of thirteen years; fifteen years after the captivity, and B. C. 573. When the Tyrians saw no hope from resistance, they fled with all their wealth, according to St. Jerome—on the authority of a Syrian historian whose works have been lost—to the islands; some say to Carthage, but it is generally supposed that they took refuge on the neighbouring island, which other writers affirm was then first built upon; but Vitringa proves that it existed as a *port* even at that time.

How beautifully the inspired poet describes the scenes that were to occur, and we know did take place upon the overthrow of this great seaport of the Levant, when the cry of the pilots rung through the suburbs, and the mariners that stood upon the shore wept in bitterness of soul over the destruction of the hearths and homes of their beloved city.

Nebuchadnezzar sacked the city, but was disappointed in the spoils he expected to gain, as the inhabitants carried all their valuable effects to the island previous to abandoning the city; however, in his subsequent conquest of Egypt he obtained a recompense for the disappointment he experienced at Tyre. Thus ended Palæ, or Old, or Continental Tyre; but it was still considered part of the city of Tyre, and Herodotus speaks of it as continuing to possess the temple of Hercules, though it must have been regarded as of little importance, from the Tyrians allowing the Grecian soldiers to go and worship there.

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* Dr. Robinson, in his "Biblical researches in Palestine," appears to have fallen into the common error of supposing that at this period the chief city was upon the island.—See vol. III. p. 402.

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This Tyre never attained its former splendour or greatness, but continued to decline, till at length the prophetic declarations concerning its destruction were fully accomplished. "They shall break down the walls of Tyrus, and destroy her towers." "I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her *like the top of a rock.*"* "*Thou shalt be built no more;* though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again." "Thou shall be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more." And again, "They shall lay thy stones, and thy timbers, and thy dust, *in the midst of the waters.*"

We shall see that all these prophecies have been fulfilled to the very letter.

After the days of Nebuchadnezzar it was forgotten or neglected seventy years, or during the remainder of the Babylonian empire, when it was prophesied by Isaiah that she should "turn to her hire;" accordingly, at the end of seventy years, the Persians, under Cyrus, subverted the Babylonian dynasty, and restored the nations it held in bondage, to liberty. This brings us down to 503 years B. C. and the nineteenth year of Darius Hystaspes, who granted the Tyrians many immunities, in return for the assistance they rendered him in quelling the Ionians. They afterwards aided Xerxes with ships and other necessaries, in his expedition to Greece; and the prophet Zechariah says, that "Tyrus did build herself a stroughold," by which is meant the fortifications on the island, which must have been erected, according to the time in which this prophet wrote, about 518 years before Christ, and 55 years after the destruction of Palæ Tyrus.

The Tyrians, we have stated, fled to their island when Nebuchadnezzar took their former city. This island was distant, according to Pliny, 700 paces from the shore, and upon it the second city rose to considerable note and grandeur, situated "in the midst of the sea."

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* The word dust here, Archbishop Newcombe translates earth, and refers it "to the custom in Palestine of fertilizing particular spots, by carrying mould to them from other places less eligible for the purpose of sowing or planting—the top—the bare, *shining* surface of a rock." This learned authority, however, falls into the usual mistake of making Old Tyre situated on the peninsula.

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Alexander, on his return from Babylon, passed through Judea, and was invited by the Sidonians to visit them, as, from their impoverished state at that time, they desired but an opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Persian bondage, under which they had remained since the Chaldean captivity, by flinging themselves into the arms of the conqueror. It is related of Alexander, that when he entered the temple of Jerusalem "he here inspected those sacred books in which were several prophecies to this effect—that Tyre should be destroyed by the Macedonians, and that Persia should be overcome by a Greek;" no doubt the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Zechariah. "Syria subdued," says his historian, "the Macedonians had dominion over all Phœnicia, excepting Tyre." His track lay along the coast, and on arriving opposite that city, friendly messengers were sent to greet him; but, on his demanding admission, that he might sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, whose shrine isted exthere, they, with that prudence for which they were famed, peremptorily refused his demand, but directed him to the temple still standing in the old city in the place called Palæ Tyrus. An answer such as this would but ill suit the temper of the haughty Macedonian, who resolved to take their city, and punish them for their refusal; but having no navy with him, he constructed a causeway, two hundred feet broad, between the mainland and the island, with the stones and rubbish of the old city, and finished it in seven months. How beautifully and literally the prophecy was here fulfilled, when the very stones and timbers of the former city were used in the destruction of the island fortress, to which the inhabitants had retreated, and which they considered impregnable.* Pending the siege, the Grecian fleet arrived from Cyprus;—may not this have been a fulfilment of one of Balaam's predictions, "ships shall come from Chittim

* It is related, that when Alexander destroyed the city, he built a castle two miles south of Tyre upon the shore, and called it Sandalum; and it is so placed upon all the imaginary or home-constructed maps of Tyre. I found, however, a mound near the fountains of Solomon, marked in the map Tal-Habish, on which are some ancient remains, which I conceive to be those of Alexander's castle, with the account of which they correspond in site and distance.

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(Cyprus), and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever?" (Numbers xxiv. 24;) if not, we have no record of its fulfilment. Alexander subdued the city, (B. C. 332,) killing 8,000 men in the attack, and crucifying 2,000 more after it had been taken, and afterwards sold 30,000 of the Tyrians as slaves. The remaining portion of the inhabitants, about 15,000 persons in number, were secretly conveyed away by the Sidonians; and Diodorus Siculus and others inform us, that their wives and children had been previously sent to Carthage. The city was finally set on fire by the victorious troops of Alexander.

How truly do we see fulfilled in the destruction of Tyre, those predictions which had been declared in the sure word of prophecy concerning it—"The Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the *sea*, and she shall be devoured with *fire*." Well might it be said—"Howl, ye inhabitants of the isle; arise, pass over to Chittim; pass ye over to Tarshish, for thou shalt have no rest." "What city is like Tyrus, the Destroyed in the *midst of the sea?*" And again, in reference to those sold into slavery, "Behold, I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and daughters." All these predictions were fulfilled, still Tyre was not totally destroyed, for we read of Alexander appointing a king over it. The island now became a peninsula; and about thirty years after this period, Antigonus again blockaded it, and, after fifteen months' siege, compelled it to receive a Grecian garrison. Afterwards, one of the Ptolemies invested and took it; and finally it fell into the hands of the Selucides, kings of Syria, until, along with that country, it came under the Roman yoke, when, says Quintius Curtius, (probably 130, B. C.) "And *now*, a long peace making all its concerns flourish anew, it enjoys serenity under the mild protection of Rome."

After this we hear little of it till the time of Christ, when many of the coast of Tyre and Sidon came to be taught of the Lord, partly accomplishing that prediction of the royal psalmist, who said that the daughter of Sidon should be there with her gifts. And in the days of Pliny, he says, that "all the glory and reputation thereof standeth upon the die of purple and crimson"—a trade which it carried on at the time of our Lord, when a Syro-Phœnician woman is represented as a seller of purple.

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Some years afterwards we find a community of Christians established in Tyre, whom Paul visited on his return from Macedonia; and in the early ages of Christianity a considerable church existed there; and Isaiah's prediction, that it should return to the knowledge of the Lord, was in some respects verified. Shortly afterwards it became a Christian bishopric, for we read that Cassius, bishop of Tyre, attended the council of Cæsarea about the year of our Lord 200; and in the fourth century St. Jerome mentions Tyre as the most commercial, the noblest, and most splendid of the cities of Phœnicia. In the seventh century it was taken by the Saracens; and retaken in the twelfth by the Crusaders, some remains of whose works are still to be seen. Upon a Latin kingdom being established in Syria, it became the see of an archbishop, the first of whom was William of Tyre, the well-known chronicler of the Crusades. After this, the Venetians became the chief proprietors of Tyre, and in all probability derived their knowledge of the manufacture of glass from it. In 1289, it was again taken by the Memlooks under Alphix, who sacked and still further destroyed it. It passed from the sway of these conquerors, and came under that of the Turks in the year 1516; and in the remainder of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, it is described as a complete ruin. It is mentioned by some of the earliest modern writers in the seventeenth century, Cotovius, Maundrell, Sandys, and Pococke, and even before their time by the Jesuit, Hadreanus Parvillerius, as a Babel of broken walls—the habitation of a few fishermen—and a wall whereon the fisher dries his net.

In 1766, the Metoualies repaired it, but it suffered in common with all the minor cities of this country, under the desolating reign of the Báshas; and some years ago, it was again almost uninhabited. What little remained of its antiquities was removed by Dejezzar Básha, to decorate his famous mosque at Acre. We have thus seen, that it has had no rest not only for itself but for its colonies, which, in Europe, and Africa, in Spain, and other places, seem still to be pursued to the distant parts of the earth. Since its capture in 1825 by Ibrahim Básha, it has risen again, and will, in all probability, become the seaport of Syria, as in days of old, when it occupied a similar position, most probably, to Palmyra. There are no prophetic denunciations, of

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which we are aware, that would prevent *its* revival, although such marked ones exist against Palæ Tyrus; and Ibrahim Bâsha is now (1838) repairing the wall and renewing the gates upon the land side.

Thus have we seen, through a period of upwards of 4000 years, prophecy after prophecy respecting Tyre fulfilled—all, except its final restoration, according to the original promise, to the seed of Abraham.

Where stood Palæ Tyrus is a question that has been long asked, but never satisfactorily answered. While at Jerusalem, I became acquainted with Count Jules de Bertou, to whom I stated my conjecture as to the rock of Marshuk. He afterwards visited the place, and has published in the Journal of the Geographical Society of London, many interesting particulars concerning its topography and present state. In this statement, he agrees with the opinion I have advanced on this subject, without, however, offering any proof for Marshuk being the site of ancient Tyre.

This hill, so remarkable an object in the landscape, did not escape the observant eye of Pococke; for, speaking of the aqueduct from Ras-el-Ain, he says, "It takes its course in a different direction, but mostly northward, to a small hill called Smashook," (evidently a corruption of Marshuk,) "on which there is a house and a mosque. This, by some, has been thought to be old Tyre; which," he adds, "is improbable on many accounts, but more particularly, as it is a league from the sea." This renowned traveller has here fallen into an error as to distance, that could even then have been corrected by a reference to Strabo or Pliny; but we learn from this passage, that at an early date some notion existed regarding the real site of Palæ Tyrus; and the confirmation of an old opinion will, I feel, with many, have a greater weight than the endeavour to establish a new. In 1616, Sandys says, "We came to a village seated on a little hill in the midst of a plain; the same by all likelihood that was formerly called *Palætyrus*, or old *Tyrus*. Now, through this town there passes a ruinous aqueduct, extending a great way toward the south, and through the champaign, seeming oft to climb above this beginning, and from thence proceedeth directly west unto *Tyrus*, which standeth about two miles and a half below it."

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My own conviction is, that this rock of Marshuk, which I have already described as crowned by the mosque, and represented at page 358, was the citadel or acropolis of ancient Tyre. I have been led to adopt this opinion from the derivation of the word—its name of Palæ Tyrus—its position—its vicinity to the tombs—and the direction taken by its aqueducts.

Although many conjectures have been set forth, and opinions offered, on the derivation of the word "Tyre," its true meaning is still involved in obscurity. Proper names have in every language a significant etymology, and in none more so than in the Hebrew, where not only words but letters have various and mystical meanings. Hebrew, if it was not the language of Phœnicia, (as is most probable,) is, at all events, the oldest written language that bears upon the subject. The original word was צרר, Tsarar, hence צר, Tsar, or Tzor, a rock; but צר, or צחר, also signifies *white* or *glistening;* and in the first mention of Tyre it is spoken of as מבצר צר, Mibtsar Tzor, translated by the Septuagint, "The fortified city of the Tyrians," and by the Vulgate, "The well-fortified city Tyre." But, without supposing this to be the site of ancient Tyre, (as I believe it was,) were we to visit it, even now, and not be aware of its name, we should feel disposed to call the place WHITE ROCK, for precisely the same reason that other places are called "Black Rock," "White Cape," "Blue Mountain," &c.

The words, as first used, (מבצר צר, Mibtsar Tzor,) may mean a fortified rock; but as the place had a name *before* it was fortified, we may almost conclude that its primary name was צחר צר, or *white rock*, a name which afterwards glided into מבצר צר, towards which there would be a natural tendency in the sounds, and also by the change in the place itself.

The learned Doctor Adam Clarke gives a correct opinion as to the word Tsor, which signifies a rock; but he falls into the error common to many commentators, in making it referable to Island Tyre, a place which had attracted no notice at the time the Sidonian colony settled on *this rock*, from which the insular rock is distant nearly a mile and a half. Others have confounded it with the present Arabic name of Sour, which signifies an island; while again, Scott and some other commentators have translated it, merchandise. Dr. Shaw gives to it a double etymology, as צר Tsor,

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a rock, and also *a purple fish*, taking his derivation as the origin of the Greek Τυρος, or the Latin, *Sar* or *Sarra*.

Volney states, that in the present name Sour, we with difficulty recognise that of Tyre; and then remarks, "but if we recollect that the Y was formerly pronounced OU, and observe, that the Latins have substituted T for the Θ of the Greeks, and that Θ has the sound of the English TH in the word *think*, we shall be less surprised at the alteration." It will be seen, that the two last letters in מבצר, (Mibtsar,) are those used to express both *white* and *rock* as well as the proper name צר, Tsor, itself, so that we may translate it *The white fortified rock*. This evidently became a proper name similar to our own Cashel,—the rock,—and of which a thousand instances could be collected in every country. It may be added, that in the rock of Marshuk, now crowned by the mosque, we have exemplified all the significations that have been enumerated.

The name of *Palæ*, which has been generally applied to *Old* Tyre, means also *a well;* and the "Tyrus of the Well" is probably that mentioned by Josephus, who tells us, as I mentioned at page 367, on the authority of Menander, that in the days of Eululæus, king of Tyre, Shalmanazar, king of Assyria, besieged Tyre for five years; and on returning to Nineveh, left a part of his army near the rivulets and aqueduct, (perhaps the fountains at Ras-el-Ain,) to cut off the supply of water; and that then "the Tyrians had no other water but what they procured from the *wells* which they dug;"—in all likelihood, those which I described as still to be found on the south-eastern side of the rock of Marshuk.

It seems strange, that Volney, who appears to know that this well was in the ancient city, should have placed Palæ Tyrus at the fountains; for he says that, "in order to secure the aqueduct, it was necessary that a number of inhabitants should settle there, and hence the origin of Palæ Tyrus."

With regard to its position, Strabo informs us that it was distant thirty stadia, or about three miles, from Insular Tyre; this can only mean from the extreme end of both cities. Pliny says, that the compass of the two was nineteen miles, provided we include the old city—the very town itself taking up twenty-two stadia. Both those authorities wrote in the second century, five hundred

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years after Alexander completely obliterated the ruins of the city they allude to, in order to form the famous mole, so often spoken of in the Scriptures; and the city then existing must, therefore, have been Peninsular Tyre. This rock is rather more than a mile and a half from the present village; and if we include the peninsula, and the city that once surrounded the rock, it will be nearly four miles from the point of the island; and as its ruins probably reached to the new city, the statement of Pliny will not appear to be greatly exaggerated. And were I allowed to offer a conjecture, I would add, that on this rock stood the famous temple of Hercules mentioned by Herodotus, and to which Alexander was recommended by the Tyrian ambassadors.

Several proofs from analogy might be cited, that rocks of this description were chosen as the nuclei around which cities were built, from their affording a citadel or place of strength to the inhabitants, under shadow of which they could sit down in safety when the city was attacked, or on which, in time of peace, they could erect temples to their gods. Such natural citadels we see in Mount Sion, the Capitol at Rome, the Acropolis of Athens and of Corinth, and also that at Argos, at Mycenæ, at Cairo, and even at Jaffa. The rock that I have described, was the only one on this plain whereon a citadel, which term exactly expresses its name, could be erected.

In confirmation of this view, we have also another proof from prophecy, where it says, that "Tyre shall be *utterly* destroyed and *never* rebuilt." This must, surely, apply to the continental city, as that on the peninsula has been *often* rebuilt, and still partly exists; while, not a single vestige of the original city remains, or can be discovered by the traveller. We can only conjecture its probable *site*, and see that the prophetic predictions have been fully verified, for it has, indeed, become like to "the top of a rock." The expression of "never found again," will not at all interfere with, or invalidate any attempt to fix its probable *position:* for, perhaps, of no city that history records, has there been so complete an obliteration as that of ancient or Palæ Tyre—the sand now covering the greater part of where it stood. It is remarkable, how frequently this material has been used for thus wiping out cities from the face of the earth;—Babylon, Thebes, Memphis, Luxor, Carthage, ancient Alexandria, Jericho, Balbec, and Palmyra, have been all more or less invaded

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by this destroying agent, which though slower than the flame or the torrent, is not the less sure and fatal.

The probable site of Palæ Tyrus may also be ascertained from its vicinity to the tombs. Perhaps no one object serves more accurately to mark the site of an ancient city than its tombs. By them alone we could determine the topography of ancient Jerusalem, even if no modern city pointed out the spot. So, likewise, in the cities of Egypt; and at Telmessus, as well as at Latakia (the ancient Laodicea), scarcely any thing else remains but the tombs to mark their sites. The sepulchral chambers were placed just outside these cities; and the peculiar construction of those I have described at page 361, as existing near Tyre, show the early date at which they were formed; while their situation determines the probable site of the old city, which, in all likelihood, extended thus far.

Another means for determining the site of an ancient city is, the direction of its aqueducts. The fountains of Ras-el-Ain are now, as no doubt they originally were, the principal, if not the only supply of water to Tyre. But, if the original city was situated either at these fountains or on the island, there would be no occasion to conduct the water in an aqueduct to this solitary rock, where it either ended, or was continued as far as the three great arches that rise up in the midst of the plain between it and the peninsula. I am inclined to think, that after Palæ Tyrus was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, instead of conducting the water to the port by a new aqueduct, the Tyrians merely extended the former one from the rock where we see it, forming something more than a right angle with that which conveyed the water to the peninsular city.

It is to be regretted, that more has not been done to explore the site of this great city, although other places of less note and less interest have been made objects of untiring research; and yet when we come to examine into its history, we find it more frequently referred to in sacred and profane history than any city of like antiquity.

Volney, in his description of ancient Tyre, has mixed up the different cities; yet he rightly conjectured that "its original situation must have been on this rock," which remains in the same state in which he visited it in 1783 — still "a terror and a desolation." With the exception of Volney, traveller after

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traveller have in modern times visited this spot, and like the priest and the Levite, came, looked on it, and passed by on the other side, without making any effort to explore its site or ascertain its topography, until the Count de Bertou, in his late visit, devoted some attention to the subject, and, as I have said before, published an interesting account of his investigations; but these were chiefly with regard to the insular city.

The present town is situated entirely on the peninsula, of which it occupies about a third part. The houses are all built of gray sand-stone, and are flat-roofed; they are surrounded by courts, and are much scattered. Opposite the landing-place on the north side, and about one hundred yards from the shore, are some portions of the ancient town wall, now surrounded by the sea; they are of immense thickness and Cyclopean architecture, and marked on the map, "Ancient Wall." Within these is a pool of water about three feet in depth, which has generally been mistaken for part of the ancient cothon or harbour, but it is a portion of the town, over which, in my opinion, the sea has encroached. Some old castles and several rows of Gothic arches mark the days of the Crusaders; these require to be distinguished from the ancient city on whose ruins they stand, and above which they are raised about six or eight feet.

Towards the south-eastern angle are the remains of a large Christian church, the east front forming three semicircles, flanked by towers with winding staircases leading to the top of each. As it was built when this country was the seat of religious warfare, it is probable it was thus constructed as well for a place of defence as of worship. In the immediate vicinity of this church are three of the largest granite pillars I have ever seen in any country but Egypt. I think they must have been brought from that country, as no such material occurs in the neighbourhood of Tyre. Maundrell supposed this church to be the cathedral of Tyre erected by Paulinus, and asks, whether it may not be the identical one in which Eusebius preached his remarkable consecration sermon. The present inhabitants, who are mostly Christians, amount in number to about fifteen hundred.

Ibrahim Básha commenced the erection of a cloth manufactory here, but the building has been discontinued since the late disturbances in the Houran. A custom-house, market-place, and

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bazaar, have been lately established; and I may remark, *en passant*, that either the population must have greatly declined in numbers latterly, or a gross imposition was practised upon a well-known traveller, who made it amount, in 1816, to from five to eight thousand. My information with regard to the number of its inhabitants, &c. was derived from the governor, our consul, and the bishop.

Some sarcophagi are to be found in the gardens outside the town, remarkable for having a pillow hewn for the head to rest on in each.

Proceeding southward across the isthmus, you arrive at the remains of a considerable pier, extending all along the water's edge; the stones of which it is composed are of great size, and scattered about it are numbers of pillars, of granite and variegated marble, many of them piled up into landing-places for boats.

The shore here demands particular attention, as it contains the remains of the ancient houses, the foundations of some of which are in many places still to be seen. In the perpendicular face of the beach we found the floors of these ancient houses, marked by whole strata of tesselated pavement, which show that the level of the peninsular city was from eight to ten feet below the present surface — the intervening portion being composed of broken crockery-ware, pieces of marble, and rubbish. This pavement was of three different kinds: the first was composed of small bits of marble of from one-half to three-fourths of an inch square; the second, of small bricks or tiles, all placed together with great accuracy; and the last, of small portions of broken brick thrown into a bed of mortar, in which they were wrought together, and afterwards smoothed down and polished.

While examining the remains along the shores of this harbour, I found a number of round holes cut in the solid sandstone rock, varying in size from that of an ordinary metal pot to that of a large boiler. Many of these holes were seven feet six inches in diameter, by eight feet deep; others were larger, and some were very small. They were perfectly smooth on the inside, and many of them were shaped exactly like a modern iron pot, broad and flat at the bottom, and narrowing towards the top. Some were found detached, and others in a cluster; where the latter occurred, two or three of the holes were connected by a narrow channel cut

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through the stone about a foot deep. Many of these reservoirs were filled with a breccia of shells, such as are represented in the accompanying woodcut. In other places, where the pots were empty, this breccia lay in heaps in the neighbourhood, as well as along the shore of this part of the peninsula. It instantly struck me on seeing these apertures, that they were the vats or mortars in which was manufactured the Tyrian dye. I am confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that the species of shell discovered in this breccia, corresponds exactly with that described by the old authors as that from which the colour was extracted, and from which a purple dye can be obtained even at the present day; and it is acknowledged as such by modern naturalists.

Although I broke up large quantities of these masses, in no instance could I find a single unbroken specimen, which I certainly would have found had they been rolled in from the sea, or were in a fossilized state. I picked up one of the recent shells upon the shore, which corresponds in every respect with those found in the conglomerate. The stones in the vicinity of this place were covered with large Serpulæ.

The binding material of this mass of shells, is lime and a trace of strontian; and the only thing found in connection with them are a few pebbles. This substance is of great weight, and adamantine hardness, and is of the same character as the petrified strand which I have already mentioned as existing at Rhodes and in Karamania. Now it seems to me more than probable, that the shells were collected into these holes, or, as they might be more properly called, mortars, in which they were pounded, for the purpose of extracting from them the juice which the animal contained; and in this opinion I am borne out by Pliny the

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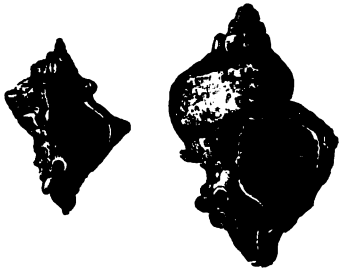
naturalist, who says, that "when the Tyrians light up any great purples, they take the fish out of the shells to get the blood, but the lesser they *press and grind in certain mills*, and so gather that rich humour which issueth from them."

These vats may have been also used for steeping the cloth; for dying pots, cut either in the rock or formed of baked clay sunk in the earth, are still found in many parts of the east, and may be seen in use in some of the by-streets of Alexandria and Grand Cairo, bearing some resemblance to our tan-pits. Such places as these are still used for indigo-dying throughout Africa.

The shells of which this mass is composed (a portion of which is now in my possession) are all of *one* species, and are undoubtedly the *murex trunculus*, which conchologists admit was one of the species from which the Tyrian dye was obtained; but until now *no proof* could be given of its being the actual shell. Two specimens of the recent shell are here exhibited —the larger is from the coast about Smyrna; the smaller I picked up in the vicinityof these very dye-pots. A subject of such extreme interest, connected with the arts and manufactures of the first of commercial cities, will, I am sure, require but little apology for devoting a few pages of the appendix to an inquiry into the nature and properties of the Tyrian dye.*



On the seaboard line of the peninsula, and running north and south of it, parallel with the shore, is a reef of what now appears to be rocks, just rising above the water, and forming, of course, the western boundary of both harbours. A question arises if this breakwater be natural or artificial.

During the whole of our stay at Tyre, the wind blew strongly from the outh-west, and the sea breaking violently on these rocks, particularly the southern, precluded the possibility of a close

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* See Appendix M.

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examination.* We, however, got a boat near enough the northern side of the reef to allow us to land. The soundings close to the rocks outside were ten fathoms, and continued decreasing gradually to the shore. It is difficult to say whether this reef is natural or not. There are evident marks of art upon it; and although a reef may have originally existed here, I have no doubt but that much has been added to it by the labour of man, as in many places it has, decidedly, the appearance of *Cyclopean* workmanship. Whether those parts of the rocks which appear squared, are the natural ones cut into this form, or blocks carried out and placed there, is also difficult to determine. There is, however, a peculiar consolidating power in the water all along this coast, that has filled up the interstices, and makes the whole appear as one solid stone, in the same manner as the beach at Rhodes and along the coast of Asia Minor has been converted for miles into a petrified conglomerate. The cothon at Jaffa, which we know is artificial, bears now a very similar appearance. Mr. Lyell attributes the consolidation of the beach in Asia Minor, to the streams which run into the sea holding carbonate of lime in abundance, and precipitating travertine, or binding sand, gravel, &c., into a conglomerate, as at Rhodes. But here there is no stream of fresh water, so that it must have been produced either by the action of the sea water, or the atmosphere. The shell conglomerate found in the dying pots presents a similar formation. Where this reef joins the peninsula at the north-west corner, are the remains of an ancient Pharos; and beyond it is a gap or passage, which was probably the western entrance to the northern harbour, and which corresponds with the point where Alexander, when besieging the city, made one of his principal attacks.

We are told that there were anciently two harbours; the one open, the other shut. The southern was called the Egyptian port; and the Shereef Edrisi says that one had an arch over it,

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* On reading over Quintius Curtius, while revising this second edition, I was greatly struck with the following passage—"The strait which separated Tyre from the continent, was four stadia broad; it was much exposed to the *south-west* wind, which drove crowding waves from the main sea against the work; nor does any thing more obstruct the work by which the Macedonians prepare to connect the island and the continent than this wind!"

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and was fortified by a chain drawn across its entrance. Where the reef joins the south-western corner, are the remains of enormous Cyclopean work, evidently created to form a breakwater: and connecting it with the land are the ruins of what appear to have been buildings of a great size, but which are now sunk some feet under the water, leaving only two or three large arches visible above the surface.

There is one more subject connected with this very remarkable place, that naturally arises out of the inquiry as to its present and former state; and that is—whether the small peninsula marked on the map can be that on which the whole of the ancient city stood; and whether the present relative positions of land and water are now the same as those existing at the time of Alexander's conquest. In some travels published many years ago, it was hinted that it was probable that much of the peninsula of Tyre had been submerged; and this is further verified, both by the observations of Count de Bertou, and the examination which I made of the place. I cannot, however, agree with this traveller in supposing that a large tract of land, and much of the ruins of the city, are beneath the surface. Our opinions correspond as to the northern reef being the remains of the ancient harbour on that side; but the Count states, that he was informed by some sponge-divers, that a sub-marine bank extends from the point which I have marked as "submerged ruins" on the map, in a S. S. W. direction, towards Cape Blanco, a distance of two miles. This, he says, "we partly examined, and found it covered by water to a depth of one to three fathoms, and measuring in breadth from twelve to fourteen yards." This bank he supposes to have been the breakwater to the southern port; but whether it is natural or artificial he was unable to determine.*

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* Count de Bertou seems to have taken up this subject with great energy, and has petitioned the president of the Geographical Society at Paris to prevail on the government to send out a diving-bell, to explore these sub-marine ruins. Although I am not so sanguine as the Swiss traveller, yet the most interesting results may be anticipated.

While these pages are passing through the press, Lieutenant Skyring, R. E., writes to me:—"I am inclined to agree with Count de Bertou that much of the ruins are beneath the surface. I am aware, partly from my own soundings, and partly from my belief in the old boatman with whom

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The smallness of the peninsula compared with the probable extent of the ancient city—the submerged reef, or ancient pier, running north and south on both sides of it—the ruins which I have pointed out at the southern extremity, and the ancient town wall, now standing in the water at the landing-place, all afford conclusive proof of the sea-line having altered at this point many feet from its ancient position. But has the land sunk? or if the sea has risen, has the Mediterranean generally risen? To decide this point geologists have principally confined their observations and reasonings to the celebrated temple of Serapis, in the bay of Baiæ, on which much has been already written; but the prevalence of earthquakes, and the continued volcanic action going forward there, prevents a fair analogy being established with it and other parts of the Mediterranean.

Commencing at the gulf of Glaucus, I have pointed out tombs, and the walls of the city of Telmessus, now surrounded by water,

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I was, that a submarine bank extends from the south-west angle of the peninsula in a S. S. W. direction towards Cape Blanco, and that for a distance (to the best of my recollection) of nearly two miles. I sounded a good deal about Tyre, and on the north and west it was evident that large blocks of masonry lay scattered at the bottom. The point on the north is, I may say, one mass of ruins: I examined some beautiful pillars lying there.

"From nearly opposite the old Saracenic castle or tower on the south of the isthmus, there runs for many hundred yards, in a south-westerly direction, apparently a reef of rocks, but on close inspection I perceived they were artificial; and it struck me at the moment that they formed, 'once upon a time,' a row of double columns to a piazza or colonnade to the ancient port of Tyre—probably they may have formed the piers of the aqueduct conducting the water from the cisterns at 'Marshuk' into the island; but whatever their use, this I am perfectly convinced of, viz. that they were artificial, and at present so covered with a breccia as to lead one to imagine them a reef of rocks. These facts go a great way in leading me to suppose that there are other hidden beauties, only requiring to be seen to be appreciated properly. I am inclined to agree with you, that the sea has encroached, or rather that Tyre has been submerged; and this opinion is not confined to Tyre alone, for every part of the coast of Syria which I have seen apparently has also. I nevertheless am of opinion that earthquakes and volcanic agency have had a great deal to do in the destruction of Tyre." The observations and measurements of Mr. Skyring have been added to the map published with this edition.

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of which no doubt can exist that they originally stood on dry land. Following the coast eastward, we come to the island of Kakara, of which Captain Beauford states, that it is remarkable that in some places three or four of the lower steps (of houses), and even the foundations of walls, are now beneath the surface of the water. At Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, I have every reason to believe that the ancient cothon has been partly submerged; and in this state are also part of the ruins of Cæsarea. At Caipha I found the remains of a very antique building, which had been probably a temple, partly covered with water at its base. At Beyrout we see a tower standing in the water; and at Tyre there can be no doubt upon the subject, for there the ruins are seen below the surface. Here I must refer to one of the most remarkable prophecies, not only with regard to Tyre, but mentioned in the whole of Scripture, showing not merely the *literal* fulfilment of every sentence spoken against it, but accounting for *why* Tyre is now submerged. Among the many awful predictions of the doom of this city, it is thus stated by Ezekiel, (xxvi. 19, 20,) "For thus saith the Lord God, when I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; *when I shall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee;* when I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit." And again, "They shall bring thee down to the pit." The former has been fulfilled; and the latter expression Archbishop Newcome translates, "the lower parts of the earth." Upwards of fifty years ago this eminent scholar and divine remarked upon this nineteenth verse, that "part of the city towards the port may have stood on ground recovered from the sea;" observation now proves the actual state of the case. The prophecy is so striking in itself, and shows how wondrously the Great Ruler of the universe works out his own designs, that I shall not offer one word more of comment upon it, except to remark, that had the land sunk, as many suppose, and not that the *deep* has come up upon it, the ancient arches of the aqueduct would not in all probability have existed this day. Various modern travellers have discovered submerged ruins at Aboukir, and at the Pharos of Alexandria; and, by a curious coincidence, in nearly the same longitude as Kakara on the opposite shore. Thus we have evidence of the whole upper border of the coast of the Mediterranean being submerged, more or less; and from its great extent, I am inclined to attribute it more to the encroach-

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ment of the sea, than to the sinking of the land. At the same time, I must confess that we want more proof, and more observation, to make any positive assertion on the subject; especially when several eminent authorities hold the contrary opinion. Besides the places that I have mentioned, there are other parts of Asia Minor where the coast is said to have advanced upon the sea, since the time of Strabo, by filling up havens and joining islands to the mainland; but this arises from an entirely different cause, and does not militate against the opinion I have already expressed, for in those places there was a positive and actual addition of new material.*

11th. We visited the cisterns of Solomon, at Ras-el-Ain, which, tradition says, he erected in return for the assistance afforded by king Hiram in building the temple. There are two sets of these cisterns; the first we came to were small, and in ruins, and are evidently of a later date than the second. Their decayed state allowed us to examine the mode in which they were constructed, in order to raise the body of water to the required level. This water now finds its way direct to the sea, turning a mill in its course. No doubt can exist, I think, but that both these and the larger ones are natural springs, which, by being enclosed in those waterproof walls, raised the water to the height necessary for conducting it to the city. To suppose them, as has been asserted, supplied by a river having a higher source in the adjacent mountains, is unreasonable; for had such been the case, why not conduct it from the highest point at once to the city, instead of bringing it into a valley, where both sets of these cisterns are situated. The larger are about half a mile further on to the south; the ground which intervenes between them and the lesser ones is highly fertile, and was covered with green corn and

* Mr. Lyell, in his excellent work upon "The Principles of Geology," quotes Tyre as an instance of the land advancing on the sea, and says that owing to this cause "the ruins of ancient Tyre are now far inland;" but on examining the map which I exhibited at the meeting of the British Association in Birmingham, in 1839, while reading a paper upon the physical geography of this part of the country, he stated his willingness to adopt my view of the subject, and to correct the passage in the subsequent editions of his work.

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groves of mulberry trees—silk still forming a considerable article of commerce here. These fountains are three in number, and are about thirty feet high; they are situated in a small valley, about a quarter of a mile from the sea; and though they are much broken and neglected, yet they retain sufficient magnificence to attest their antiquity and former beauty. The largest is an octagon, and is about a hundred yards nearer to the sea than the others, to which it is joined by some very beautiful arches. A row of steps leads to the top, which is surrounded by a walk eight feet broad. Either it was originally arched over, or the lining is much worn away, as the top projects like a cornice. The aperture is twenty-two yards across, and on fathoming it, I found the depth not more than eleven yards in the centre, and about two at the edges; but its depth has probably been diminished by the rubbish, &c. which from time to time it must have received. Indeed one only wonders how these cisterns have at all stood amidst the many desolations that have visited this unhappy country. They are always full, and an immense body of water flows from them, which also turns several mills in its course; as shown in the accompanying map.

I measured the thickness of the wall of the smallest fountain, and found it to be twenty-three feet. It was formed in this way: —two walls of hewn stones, each stone from five to six feet long, inclosed a space which was filled up with a cement, consisting of lime, broken stones, and gravel. On the inner wall was a lining of mortar, studded with small stones, similar to that on the fountains of Solomon, near Bethlehem, and to that on the pool of Bethesda at Jerusalem.

The water has been drawn from the aqueduct to supply the mills, and Ibrahim Básha was then erecting a turboosh manufactory nigh to the cisterns. Besides the large quantity of water constantly passing off in the regular stream, it flows over the side of the cistern in one place, and forms a handsome cascade. Stalactites, like those on the arches in the plain, are seen here in immense masses; some Doric capitals have been lately dug up at this place; and an aqueduct of rather modern date runs from it in a southward direction, which was used probably for the purposes of irrigation. The main aqueduct is continued northward to the rock, or citadel of Marshuk, and is supported by arches at one place only. On the morning of our visit to Ras-el-

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Ain, some Arab women were baking their bread in the vicinity, by pouring a thick batter upon the heated pan, a practice referred to in the book of Samuel.

The existence of these fountains prior to the time of Alexander has been called in question by a learned writer; but no stronger proof is needed of their having been constructed previous to the building of Insular Tyre than that which is furnished by the aqueduct running direct to the rock instead of along the shore, and afterwards turning back towards the island, to which it could have been brought in half the distance, and with much less obstruction, from the irregularities of the ground. Beyond these fountains is an extensive and fertile plain, bounded by the lower range of Lebanon.

In this part of my narrative I may have been wearisome to some of my readers; but when they consider that of the many cities recorded in history few deserve more attention than Tyre, I trust they will regard the statements I have given as not devoid of interest or unworthy of attention. Were we to take up a map of the world, and trace on it the colonies that have sprung from this "Queen of the Sea," and follow them in their course through the different collateral branches that again emanated from them, we should be tracing the progress of civilization, the spread of knowledge, and the light of science even into our own country.

15th. We departed from Tyre, and on rounding the headland of Cape Blanco, we obtained a distinct view of the promontory of Mount Carmel, running out into the sea for a considerable distance. The bay of Caipha separates these promontories, and as we sailed through it we had an opportunity of seeing the extensive plain that surrounds its shores. On this plain, and near to the shore, stands the town of Zib, supposed to be the ancient Azib spoken of in Joshua, but now an inconsiderable place, remarkable only for the peculiar appearance of its square mud-built houses, and the number of its tall palm trees, which make it visible even at a great distance at sea. Farther on upon the coast we passed the city of Acre, the ancient Ptolemais; memorable for the many storms and sieges that it has sustained, and the important part that it has occupied in all the wars that have taken place in these countries. It is the strongest and best situated city in Palestine, having, in addition to the natural advantages of its maritime position, walls and fortifications of

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great strength. It is now a place of considerable importance, from the very large garrison which it possesses, and its being the principal stronghold of the Egyptian general. The aqueduct which supplies it with water can be traced for a considerable distance along the plain, and its light arches form a pleasing object in the landscape. As we approached the place, twilight set in, and soon rendered every thing indistinct. Shortly afterwards we anchored about a mile from the little town of Caipha; and next morning landed, by permission of the officer of health, to enjoy a walk on shore.

Caipha is a walled town, situated upon the water's edge on the north-western shore of Mount Carmel. Next to the sea are some high square towers, built by the Crusaders, but of the interior of the place I cannot speak, as we were not permitted to enter within the gates. A British consular agent resides here, and he, as well as several of the Frank merchants, accompanied us in our walk. The population of the place is said to be 3000, and the town itself has, in a commercial point of view, greatly improved of late years. It has at present a tolerably good market, and its exports of grain and cotton are very considerable. The increase of its trade has, I think, arisen from its vicinity to Acre, which, from being so deeply engaged in the wars and military affairs of the country, lost much of its commerce, and by that means Caipha became, as it were, a granary to the army encamped before it; and the advantages which it then acquired it still continues to possess. To the south of the town is an extensive plain, highly cultivated and well wooded. On its margin, and close by the sea side, are some very remarkable remains, which have not, as far as I am aware, been either investigated or described by any recent traveller. Immediately beside these are also the ruins of an ancient Cyclopean wall, partly standing in the sea, the stones of which are of an almost incredible size. I know of no scriptural city that existed in this locality. May it not have been a temple of Baal, the deity that was anciently worshipped in this part of the country?

The convent that crowns the outer point of Mount Carmel* forms a pleasing object in the scenery here presented to the view;

* Hence the term Carmelite.

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and when we consider that, in all probability, on this spot was gained that wonderful triumph which the prophet Elijah, by the power of God, achieved over the priests of Baal and their idolatry, it adds considerably to the interest of the scene, (1 Kings, xviii.) The proximity of the spot to the sea at once answers the objections of the sceptic as to where the water was procured in that season of drought to pour on the sacrifice and in the trench.

The mountain itself is bare, and nearly destitute of vegetation. On the sloping ground that ascends from the town towards the east, are numerous sepulchres carved out of the solid rock, of the very simplest form, consisting merely of a square domed-roof chamber, having an arched door, which occupies one of the sides, with ledges or troughs for the bodies on each of the three remaining ones. They appeared to be the most recently constructed of any of the tombs of this description that I have seen, and were tenanted with numbers of poor people, who, for lack of better, made them their dwellings. These Troglodytes seemed to partake of the air of their habitations, and were a miserable, filthy, and degraded-looking race. In the vicinity of this place are some very splendid carob, or locust trees *(ceratonia siliqua)*. I saw the husks or legumes of these trees scattered on the ground about the tombs, where some cattle had been eating them; and they at once recalled to my mind the parable of the prodigal son, who "would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat." (Luke xv. 16.) The expressed juice, and also the pulp of the fruit, is much used in the east. As this tree is sometimes called the locust tree, and St. John's bread, some persons have supposed that from it the food of the Baptist was obtained. Now, in opposition to this opinion, I can only state that locusts fried with honey is a favourite dish with the Arabs about the Jordan even to this day. A long sandy beach stretches away from the town, in a curved direction to the north. On this a very heavy surf breaks, rolling in great quantities of shells, and numerous marine animals.* The river Kishon, which is here fordable, empties itself into the sea at this place; but it is so shallow at

* I picked up some good specimens of the *murex trunculous*, or dye shell, which seem to be common here. It is remarkable that one of the old names of Caipha is Porphurcon, which Pococke says it received on account of the fish being found upon the coast which furnishes the Tyrian dye.

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its mouth that it was with considerable difficulty we forced our boat over the bar. Before reaching the sea, the stream winds through a swampy, and, in some places, a sandy valley; and on either side its banks are fringed with shrubs and underwood which not unfrequently almost meet over the centre of the stream.

The day after our arrival we set out upon a shooting party to the valley of the Kishon, accompanied by two of the Italian residents at Caipha. The plain, which is covered with rank sedge, and low underwood, interspersed with deep and natural drains, and studded with hillocks, has very much the appearance of some of the moors in our own country. The game was very abundant; quails were in great numbers; and we also got some red-legged partridges. Here, for the first time, I saw that beautiful bird the Francolin.* On returning to the mouth of the Kishon, where the boat awaited us, we passed the black tents† of some Bedawees, in the midst of the sand-hills that surround the coast toward Acre. The females of the tribe were churning goats' milk in a very primitive manner, by shaking it or swinging it in a goat's skin slung between two upright posts.

We weighed anchor that evening, passed the handsome and picturesque Castle Pellegrino, and shortly after the ruins of Cæsarea. Of these enough still remain to tell us of its former magnificence. Some tall pillars and a handsome tower are situated at the water's edge; the latter rearing its weather-beaten face in defiance of the storms of nineteen centuries, and the angry waves that foam against its base. The crimson light of a stormy sun-set was reflected from its walls, and gave it a bold and most imposing appearance; but the sea dashed with such fury against the rocks as to prevent our landing; so we continued on to Jaffa, where we arrived during the night.

**Francolinus Vulgarus.*—This beautiful bird is about the size of a grouse, which it resembles very much in shape. The cock bird we shot here was fourteen inches long; bill black; upper part of head grey, lower part of head and back of neck black; a white oval spot over each ear; a brownish red collar round the neck; crop jet black, spotted with white; wings black, quill feathers, the colour of a wood-cock's; under wings and insertion of tail, small alternate bars of black and white; thighs, bands of brown and red; legs red, like partridges; very good eating, something like grouse.

† Black, like the tents of Kedar.—*Song of Solomon*, i. 5.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

PALESTINE.

Jaffa—Lazarettos—Convents—The ancient Harbour—Gardens about Jaffa—Plain of Sharon—Its verdure—Recollections on passing through it—Its atmosphere—Villages—Ramlah—Pilgrims—Convent of St. Nicodemus—The Martyr's Tower—Trade of the town—Monks—Proceed to Jerusalem—Goats—Hill country of Judea—Sterility of Palestine—Beth-horon—Village of Jeremiah—The Terebinthine Vale—The Battle-field of Goliath—An Allegory—First view of the Holy City—The Latin Convent—The Hospicium—Father Benjamin—Visit to the Superior—His inquiries—Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Its outer court—Mohammadan Guards—Anointing stone—Calvary—The place of the Cross—Altars—Emotion of the Pilgrims—The Holy Sepulchre—Its Pavilion—Description of the Tomb—Stations and holy places—Pillar of scourging—Singing—Louis Philip—Disgraceful conduct of the Friars—Recollections of the Crusades—Peter the Hermit—Exciting scenes in the church of the Sepulchre—Sensations produced by the place—The Holy Fire—Its late fatal result—Death of three hundred pilgrims—A midnight scene in Jerusalem—An Armenian Bishop—The identity of the sacred places.

JAFFA, March, 1838.—We are now upon the borders of the Promised Land, eager to investigate its interesting localities; and, with the Scriptures as our guide, to enter upon it with all the fervour and devotion of pilgrims. After a night of the most fearful rolling, owing to a heavy ground swell, we awoke but little refreshed, and landed at an early hour. We were conducted to the English consul, who was exceedingly civil and attentive to us; and he, with Signior Campanelli, procured mules, horses, and guides for our immediate departure for Jerusalem.

The town of Jaffa, or Yafa, stands on a hill that rises abruptly from the sea, from which, at some distance, it has a very picturesque appearance; but, on closer inspection, the streets are found to be dirty and narrow. The quarantine establishment

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lately founded here under Signior Campanelli, is clean and well regulated; separate divisions, with a chapel attached to each, are allotted to the pilgrims of the several nations who visit this place, of whom the Greeks form the majority.

This Lazaretto is a new speculation got up by the convents at Jaffa, for before its erection, all the pilgrims were obliged to land at Beyrout to perform quarantine, and to proceed from thence by land to Jerusalem. The convents having represented this to Ibrahim Bâsha, and petitioned for leave to form an establishment here, they obtained permission to erect it. There are three convents in this place, Greek, Armenian, and Frank or Latin. We visited the latter, belonging to the Franciscans, and found its superior courteous and attentive. The monks are natives of Spain, and are supported principally by presents from Europe, as there is not now a sufficient number of Roman Catholic pilgrims visiting Jerusalem to support it and the other convents in the Holy Land. The chapel belonging to the convent is a neat little building, with some good Spanish paintings; from the roof and spacious terraces, we obtained a magnificent view of the port and harbour beneath, which was then crowded with numbers of Greek vessels freighted with pilgrims, having the five-crossed flag displayed by the Crusaders of old, flying at the main. This flag, which is white, with five red crosses, said to be emblematic of our Saviour's wounds, is the principal one to be met with at this time of the year in the upper portion of the Levant, and is held under a warrant from the bishop of Jerusalem.

In visiting the places here hallowed or desecrated by tradition, we were shown, among others, the hole into which Napoleon threw some of the bodies of the unfortunate Turks whom he had massacred. It is a deep well, evidently of great antiquity, the upper portion consisting of a round collar of white marble, the inner edge worn into grooves by the friction of the ropes, similar to those found in Greece and Pompeii.

As Jaffa was no inconsiderable post during the days of holy warfare, it was well fortified, and several of the castles, works, and walls erected by the Crusaders, nearly similar in construction to those at Rhodes, yet remain. The ancient harbour of this great sea-port of Judea is still traceable, and the rocks which formed the pier, rise high out of the sea, which breaks upon them with tremendous violence. This pier was evidently an ar-

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tificial construction, and although no mortar was used in the building of it, yet the joinings have become filled up, and the whole forms a continuous mass, resembling that at Rhodes and Tyre, though it is much smaller than the latter. The ships of Solomon, at least those trading on the Mediterranean, could not, therefore, have been very large or numerous, or they would not have found accommodation in this harbour. As Jaffa was the only seaport of Judea, it may account in some measure for the small marine of the Israelites, who depended for their supplies more on their adventurous Tyrian neighbours than on any navy of their own. In common, however, with all the cothons of that era, it is now filled up with sand, so as only to allow an entrance to the small coasting craft. Trade was rather brisk at the time of our visit, and the place seemed thriving. The imports were mostly pilgrims, and corn for the Bâsha's army; and the exports chiefly fruits from the neighbouring gardens. There is a good bazaar, and the gate on the land side is remarkably handsome, and beside it stands a noble Turkish fountain, formed of various coloured marbles, pouring forth jets of the purest water. It furnishes a good specimen of the gate of an eastern town, having within it the seat of judgment, as well as the receipt of custom, and was guarded by a strong military force, who formed a pleasing group as they surrounded its marble deewan.

Our party, which consisted of ten persons, all armed and accoutred, made a very formidable cavalcade as we left the town at about twelve o'clock at noon. For nearly two miles after leaving the town our road lay through the richest and most beautiful gardens of orange and lemon trees, then covered with fruit and flowers; and tall waving cypresses, corals, sycamores, and fragrant mimosas; intersected with enormous nopals or prickly pears, with the scammony in flower, twining through their invulnerable armour. These productions, as well as the exceeding beauty of the scene, and the balmy freshness of the atmosphere, have obtained for this verdant spot the appellation of the gardens of the Eastern Hesperides. The inhabitants of Jaffa, who, though mostly Christians, are dressed in the eastern costume, have bowers and summer-houses in these gardens; and as we passed, we observed them enjoying their sherbet seated in the cool shades of those lovely retreats. On the broad sandy track that winds through this fertile spot we passed numbers of

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pilgrims hastening toward Jerusalem; with the wild Arab of the desert seated on his camel, and wrapped in the folds of his voluminous burnoose, looking down with disdain upon the richly caparisoned horse and glittering accoutrements of the modern Egyptian officer.

From hence to Ramlah our way lay through one of the most fertile and extensive plains we had yet beheld in the east. Although not a sixth part of this plain is cultivated, yet where it was tilled, the crops of corn, which were about a foot high, looked most luxuriant. I do not think we passed a dozen head of cattle of any kind, but the monotony of the plain is occasionally relieved by groves and clumps of aged and magnificent olives, which give it quite the appearance of a well laid out English park or demesne. Most of these olives must be centuries old from their great size and proverbial slowness of growth; and are, probably, the lineal descendants of those we read of in David's time, which were so plentiful in the low plains, that Baal-Hanan the Gadite was placed as overseer over them. Numbers of tall white storks paced about through the groves, like so many spectres enjoying their solitary grandeur amid the scenes of other days. The day was delightful; a light breeze refreshing the traveller and the weary pilgrim as they journeyed to the Holy City; the fields were decked with thousands of gay flowers; the scarlet anemone, and a beautiful specimen of small red tulip,* intermingled with the white cistus, the pink flox, and the blue iris, and with crimson and white asters, asphodels, and lilies, forming an enamelled carpet that perfumed the air, and offered a scene replete with everything that could gratify the eye or charm the imagination. This plain of Sharon is about fifteen miles broad, and nearly twice as many long, bordered on the one side by the blue waters of the Levant, and by the rugged hill country of Judea on the other. How writers could have described this "goodly land" as so unfertile as to warrant the assertion of Voltaire, that he would not receive a present of it

* The tulip is a flower of Eastern growth, and highly esteemed; thus, in the Ode of Meshhe, "The edge of the bower is filled with the light of the ahmed, among the plants the fortunate tulip represents its companions."

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from the Sooltan, I know not, as the appearance of this plain would alone refute so gross a misrepresentation.

It was not the appearance of the plain alone that struck so forcibly upon our minds. It was the recollection of where we were —the holy ground whereon we trod, and the wondrous scenes which the land had witnessed since the creation. To our right lay the plain of Ascalon, where the soldiers of the cross achieved so glorious a victory over the Mooslim, and made doubly impressive by the remembrance of a Saladin and a Cœur-de-Lion. How many a proud knight of the flower of European chivalry careered across this plain; his tall crest waving in the breeze, his shield emblazoned with the bearings of our proudest barons, his arm bound with the scarf of his lady-love, and his heart beating in the cause of holy warfare—where are they now?

> "The knights are dust,
> Their swords are rust,
> Their souls are with the saints I trust."

Their flesh have fed the kites and ravens, and their bones have whitened those very fields, once crimsoned with their blood. But those scenes have passed away, and the land looks as smiling as when described by the prophets of old; and the lark that sung above our heads seemed to welcome us to the land of promise. We rode over the lovely vale of Sharon, still producing these roses,* whose beauty and fragrance have been described by Solomon in the sweet strains of Hebrew poetry. Around us was an atmosphere such as can only be perceived and breathed in the East—no palpable sky—no cloud traversing a canopy definite in extent, but an ethereal expanse about and above us—terminating only where the powers of vision fail—and creating the thought that we looked into the regions of boundless space.†

No detached houses, and but two villages, are within view on

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* Much has been written and many opinions expressed regarding the rose of Sharon. I agree in opinion with those authors who state, that it is not a rose but a cistus, white or red, with which this vale in particular, and other parts of Judea abound.

† The beauty of the plain of Sharon has not passed altogether unnoticed by modern writers. Dr. Robinson, who visited Palestine in the June

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this part of the plain. One of these, Gazoor, or Yazur, and another called Betafafa, (probably that marked in the maps Beil Dejan,) are but a few cottages standing upon low hills; as the few rising grounds on this immense plain would be always made use of for such purposes in a country so long the seat of war. The former was originally fortified, and some of the works still remain standing. It has a pretty mosque, and by the road side a handsomely constructed fountain, containing the clearest water. Beside the fountain is a chained cup for the traveller's use.

After two hours' ride we got a view of Ramlah, marked by its high tower; and a few miles to the left lay Ludd—the scriptural Lydda—the minaret of whose mosque may be seen at a great distance. Ramlah, supposed to be nearly the site of the ancient Arimathea, is about twelve or fourteen miles from Jaffa, or about three hours' ride—distance being measured in this country by hours. It is pleasantly situated, surrounded by thick groves of olives and some palms: fine crops of corn, beans, and most luxuriant tobacco border the suburbs—and the enclosures are divided by the impenetrable nopals. It was the Christian Sabbath, and numbers of the inhabitants were lying in groups

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following the date of our journey, and viewing it from the tower of Ramlah, says, "I could liken it to nothing but the great plain of the Rhine by Heidelberg; or better still, to the vast plains of Lombardy as seen from the cathedral of Milan and elsewhere. In the east the frowning mountains of Judah rose abruptly from the tract of hills at their foot; while on the west, in fine contrast, the glittering waves of the Mediterranean Sea associated our thoughts with Europe and distant friends. Towards the south, as far as the eye could reach, the beautiful plain was spread out like a carpet at our feet, variegated with tracts of brown, from which the crops had just been taken, and with fields still rich with the yellow of the ripe corn, or green with the springing millet. Immediately below us the eye rested on the immense olive groves of Ramlah and Lydda, and the picturesque towers and minarets and domes of these large villages. In the plain itself are not many villages; but the tract of miles and the mountain side beyond, especially in the north-east, were perfectly studded with them; and as now seen in the reflected beams of the setting sun, they seemed like white villas and hamlets among the dark hills, presenting an appearance of thriftiness and beauty, which certainly would not stand a closer examination."—*Biblical Researches in Palestine.*

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among the plantations, basking in the sun. The men in their long silk gowns, fur-trimmed cloaks, and dark, wide-spreading turbans; the children, some of whom were exceedingly beautiful, frisking about in the warm sunshine; and the women, clothed in long white robes with red borders, and black silk face covers, sitting by themselves in little coteries under the shady olives, and the different groups of pilgrims, in the costume of their several nations, resting after their morning's toil—together with the beauty of the surrounding country and its sacred associations, formed a highly picturesque and imposing scene as we entered the town. The women, both here and at Jaffa, cover their faces entirely with a dark-coloured handkerchief—although, if young and pretty, they take particular care to give you, as if by accident, a look at their features in passing.

We were hospitably received at the Frank convent of St. Nicodemus, the brethren of which are now reduced to three Spanish Franciscans. These were Carlists, and appeared very anxious to hear news from their native country. This convent was destroyed by the Turks after Napoleon's invasion, and the body of the only monk found in it was cut in four pieces! It is a large building, and has very good accommodation, perhaps the best in Palestine; but as it was Lent, we had to procure every eatable in the town, though one of the Padres had no objection to assist our servants in cooking.

After our arrival, and while dinner was preparing, we walked to the Martyr's Tower,* situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. We found it attached to a building of great extent, consisting of rows of Gothic arches, like cloisters. On proceeding through the ruins, we found that there was as much of the building under ground as what appeared above the surface, and of a similar construction. This square building itself has

* It has received this name from the traditionary account of a number of the martyrs of Sebasti, in Armenia, being buried under its walls. The Mooslims, however, affirm that St. George is interred beneath it. Mejr ed-Diu, an Arabic historian of 1495, states (and probably this is the truth) that one of the Egyptian Kaleefs built a mosque here in 1310 A.D. with a tall slender tower or minaret attached to it. Some modern writers believe this tower to be that minaret.

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much the appearance of one of our old cathedral towers, and the view from the top of it was very splendid. A large marble slab, containing a long Arabic inscription, is placed over the door, but it obviously looks as if it had been inserted at a period subsequent to the original erection of the tower. In the centre of this large enclosure is a small domed structure, resembling a mosque. The whole is now a complete ruin, and is equally neglected by Christian and Mohammadan.

The town, from not being enclosed with a wall, and its suburbs being thickly wooded, with several palm and other large trees growing among the houses, has a rural air, but the streets and bazaars are miserable in the extreme. The principal trade seemed to be in shoes and fruit, two very necessary comforts for the pilgrims, who generally rest here for the night. The fruit, which a bounteous Providence here supplies in rich abundance, forms not only a grateful refreshment, but a considerable portion of the food of those people. In addition to the justly celebrated water melons and pomegranates, grown at Jaffa, we procured some very fine sweet lemons, the only ones I had seen since we left Portugal. In the vicinity of the town are some very large cisterns, which (as every thing here must have a name and legend attached to it) are said to have been constructed by St. Helena. At the time we visited them we had an opportunity of seeing the troops of Ibrahim Básha, who were exercising in the neighbourhood. They were all young Egyptians, and I have seldom seen soldiers who appeared in better health and spirits; they manœuvred with astonishing exactness and rapidity. Returning to the convent, it was some time before we could gain admittance, as the fathers were at their evening worship in a small adjoining chapel, which does not deserve any particular notice. The only means of access to the convent is by a small, low, and iron-studded door, like that which usually forms the entrance to a dungeon. The walls are of a great height, and all such buildings in Palestine resemble, in external appearance, fortifications, more than places of religious worship. It was, however, necessary that they should be constructed in this manner, in order to protect the harmless, inoffensive inmates from the incursions of the predatory Arabs, whose attacks, up to the period of the Egyptian invasion, were unceasing. Since that period, however, the very name of Ibrahim Básha is sufficient to

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keep these lawless robbers under some degree of restraint. The interior of this establishment, contrasted with its external appearance, quite surprised us; and in the court-yard were some lovely lemon trees, then covered with their light and elegant blossoms, which scented the whole place.

The Padres came and sat with us in the evening; they were anxious to hear of Europe, and in particular of their native country, while we were anxious to learn something of the antiquities and scripture localities of the neighbourhood. But they were not able to gratify our curiosity, or communicate to us any information; for on these subjects they, as well as all, or nearly all, the monks whom we met in the Holy Land, were lamentably ignorant, and knew nothing of either the geography or enthnography of the places around them; or if they had any tale to tell, it was that of some hacknied tradition, or some *saintly* legend equally false and absurd. The life led by those three monks was one of extreme indolence. The two elder seldom left the convent walls. The younger, who was the curé and the cook, informed us, that of late he had frequently been obliged to go out among his flock, consisting of a few Maronites, to correct the awful heresy of reading the Scriptures, which had made considerable (and in his eyes lamentable) progress, since the English and American missionaries, and Bible agents had been labouring among these simple people. Some of them, he said, he had brought back to the bosom of the mother church, yet many, he regretted to say, were incorrigible, and, like the Bereans of old, were determined to search the Scriptures, to "see whether these things were so." All the ecclesiastics speak favourably of Ibrahim Básha, owing to the protection he has afforded the Christian religion; and the different convents look upon his occupation of the country as a blessing. The monks remarked, that from the protection he afforded, a much greater intercourse with Franks had taken place of late years. This alone will have the most salutary effects; for it cannot fail, after some time, of introducing our customs, and of overcoming many of the prejudices of the Mooslims, as the roughness and the inequalities of the rocky fragment, swept down by the mountain torrent, become smooth, and even by mingling with and rubbing against the polished pebbles on the beach, where the ebbing and flowing waves in time roll all to an equal polish.

We rose early next morning, having enjoyed more rest that the

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trumpeting of musquitos and the howling of jackals at first promised. In order to avoid the attacks of the former, I think it a good plan, when the traveller is not provided with a net, to leave a lamp burning in the apartment during the night, as it attracts the insect, and generally proves the means of its destruction.

We again set forward on our journey towards Jerusalem. The plain on which Ramlah stands, extends further eastward for about five or six miles, and then the land rises in gentle slopes towards the mountains, still, however retaining its verdure, its beauty, and its fertility. This part of the country was well cultivated, but the crops of wheat, oats, millet, and barley were all suffering from extreme drought, for no rain had fallen for a long time. On this account the barley was in ear, though it was not more than eighteen inches high.

The hill country is entered by a narrow pass at a place called Ladron, where are the remains of an old fort, and the gothic arches of a large church. The former was probably erected as a resting place, and also as a defence for the pilgrims, as this spot has ever been the haunt of the Arab robbers.

Several flocks of gazelles bounded across our path, and numerous herds of small black goats, with long silken hair and beautiful pendant ears almost reaching to the ground, *followed* the steps of the goat-herd as he *led* them along the different mountain passes. The tinkling of their little copper bells, when heard among those solitary hills through which our road lay, had a pleasing effect, and helped to beguile the tedium of our way. We had reached the hill country of Judea, and as we ascended a complete change came over the scene. The eye was no longer refreshed with the verdant sward and the beauty of the plain which we had traversed after leaving Jaffa; the hum of bees, the low of cattle, and even the music of the goat's bell was no longer heard. A solemn wildness reigns in those elevated regions, the hills of which rise in amphitheatres, or rather in concentric circles, one above another. The strata of grey limestone protrudes its naked head through these hills at regular intervals, like so many seats in a stadium; there is no vestige of human beings, and the road becomes a mere horse-track, with scarcely room for two to pass abreast; yet the dreariness and monotony of the view is occasionally relieved by valleys and ravines clothed with low woods of dwarf oak, which was then putting forth its young leaves and

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long green catkins; and here, for the first time in our travels, we met the thorn becoming white with blossom, and reminding us of the lawns and hedge-rows of our own far-distant homes. A few fields of corn, by their fertility, caused by the moisture which is more abundant on these elevated regions than on the plains, showed what could still be effected by cultivation on the limestone soil of Judea, and on the terraces between these bands of rock, which act as so many retaining walls to the scanty earth. Much was originally, and much could still be effected in the growth of the vine and the olive on the sides of these hills. Those who exclaim against the sterility and barrenness of this country, should recollect, that want of population and proper cultivation gives it much of the sterile and barren appearance which it now presents to the traveller. The plough in use here is one of the rudest instruments of the kind that I have ever seen; it resembles the ancient Egyptian plough, and does little more than scratch the soil, making a furrow scarcely three inches in depth.

About midway to Jerusalem we passed through a deep narrow gorge, wooded to an extent that we could scarcely have anticipated from the rocky and barren desert in which it is situated. The ascent out of this valley is fearfully precipitous, and has long been noticed in modern history as the hiding-place or fastness of the lawless Bedawee. Some time previous to our visit, a large band of Egyptian cavalry were completely destroyed in this ravine. The huge rocks, the close wood on either side, and the overhanging crags, form a complete cover for an enemy, who might attack the largest body of men passing through it, while they would remain secure, especially from horsemen. Thanks to the rule of Ibrahim Bâsha, whatever be his faults, and I believe he has many, we passed through this part of Palestine in perfect security, and without the slightest interruption. In the bottom of this waddy or ravine is a ruined khan, overhung by some splendid lotus trees; and by the way-side were some enormous rocks, which, in several places, contained excavations, under which we rested for some time, enjoying their cool shade, thankful, in a country like this, for those inestimable blessings—a well of water, and the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land"—blessings that can only be known and appreciated by those who may have panted on the thirsty mountain side, or toiled in the heat of the day,

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over the dreary waste of the Eastern desert, or among the lonely hills of Palestine. To our left lay Beth-horon, a valley of a similar character; where we are informed, in the book of Joshua, when the Canaanites were flying from Gibeon, "the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah."

Ascending from this valley, the traveller again enters upon the rugged Appenine country, from whose heights he has a last glimpse of the blue waters of the midland sea. We next arrived at Kuryet el Euab, the scriptural Kirjath Jearim, and sometimes called by modern travellers, the village of Jeremiah, situated in an extensive valley, bounded on all sides by bold crags and barren fells. The vale itself, however, contains some rich fields of corn, and the sides of the lower hills are studded with full-grown olives that thrive upon the parterres between the rocks, and appear luxuriant, if such a term can be applied to those seedy-looking trees, whose rusty-coloured leaves have so little of that verdant freshness which we are wont to associate with vegetable beauty. The olive is the peculiar tree of Palestine, and its fruit forms at present a principal article of diet, as its oil did in the days of Solomon. During lent it is the chief food of the inmates of the convents; and I shall not easily forget the grimace and the shrug of Padre Benjamin, when, a few days after we arrived in Jerusalem, we invited him to partake of some at our dessert. Some of the largest olive trees now known grow in Syria, among which we might instance those found at Gethsemane and in the plain of Sharon.

While our horses were feeding, and luncheon was preparing, I visited the old church—a gothic building, which is chiefly remarkable for the vast thickness of its walls, and its arched roof, supported by two rows of pillars. The door is low, and flanked by two strong buttresses. The windows are placed at the top of the building, and admit but scanty light, and from the defensive appearance of the place it has more the look of a fort or magazine than of a church dedicated to the worship of God. The state of the country at the period of its erection required that it should be constructed in this form, in order that the infirm and defenceless might have a place of refuge to fly to in case of invasion. Of late years this valley has become a place of celebrity, from its

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being the residence of Aboo-Goush, the chief of the Arab plunderers that inhabit these regions. His house is in the vicinity of the church; and as we passed it, a few discontented and ferocious-looking men were seated on its front terrace, abusing some of the women and children who ran out to see the Frankees.

An hour and a half's ride then brought us to Kulonieh, in the Terebinthine vale, memorable as the battle-field on which the stripling son of Jesse prostrated the vaunting champion of the Philistines. A narrow bridge here crosses a small stream, in which it is said the youthful warrior filled his scrip with the smooth pebbles, one of which laid Goliath in the dust, and achieved such a glorious victory for the army of Israel. The scene instantly calls to mind the position of the two armies placed upon opposite hills, with a valley running between. The hill to the left is now occupied by a considerable village of low, square Arab huts. Along the banks of the rivulet are some lovely gardens, adorned with apple trees, apricots, almond trees, orange and acacia groves, together with rose-laurels, figs, and sycamores.*

All this hill country belonged originally to the Philistines, whose feelings and habits, like those of most other mountaineers, were deeply tinged by the wild scenery amidst which they dwelt, and the mode of life which they pursued, all of which, doubtless, contributed in forming that warlike disposition which marked their character. The inhabitants of this country are considered to be what is usually called a "bad set;" and they gave much annoyance to the Bâsha while he was encamped at Jerusalem, by interrupting his communications, and robbing his couriers, so that several important despatches fell into the hands of the enemy. At length one of his messengers adopted the following successful expedient;—he inserted the letter into the long tube of his pipe; and although his person was diligently searched, they never thought that the pipe, which he continued to smoke during the examination, contained the object for which they were so anxiously looking. Josephus mentions that in his day the conveying of despatches through this country was always attended with diffi-

* Dr. Robinson has lately denied this locality to the battle-field so memorable in Scripture story, and places it at Socoli, a valley to the S. W. of Jerusalem, on the road to Gaza.

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culty and danger; and that many disasters befel the messengers who were engaged in carrying communications to Titus.

On ascending out of the valley, we passed several caves in the rocks, some of which were natural, and others formed by the hand of man, the latter probably for village sepulchres. These natural caves, we are informed, were the habitations of the early inhabitants or aborigines of the land. As we advanced, the features of the country became still more wild and barren, the steeps more rugged, and the descents more precipitous, until we approached near to Jerusalem, and arrived at our journey's end. Indeed the whole of the journey to Jerusalem forms a striking analogy to that experienced by the spiritual pilgrim, and would form the subject of a beautiful allegory. Tossed and buffeted by the tempestuous waves of the Mediterranean; endangered, when on the very entrance to the promised inheritance, by the rocks, the shoals, the quicksands, and unsafe anchorage at Jaffa—the plain of Sharon for a while cheers his onward course, and strews his path with flowers—then intervene the ascents, the difficulties, the fatigues, and the dangers of the hill country of Judea, to check his pride, to try his faith, and to prepare him for the glories of Jerusalem, the long sought object of his fond desires.

Hippolite, our guide, now informed us, that we were approaching near to the Holy City; when all became excitement—enthusiasm appeared in every face—anxious hope beamed in every eye—each pressed forward beyond his neighbour; we quickened our horses' paces, and every turn and rising ground upon the road was gained with accelerated speed, in order to catch the first distant view of the city. At length we arrived at an old marabut, where the country became more level, but still presenting the same stony character; and here we caught the first glimpse of Jerusalem, at about a mile's distance. The first object which attracted our attention, was a line of dead wall, flanked by two or three square towers, above which could be distinguished a few domes and minarets. Such is the appearance which the city presents when seen from this point. Beyond the city, on the eastern side, rose a three-capt hill, whose highest point was surmounted by a white dome and one or two straggling buildings; its sides, which were studded with low shrubby plants, exhibited a brown and rugged aspect. This is the memorable Mount of Olives. Our party reined in their horses and stood in motionless silence for some

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minutes gazing on the scene. The expectations we had formed respecting the appearance of Jerusalem were disappointed, but our enthusiasm had not, in the least degree, abated. For myself, I confess, that as I gazed upon the north-western angle of that solitary embattled wall, sorrow came over my heart; no living thing could be seen on the intervening ground; nothing stirred, and solitude seemed to reign within. The Lamentations of the prophet are now truly applicable—"How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become a widow, she that was great among the nations, and princes among the provinces, how is she become tributary! and from the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed." It was then approaching towards the close of day, and every thing we saw appeared lone and desolate; so quiet and solitary did the city appear, that it looked as if its inhabitants had been asleep for years, and that we had come to awaken them from their slumbers. As we approached the city, the line of wall which we had first seen, opened out and extended to the right. We passed the upper pool of Gihon, and met a few Arab crones going with their pitchers on their heads to draw water from a neighbouring well. They appeared like so many of those witches described in works of fiction, coming forth to meet us from the silent city. Turning a sharp angle of the wall, we reached a large massive square building, commonly called the castle of David, and now known as the citadel of the modern city. To the left of it is the Jaffa gate, which was guarded by a few Egyptian soldiers, who offered no obstruction to our entrance.

We rode on through a narrow street with a low dead wall on both sides. On our left lay a piece of waste ground, covered with old walls, broken cisterns, and prickly pears of an enormous size, jumbled together. On our right, the apertures in the broken wall afforded us occasional glimpses of the minarets and domes that rise throughout the lower and more populous parts of the city. A few minutes more conducted us to the Latin convent, which we entered by an arched gateway that rang with the sound of our arms and the horses' hoofs, which echoing through the old building, soon aroused its inmates. Presently, we found ourselves in a square court, from whose surrounding windows, numbers of bearded monks peered forth, astonished at our appearance, and wondering who the party could be that had created such an unusual stir within their solitary dwelling.

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As the Latin convent is that most frequented by European travellers, the number of whom has much increased of late years, the monks found it inconvenient to afford accommodation to all, and they, therefore, established an hospicè in the immediate vicinity. To this place we were conducted by Elias, the cook of the establishment, a friendly old fellow, whose attention every traveller will, I am persuaded, acknowledge. We found the best rooms of this inn already occupied by other travellers, and so were compelled to take up our quarters in a cold, dark apartment, with a stone roof, without even the necessary comfort of a fire-place.

A letter from Signior Campanelli procured us the services and kind assistance of Father Benjamin, the curate of the convent. He generally acted as our guide. The curé was a kind, good-natured creature, but extremely dirty in his habits. He had been but a few years in the country, and had not yet told his tale often enough to believe it himself; for, on questioning him as to the locality of many of the sacred places, he usually finished his speech with, "But I am sure it is all tradition." His evening visits to us were often very acceptable, for he generally produced from underneath his brown cloak a bottle of good wine, much better than that supplied to us by the convent.

After dinner, we proceeded to pay our respects to the superior of the convent, and in passing to his apartment we were conducted through a long gallery, on either side of which were ranged the cells of the Padres, numbers of whom stood waiting at their doors to catch a chance word, to know our country, and hear something of what was going forward in Europe. The reception-room we found a very comfortable apartment, in which were some good old paintings. It was partly hung with tapestry, and a deewan ran along two sides of it. The superior was a stout, intelligent-looking Italian, about forty years of age; courteous, well bred, and apparently well skilled in the art of pleasing. He appeared to be well acquainted with the general affairs of Europe; and hearing that we had been lately in Spain, he was particularly anxious to learn the success of Don Carlos, in which he seemed to be deeply interested. In the course of conversation, he learned that I was an Irishman, and instantly inquired after Daniel O'Connell, and asked if the bishops of Ireland were not now a very learned body. Being an Irishman

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seemed to raise me not a little in his estimation, perhaps from his supposing that I must, of necessity, be also a Roman Catholic, as it is considered in several places abroad, that none others are to be found in Ireland; and I attribute the attention I received in visiting many places of worship here to this circumstance. The superior invited us to partake of lemonade, and brandy flavoured with aniseed, which brought to our recollection the day we spent at Mafra. In the secretary of the superior I found a good botanist, and a man of more taste and refinement than we were led to believe could exist among the Terra Santa friars. We returned to our hospicé, and thus ended our first evening in Jerusalem.

Having taken up our residence in the Holy City, I here close my diary for the present, and instead of dragging my readers from place to place, and enumerating all that we saw and heard, I choose rather to compress my notes of the week which I spent here, into distinct sections upon some of the most remarkable places and objects which have been least dwelt upon or described by recent travellers.

One of the first places visited by the traveller or the pilgrim, is the Holy Sepulchre; and here I generally spent an hour daily during our sojourn at Jerusalem—for all must be willing to accept the invitation—"Come, see the place where the Lord lay." Our way from the Latin convent to the sepulchre led *down* through a tolerably wide street, having high dead walls on either side, with low massive doors at intervals, leading into the courts and houses within. Turning to the right, at the end of this street, we proceeded through one of the smaller bazaars, generally filled with ragged Arab women, the vendors of vegetables and snails, the latter of which are much eaten here, especially during the season of lent. Pursuing this path for a short distance, our attention was attracted to a crowd of people of different nations and various costumes hastening towards a narrow lane upon the left. Mixing with these, we found both sides of the lane crowded with shops for the sale of wearing apparel, besides crosses, rosaries, and such other sacred ware. Several crooked turnings, and a steep descent, conducted us into a large square court in front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Part of this enclosure is raised a few steps, and these steps form the basement of a row of pillars; so that, in all probability, the whole

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of this court was originally covered in. The scene that presented itself in this space was of most novel and exciting interest, and the motley groups of figures that thronged it gave it a very extraordinary appearance. On the upper raised steps were tables spread with coffee, sherbet, sweetmeats, and refreshments; and throughout the court were seated pedlars, and the Bethlehemite vendors of carved shells, beads, ornaments in mother-of-pearl, bituminous amulets, bowls made of the asphaltum of the Dead Sea, and other articles of holy merchandise, some of which each of the pilgrims purchased during their stay. Through these wares, hundreds of persons passed and repassed to the church door. Pilgrims of many nations were to be seen in their different costumes; Latin, Armenian, Russian, Greek, and Coptish friars, with Turks and Egyptian soldiers, all forming the most extraordinary scene that could be found in any spot upon the globe; and a polyglot language is heard, such as few other places in the world could exhibit.

The front of the church presents little worth describing. No architectural beauty seems to have been attempted in its erection; and it is now a poor, mean-looking building, and very much defaced, as for many years past the Turks would not permit any of the Christian edifices to be repaired.

The entrance was originally a double arch, supported by three sets of clustered pillars of grey marble and verd-antique. On the architrave above it is represented the Messiah's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in good basso-relievo. This is a handsome piece of sculpture, but like the others in the building, it too is greatly defaced. Several other scriptural devices are distinguishable round the cornices and windows. On the left stand the ancient belfry and the Greek convent, and on the right, some old walls and ruined houses. We were not a little surprised, upon entering the door of the church, to see the stiff form of an Egyptian soldier guarding the entrance to the tomb of Christ! On the left, upon a raised platform, half a dozen turbaned Turks sat smoking and drinking coffee. These Mohammadans are necessarily placed there, for the purpose of preserving order and decorum among the devout priests and Christian pilgrims during their religious ceremonies! They keep the keys of the church, and open it every morning and evening, except during passion-week, when it remains open the entire day.

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One of the first objects that caught our attention on entering the church, was a large oblong slab of variegated yellow marble, raised a few inches from the floor, and having an immense candle burning at each corner. Our cicerone, Padre Benjamin, very gravely informed us, that this was the stone on which our Lord was anointed, and here, on Good Friday, the priests go through a similar ceremony with an effigy of the Saviour. At this spot the daily station of the pilgrim commences, for, on approaching it, he kneels, and not only kisses it, but touches it with his forehead, and then with both cheeks. This is the usual form of salutation at all the holy places. Whence this slab was procured, I cannot possibly discover, as it is totally different from any of the marbles found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; however, tradition has sanctified it, and so we pass on without questioning its antiquity.

A few yards to the right of this anointing-stone, a flight of eighteen steps cut out of the solid rock, led us to a square platform, surrounded by a dome or cupola, distinct from, and of a smaller size than that covering the Holy Sepulchre and the rest of the church. This platform, which is mostly covered with marble and ornamented work, we are told is CALVARY. Seventeen paces from the top of the stairs brought us to a low white marble altar, towards which the pilgrims were rushing as quickly as they could on their knees. The attendant priest, perceiving that we were strangers and Europeans, very politely interfered in our behalf. He caught hold of a person who happened to delay too long under the altar, and pulling him back, procured for us an immediate entrance into the aperture. Going down upon my knees, I entered the passage to the crypt beneath. The first thing that attracted my attention on reaching this place, was a large circular plate of embossed silver, fastened on a marble flag, and containing the marks of many precious stones and gems which had been formerly set upon it. In the centre of this plate there is an aperture, into which I sunk my arm, and at about the depth of a foot I found a square hole in the rock, where, it is said, the cross was placed on which our Lord was crucified. A few paces to the right of this spot, we were shown a silver grating which covers a cleft in the rock, which we were told was the exact spot where the rock was rent at the time of the crucifixion. We found no altars over the places where the other two crosses are said to have

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been placed, as was stated to have been in existence there some years ago. I anxiously inquired after the skull of Adam, said to have been found here, but I believe that tale is now better known to the traveller and to the English reader, than to the monks of Jerusalem; however, of this tradition I shall have occasion to speak in another place. This chapel is now in the hands of the Greeks, who have decorated it with their usual gaudy tinselled paintings. A number of ornamented lamps, suspended from the ceiling, shed a peculiar mellow and sombre light over the place. To the right of where the cross is said to have been fixed, the Latins have erected another altar, where, they say, he was *nailed to the cross;* but very few of the pilgrims seemed to pay any reverence to this altar, which, like many other places of the same kind established in the vicinity of those which have been acknowledged as possessing greater antiquity, look like so many "opposition shops." The walls of this chapel were adorned with faded tapestry; and underneath the platform of rock is a small cript belonging to the Copts, and also a place for preparing coffee. In this chapel is shown a crack or fissure in the rock, corresponding to that in the apartment above; and the examination of it rather induces me to consider the place called Calvary as a portion of the *original rock*, squared and hewn down to its present form; but I am at a loss to discover at what time, or under what circumstances, this place received the name of a hill or mount, as no scriptural evidence for such an appellation exists. The top of this plateau is fifteen feet above the floor of the adjoining church, and the bottom is thirty-five yards from the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Whatever may be the diversity of opinion as to the identity of this rock, a subject which I will discuss in another place, it was not, I confess, without feelings of deep emotion that I visited the so-called Calvary.

On many of my visits to this place, particularly at an early hour in the morning, when but comparatively few pilgrims were present, I was greatly struck with the sincere and devotional feeling exhibited by many who slowly and reverently approached the altar on their knees, with tears of sorrow running down their cheeks; when sighs and stifled groans were the only sounds that broke the stillness of those moments, save the tinkle of the piaster as it fell into the money-tray of the attendant priest, who

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alone, among the group, remained unmoved. At these early and tranquil hours, I have watched the aged and weatherbeaten pilgrim here bowed to the earth, and mothers prostrated around the place offering up prayers, directed, I doubt not, by the promptings of their hearts, and with silent tears, presenting before the altar their lovely little ones, who gazed with mute astonishment and childish sympathy at the parent, but not venturing to break the silence or interrupt the solemnity of the scene by their innocent prattle. These were absorbing moments, and different from the scenes I witnessed during the more public and crowded hours, when hurry, bustle, and confusion, and the vast concourse of people rendered the approach to this place almost impossible.

I have frequently seen, when some of the pilgrims, possessed of more devotion or curiosity than the rest, remained under the altar longer than the usual time, that they were very unceremoniously reminded of their delay by the attendant priest, especially if they did not belong to his own church. I was particularly struck with the number of children brought by their parents to Jerusalem—it reminded me of the days when the Hebrews brought up their little ones to present and dedicate them to the Lord in the temple.

On our return from Calvary, we entered the large circular hall of the sepulchre. This part of the building is surrounded by a gallery supported on a colonnade of eighteen pillars, and surmounted by a vast dome. To the north of this hall is the Latin church, and to the east of it is the Greek chapel. A large curtain hangs before this chapel, which is by far the most highly decorated of any of the places of worship here. The Armenian church is situated in the gallery of the building. Beneath the centre of the dome is erected an oblong pavilion of grey and yellow marble carved in panels, which, at its southern end, is surmounted by a kind of lantern or open-work cupola, decorated with wretched looking artificial flowers made of tin, and containing lamps that are lighted only on state occasions. Attached to the western extremity of this pavilion, is a small chapel belonging to the Copts. The entrance to the pavilion is raised a little above the rest of the floor, and is covered with a carpet, on which were seated numbers of beggars and decrepit

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folk, demanding alms of the devout pilgrims. From the top of this pavilion, and attached to the entrance of the Greek church floated blue silk banners. This building contains the Holy Sepulchre, into which all the monks and pilgrims enter barefooted, but our party were not required to take off their shoes. The pavilion is divided into two apartments; the outer one was handsomely decorated with different coloured marbles and lighted by lamps suspended from the roof. This apartment, which corresponds with the usual antechamber of Eastern tombs, especially those in Judea, has oval apertures on each side opening into the church. These are for the purpose of transmitting the light during the performance of the mummery of the "holy fire." In the centre stands a square stone, said to be that on which the angel sat when Mary came to visit the tomb. It is a piece of gray compact limestone, similar to that found in the vicinity of the city, and is supported by a pedestal not unlike that of a baptismal font. Opposite to this a low narrow door leads into the sepulchre, which was then so crammed with pilgrims, that for some minutes we found it impossible and unsafe to attempt an entrance. Could mirthful feelings have been indulged in such a place as this, the scene, which was ludicrous in the extreme, was well calculated to call them forth. Two pilgrims, perhaps a Greek and an Armenian, endeavouring to pass through the door together, and neither being disposed to yield in the holy struggle, they became jammed, and thus remained till both were forcibly ejected by some one from within, who had been himself, in turn, rudely thrust out by the Padre in attendance. Seeing a group of Franks waiting for admittance, some of the other visitors made way, and our attentive friend, the curate, soon pulled away the rest from about the door-way, crying out, "*Inglese, Inglese! Milordos Inglese!*"

The sepulchre within is a square chamber, six feet nine inches every way; open at the top beneath the small cupola before mentioned, which here presented an open-work of marble of the most chaste and elegant workmanship. On the right-hand side, an oblong slab of bluish white marble, raised two feet above the floor, is supported by another upright one of a similar form. The upper horizontal flag was cracked across the centre in the fire of 1808, and it has been actually worn down by the kisses of the many

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thousands of pilgrims who have visited this place for the last fifteen centuries.* Within this coating is said to be the actual soros or trough in which the body of the Saviour was laid, and to prevent its being chipped, carried off as relics, or *kissed away*, this marble was erected. This may, to some, appear strange and unnecessary; yet, it is related by a chronicler of the Crusades, that the Count Anjou, one of the first pilgrims who visited this shrine while it was in possession of the Mooslims, bit off and carried away a mouthful of the actual tomb without the infidels being aware of it! Above the tomb are suspended a number of small silver lamps of the most costly filigree work—the presents and offerings of the nobles and princes of the Christian world from a very early period. Besides these lamps, a great number of small wax tapers were placed round the walls; one of these was removed and given to each person who entered the chamber, and another was lighted in its place. Each of our party was presented with one of these tapers, and permitted to carry them away as relics of inestimable value. Flowers were occasionally scattered on the tomb, a few of which were afterwards given to those whose donations were of such an amount as gratified the wishes of the attendant priest, who sprinkled us plentifully with holy rose water on leaving the place. Our party of five just filled the space in this crypt unoccupied by the tomb. Although the top is evidently of modern construction, the sides of the door as well as the part above it are hewn out of the solid grey lime-stone rock, which is here distinctly seen.

From the sepulchre we were conducted round the different stations or holy places, which tradition and monkish ignorance have crowded within the walls of this building, such as the place where St. Helena stood to watch the excavations made to find the true cross; where Mary stood to watch the crucifixion; and where Mary Magdalene stood when Jesus appeared to her in the form of the gardener. The latter spot is considered a place of peculiar sanctity, and the Latin fathers were then chanting round it and perfuming it with incense. In one of the side walls of the Latin

* Dr. Richardson supposed that this worn appearance of the marble was the effect of long exposure to the atmosphere; but no doubt can exist as to its being attributable to the lips of the millions that must have kissed it.

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church there is a small grating with a hole in the centre, in which was lying a long stick with a silver knob on the end, not unlike a footman's cane. Here were a few Frank and Maronite devotees, who, after rattling the stick about for some seconds in the hole, in order that it might become endowed with peculiar virtue and carry out a good share of the holy influence within, pulled it out and kissed it most devoutly. Within this grating, I was informed, was a piece of the real and genuine pillar of scourging, although I had been shown but a few minutes before another pillar of the same character in the vaults below, and a third is exhibited at Rome.

The Latins, or Roman Catholics, have a fine organ in their place of worship, and chant their service in very good time. The Greeks use no instrumental music in their religious worship, but make up for that defect by the most discordant nasal singing I ever heard, each vieing with his neighbour, and braying with a forty-nose power that would be really deafening by itself, were it not overcome by the noise that is produced by the Armenians, beating copper drums about the size of boilers. There are so few Copts in the place, that the sounds which they produce amount to little more than occasional whines. Hours were consumed in visiting all the different chapels, shrines, and sacred spots under the roof of this building, the bare enumeration of which would be as wearisome and disgusting to my readers as the scenes I witnessed were to myself. There was, however, one remarkable object which I cannot omit to mention. In that portion of the gallery allotted to the Franks, we were pointed out a full-length portrait of the king of the French, lately sent by him as a *decoration* to the Holy Sepulchre!

The first evening that we visited the church it was densely crowded, and when the different processions were going their rounds through the building, and during the performance of the religious ceremonies, our attention was so occupied by the multitude of objects presented to our notice, that there was little time for reflection; but when we returned to the hall of the sepulchre, after having seen all the curiosities of the place, we found the crowd so much diminished, that we were enabled more minutely to observe what was going forward, and also to see some of the effects which the whole scene was calculated to produce.

Several young Egyptian soldiers had collected round the door

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of the Holy Sepulchre, and were acting in a most disgraceful and indecent manner, pushing each other, and running in and out of the tomb by way of amusement. I confess that I felt, in common with my companions, at this moment some of the spirit of the Crusaders rise within me, and was half inclined to inflict summary chastisement on the infidel and wanton intruders. Yet, on considering the matter, I saw that the conduct of these ignorant people was not to be wondered at, when I reflected that they had just been relieved from keeping guard at the outer door, where they had been stationed for the purpose of *preserving order among the Christians*, whose reverence for this spot should produce decorum of conduct; yet they daily witness acts of violence and desecration among the very priests themselves. Alas! but too often is this very sepulchre not only the scene of deceit and extortion, but frequently of confusion, strife, and actual bloodshed. About a fortnight previous to our visit to Jerusalem, an altercation took place within the walls of the actual sepulchre—what is considered the most holy place—between a Greek and an Armenian priest for precedency; high words were followed by heavy blows, a furious scuffle ensued, and the white marble covering of what those men believe to be the grave of the Prince of Peace was stained with the blood of persons calling themselves his ministers, professing to teach his doctrine, and to walk in his footsteps! Both of these priests were instantly conducted before the Kadee, who fined their respective convents severely for this violation of the public peace; for the Kadees and other officials are always glad of an opportunity of inflicting a heavy fine on the convents for the misconduct of any of their members.

With the recollection of similar acts, and with the scene such as I have described passing around me, I could not avoid asking myself, as I stood at the door of the sepulchre, is this the object for which a continent rose in arms, nations sent forth the flower of their population, monarchs deserted their thrones and kingdoms, whole countries rushed forward to the battle-field at the beck of an ignorant and fanatic monk, and thousands upon thousands shed their blood, and converted the plains and valleys of Palestine into an Aceldama; when war, famine, pestilence, and destruction, so long desolated a large portion of the world? Many as were the engrossing topics that rushed upon my recollection, and many as were the striking objects around me, my thoughts still

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wandered to the preaching of the hermit, when he roused the warriors of Europe to arms, and led that rabble horde of sixty thousand, of all ages and all sexes, across the plains of Hungary and Bulgaria, who, abandoning their homes, and throwing aside the peaceful instruments of husbandry, ran forward, seized with that unaccountable fanaticism which the eloquence of Peter infused into their half-civilized minds. I thought too of the orders of saintly warriors and chivalrous churchmen, the Hospitallers and Templars, that were instituted in this land, for the purpose of guarding this sacred spot, which became not only the object of the pilgrim's veneration, but the very nursing mother of chivalry.

The view from the gallery of the building is most exciting, and on looking down upon the moving mass of human beings beneath, my mind was forcibly carried back to the scene which the court of Solomon's temple must have presented when the different tribes and nations who, from various parts of the world, came up to worship in Jerusalem, were assembled within its sacred walls. I scarcely knew on what object to rest my eye, so strange and varied was the appearance and costume of the crowd assembled beneath. The diversity of language, the flaunting of the silken banners that slowly moved to and fro from the top of the sepulchral dome, the gaudy paintings of the Greeks, the waving of censers, and the perfume of incense—the crowds of devoted pilgrims, some in attitudes of deep emotion, round each sacred spot; the turbaned Greek; the high-capt Persian; the shaggy coat of the Muscovite, or the Siberian; the long beard and dark, downcast visage of the despised Copt; the rich dresses of the different ecclesiastics; the mitred abbot, the venerable patriarch, and the cord-girt friar, shall never fade from my memory. But when to these I add the scenes that took place upon some of the succeeding days that are considered more important and sacred, when the devotees joined in full chorus, though, to speak correctly, it was any thing but chorus or harmony, the effect was indescribable. Then, when the organ of the Latins was in full play, and the measured chant of their hymns rose from the vaults beneath; with the loud nasal twanging of the Greeks; the drums and timbrels of the Armenians; the low, plaintive murmuring of the Copts; the groans of the devout pilgrims, that issued forth from Calvary; the glimmering of the thousand lamps and tapers; the long lines of the different processions; and the "bustling busy

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hum" that at intervals came from the court without, as some of the pilgrims quaffed their sherbet, or cheapened beads and rosaries, formed a scene that beggars all description. But even at those moments when the din and clamour of this scene, which resembled the confusion of tongues at Babel, was loudest, there was *one* that, like a death-bell, ever rung in my ears—a sound which, eighteen centuries before, every spot in that vicinity must have heard; a sound at which the very rocks were rent, and the earth did quake; which burst asunder the narrow confines of the tomb, and called into life the mouldering ashes of the saint; a sound the most appalling that ever fell on human ear; a sound at which all nature, animate and inanimate, was moved to send forth one universal groan of anguish; that sound was the "Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani." If I closed my eyes amidst this scene, it was but to picture in my mind the bleeding sacrifice—the weeping mother—the supporting disciple—the intreating fellow-sufferer on the cross—the gaunt form of the Roman soldier—the wagging head of the reviling Jew—and the riven rocks: opening sepulchres—the rent veil of the temple, and mid-day darkness, appeared, in all their reality, to my imagination.

As the forms, the ceremonies, and processions, that take place in this church, have been described by many other travellers, I shall not occupy time in repeating what I suppose my readers generally know. There is, however, one scene connected with the grand climacteric of credulity and superstition, and which is now the principal magnet that attracts the Greek and Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem, that I cannot omit mentioning. On Easter eve all the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, and many of the Mohammadans also, assemble in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to witness the ceremony of what is termed the *Holy Fire*. On Good Friday, after the usual masses and processions have been concluded, the Greek patriarch and the Armenian bishop enter the pavilion of the sepulchre, the outer door of which is immediately closed upon them. The dignitaries remain locked in all night, waiting for the *miraculous* fire, which they assert is sent down to them from heaven. At length, on Saturday night, the wished-for light is seen, and a flame appears at the oval aperture in the outer chamber, or cenotaph, which I before described. In order to increase the delusion practised upon the devotees, in former times a dove was let loose from the cupola of the tomb, at

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the moment the sacred fire appeared, to represent the Holy Ghost! This latter part of the farce, if so mild a term can be applied to so impious a mockery, has been discontinued for some years past. Each of the pilgrims carries with him a torch, and, as soon as the flame is perceived, a rush is made to light the torches at the sacred fire; and, as no person is allowed to ignite his flambeau at that of his neighbour, the greatest uproar and confusion prevails. It seems that those that are soonest lighted possess the greatest virtue, and on that account large sums are sometimes paid for the privilege of the first ignition. The torches are then extinguished, carried home by the pilgrims, and preserved for burning round their bodies after death.

An eye-witness has thus described it to me. "Numbers of the pilgrims pass Friday night in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; a clear course is kept about the sepulchre, round which bodies of Greeks and Armenians walk in procession, and frequently meeting, a contest ensues as to which party shall give way to the other; words and often blows follow, so that blood is generally spilled in this contest, which is only ended by the Egyptian (now Turkish) guard interfering and separating the combatants. About twelve o'clock on Saturday night the Greek patriarch and Armenian bishop again appear heading processions of their own denominations with banners flying, incense waving, and chanting services in honour of the occasion. After several rounds of the sepulchre, these two (the patriarch and bishop) stop at the door, which, from the time they came out in the morning, had remained sealed, and commence a stripping process by no means reverent; every article of dress is taken off except drawers, to prove to the people that they take no composition or means for producing the fire in with them, the seal of the sepulchre is then broken by the guard and they enter, the doors closing immediately after them. One may now see the dense crowd thronging to the outlets for the fire, but of late, paths are kept on each side to the doors by dint of incessant flogging with koorbags; and men are stationed at the fire holes with lanterns, which they light at the fire as soon as it appears, and then rush with it through the various avenues kept clear for them to the side doors, the galleries, and the different passages, thus affording it to those who could not at first get near enough. Besides this, bunches of candles may be

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seen, dangling by ropes from the ceilings and galleries over the heads of the crowd beneath, to catch if possible some of the holy flame which is believed to be incapable of igniting any object except the candles themselves, even though held quite close to it."

One Easter-eve, about nine years ago, this mockery was visited with a signal instance of the wrath of the Almighty, and was attended with the most melancholy results. On that occasion the crowd was more than usually great, for upwards of six thousand persons had assembled in the building, and, according to custom, the outer doors were closed. While the people were anxiously waiting for the miraculous fire, the heat and the pressure became intense, and the air, from the closeness of the place and the multitude who were breathing it, became impure. Just at the moment that the fire made its appearance, several persons fainted, others sank down from weakness and extreme exhaustion, a cry of distress rose from those in the centre of the building, and a general panic immediately spread throughout the whole multitude. A rush was then made towards the door, but, as it turned inward, it was impossible to get it opened, owing to the extreme pressure of the crowd against it. In the tumult that prevailed, none thought of escaping by the galleries, or the other small side entrances, and the scene that followed, as described to me by several eye-witnesses, was fearful, and in its consequences truly appalling.

In the space of a few minutes—certainly not more than a quarter of an hour—numbers perished, either from suffocation, or from being thrown down and trampled to death by the crowd. The governor of the city, who was present as a spectator in the Frank gallery, with a humanity creditable to his character, ran down and endeavoured to restore order, and get the gates broken open; but he too was borne down by the pressure, and only for the vigorous exertions made by his attendants to rescue him, he would have perished with the other unhappy victims at this shrine of superstition. Ibrahim Básha was also in the church, and was with great difficulty saved. At length the guard forced back some of the crowd with their bayonets, and opened the doors. Many who were carried into the open air recovered; but, from all that I could collect from the most authentic sources, not less than three hundred persons perished on that night.

Terrific as was this scene of death, one not less heart-rending

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ensued, as described to me by my friend, Mr. Nicolayson, the Jewish missionary, and other witnesses.* The great majority of those who perished in the building were Greeks of Asia Minor and Armenian Persians, whose noble, athletic forms every person must admire. The dead bodies were immediately removed from the court of the church by their respective friends, relatives, or countrymen, and conveyed to the convent yards, the public karavansaries, and even to the bazaars and open streets in different parts of the city. They were then washed, "laid out," and waked, surrounded by those very torches for which they had in so remarkable a manner lost their lives, for notwithstanding the accident, the ceremony still proceeded in the church. The mourning groups that knelt around the corpses of their friends and kindred, so lately radiant with life and health, and on which the cold stiffness of death had scarcely yet appeared, presented an impressive and afflicting picture. A wail of sorrow, long and loud, rose at times upon the midnight air throughout the city, and reminded those within its reach of the lamentation that was heard in Bethlehem, when its children were butchered by the Roman soldiers to gratify the vengeance, and to satisfy the fears of the guilty Herod; or, when the angel of destruction passed over the land, and smote the first-born of Egypt.

Those concerned in the jugglery of this miraculous fire endeavoured, by all possible means, to cloke the matter, and to prevent the exact number killed from being made public; but the impression made on the minds of the people was so great, and so direct and awful appeared this rebuke of the Most High, that on the next day the very same Armenian bishop who had assisted at the ceremony, preached openly against its continuance, and strongly urged the people not to require the performance of what they had been taught to believe was miraculous. The Greeks persuaded him afterwards, however, to resume the farce, which is still performed, being in fact the fly-wheel of the machine

* A female servant of this gentleman had gone to witness the proceedings, and before she returned the family were aroused by a piteous cry throughout the city;—Mr. Nicolayson set out to search for her, and so had an opportunity of seeing the scene which followed that which took place in the church. The servant, however, escaped.

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that fills the coffers of the convents. The Latins, or Roman Catholics, at present hold the ceremony in extreme contempt; but we must bear in mind that this mockery was originally their own invention, and the deception was practised by them with full force about four centuries ago. Since the occurrence of the catastrophe I have mentioned, there has been an open space left in the fan-light of the dome, and the doors of the church are not now closed as they were before, when the people have assembled.

Having now conducted my readers to what is, for many, one of the chief objects of attraction in the Holy Land; given the simple narrative of its present state and appearance; and stated some of the feelings that I experienced during my visits to it, it may be asked, has not this place called Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, been long since *proved* to be nothing more than a fable got up by the Empress Helena, and propagated by credulous travellers, and is after all but the imposition of ignorant and superstitious monks?

To discuss the varied and conflicting opinions upon this much mooted and warmly contested topic, would far exceed the limits of my narrative, or the extent of my reading; nevertheless, I shall in the two next chapters offer a few remarks upon the objections brought against the validity or identity of Calvary and The Tomb, and which, though they may not possess the same argumentative force of others who have written on the subject, yet will have at least the value of having been formed from actual observation on the spot, unbiassed, I trust, by either the credulity of Sandys, the enthusiasm of Chateaubriand, the poetry of Lamartine, or the traditionary legends of modern monks and pilgrims.

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CHAPTER XIX.

JERUSALEM.

Topography of Jerusalem—Mode of Constructing Maps—Opinions of Clarke and Buckingham Plans of Mr. Catherwood—Description of the hills on which the city stands—The Streams and Valleys—Map of the Author—History of the several Cities on this Spot—Salem—Derivation of Jerusalem—Sion—Building of the Temple—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Rebuilt by Zerubbabel—Agrippa's Wall round Bezetha—Errors in Topography—Descriptions of Josephus—Acra and Moriah—The Three Walls—Tower of Hippicus—Circuit of the Ancient City—Tower of Antonia—Tower of Psephinus—The Royal Sepulchres—Walls of Nehemiah—Description of the Gates and Fountains—Establishment of their Sites—The Armoury—Existing Remains of the Ancient City—Cyclopean Work—The Outer Enclosure of the Temple—Mourning Israelites—Berca Solymon—Bridge to the Xistus—Similarity of Architecture—Authority of Ancient Writers—Circumference of the Ancient and Modern City—Ælia Capitolina.

In considering the question proposed in the last chapter, regarding the identity of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, we find that so much depends upon the position which the ground *now* covered by the church of the sepulchre occupied in relation to the walls of the ancient city, that it necessarily becomes mixed up with the topography of Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion. For this reason, the same arguments and observations that are applicable to the one case, become, if true, the proofs of the other. In order that we may enter upon this subject of the topography with advantage, we must first endeavour to trace out the original form of the ground before any city whatever was built upon it; and at the same time cast a rapid glance over the history of Jerusalem, from the earliest period that historic record bears upon the subject.

I may remark, by way of preface to the subsequent inquiry, that both these questions, of the topography of the ancient city, and of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre, are still undecided, and that the minds of many eminent scholars, travellers, and antiquaries are by no means made up upon them.

Up to the period of D'Anville's treatise, "*Sur l'Ancienne*

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Jerusalem," in 1747,* the maps of the ancient city were for the most part constructed *at home*, by persons who had never seen the places to which they attempted to give a precise locality. Pococke and Chateaubriand have, however, fixed the localities *of many* of the places mentioned in Scripture. These, with the labours of Reland and D'Anville, give us a very tolerable outline of Jerusalem and its vicinity.

Several of these plans have since been called in question, and endeavoured to be upset by Dr. E. D. Clarke, in order to make the plan which he adopted agree with his ideas concerning the falsity or apocryphal site of the places called Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. His views have in turn been questioned; but the opponents of Dr. Clarke, powerful and accurate in some respects though they be, have become liable to the objections urged against the map-makers, in that they had *never visited* these places themselves.

In later years, Mr. Buckingham has entered the field as a scientific inquirer respecting Jerusalem, its holy places, and its walls; but, independent of many inaccuracies, unwarranted assumptions, and self-contradictions, he too, in endeavouring to get rid of the objections urged against Clarke, has not only fallen into greater errors himself, but has taken up a position alike unauthorized by sacred and profane history, by analogy, and by a knowledge of the manners and customs of ancient nations, in placing the sites of the crucifixion and the burial *within* the walls of the ancient city.

Traveller after traveller, if they at all trouble their heads about the matter, simply state their opinions for or against the identity of Calvary, without advancing any reason for so doing, and these opinions are at variance up to the present hour. Again, all acknowledge that the modern city stands for the most part upon *some* of the space occupied by the ancient; and comparisons, both as to their relative positions and relative sizes, have been constantly drawn and speculated on—from what? The paces of one

* See also his Dissertation on the Extent of Ancient Jerusalem in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. Since the first edition of this Narrative appeared, I have seen some plans of Jerusalem by German writers, but I believe they never came to England. The best of these was Sieber's. *Geometrische Kart der Stadt Jerusalem*. Prag. 1812.

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person, or the time occupied in riding round it by another! So that, up to a few years ago, no accurate map of modern Jerusalem was in existence. In 1835 this deficiency was supplied by Mr. Catherwood, who *surveyed* the place, and furnished a plan, of the accuracy of which there can be no manner of doubt. This plan I have adopted as the groundwork of the topography of the ancient city, some remains of which I hope to be able to show *still exist* in the modern, that will much assist us in our investigation. Since the first edition of this Narrative appeared, Dr. Robinson, of New York, published his valuable "Biblical Researches in Palestine," the work of greatest research on this subject in modern times, and has also adopted the map of Mr. Catherwood.

So many works have been written upon the subject of the different hills, tombs, fountains, and sacred spots, genuine or traditionary, from the time of Quaresmius, Sandys, Pococke, and Shaw, and from the more modern work of Chateaubriand, down to the date of that interesting little book, "Three Weeks in Palestine," or the popular description of the Holy Land, by the editor of the Modern Traveller, that I presume most of my readers are acquainted with those places; and, moreover, so many Englishmen have visited Judea within the last few years, that I feel I am addressing many who can test the accuracy of my opinions from their own personal observations, and whose recollections of the Holy City will enable them to go forward with me in this inquiry.

On the place where it is admitted that Jerusalem stood, there was originally a series of elevations of different heights, collected together in the form of a parallelogram. These were separated from the surrounding "hill country" by deep valleys and ravines, that enclosed them upon three of their sides, the fourth merging into the neighbouring elevations. This collection of hills, besides the deep valleys by which (as a mass) they were encompassed, were separated from each other by minor hollows, following the natural position of the ground; these latter we may term the internal, the other the external, or the boundary valleys. The deepest and most extensive of these external ones ran nearly due north and south; its eastern side rose gradually into a three-topt hill, called the Mount of Olives, while the opposite side was almost perpendicular, but not so high, and formed the eastern boundary to the series of hills which I have just described, the most south-eastern

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of which is Mount Moriah. This valley is known by the name of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the King's Dale, or simply, The Valley. Through it passed, during the rainy season, an inconsiderable stream called Kedron, which runs on through a continuation of this vale into the Dead Sea. The advantage of such a stream of water, and of so deep and sheltered a valley, would not be overlooked by those seeking the best situation whereon to erect a city.

The second valley was to the south, and at right angles to the latter, running nearly east and west; it joined the first at its eastern corner, and was called the Valley of Tophet, or the Valley of the Children of Hinnom. Its sides were also steep, and on its outer or southern aspect it had a hill, called by the moderns "The Hill of Evil Counsel," and by more ancient writers, "The Mount of Offence;" and a small stream or water-course ran through it, called Gihon. The third valley was the least considerable of any; it was a continuation of the second, that turned to the north, where it ended abruptly at a point, about midway opposite the centre of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This was the Valley of Rephaim or Gihon, or the Valley of Giants; and the brook of Gihon flowed on through its centre.

The hills enclosed by these *external* valleys were, first—a conical eminence in the S. W. corner, sloping down to the S. E. It was of an oblong form, bounded on its two outer sides by the valleys of Hinnom and Rephaim, and part of that of Jehoshaphat; this was Mount Sion, and its western point was the highest within the circuit of the valleys. To the N.N.E. of Sion was a lower hill, called in after days Acra; it was of greater extent, but less elevation. It had a somewhat curved or lunated shape, the concavity looking towards the south-east. It was separated from Mount Sion by a deep but narrow valley, called by Josephus, Tyropœon, and afterwards the Valley of Cheesemongers. Situate to the east of both, and extending from the point where Sion and Acra separated, and partly filling up the concavity of the latter, was the third and smallest hill, called Moriah. It was bounded by the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east; Acra on the north-west; and Sion on the south-west; but separated from it by a continuation of the Tyropœon, or the Valley of Millo, as it was sometimes called.

To the extreme north of all was a gradually sloping ground,

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which in after days received the appellation of Bezetha. Upon the western side of this plateau of hills were two other smaller ones, necessary to be introduced here; the one Gareb, to the north; the other Gihon, a long sloping elevation to the south.*

Such was the situation and original appearance of this very memorable spot, which at a very early period of the world's history became celebrated. When the twelve spies were sent by Moses to "search the land of Canaan," they brought back word that "the people be strong that dwell in the land, and *the cities are walled and very great.*" There can, I think, be little doubt that one of these strongholds was the city of Jebus, (afterwards Jerusalem,) belonging to the Jebusites, who with the Hittites and the Amorites dwelt in the mountains or hill country of Judea. Josephus, however, says, that the first city in this place was built by Melchizedec, and was called Salem. He twice alludes to its origin;—in the seventh book of the Antiquities he writes,—"Under our forefather Abraham it was called Salem or Solyma; but after that time, some say Homer mentions it by the name of Solyma, for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, which denotes *security;*" and again, in the sixth book of the Wars, chap. x. he says, "But he who first built it was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called Melchizedec, The Righteous King, for such he really was, on which account he was there the first priest of God, and first built a temple there and called the city Jerusalem, *which was formerly called Salem.*" This, according to our biblical chronology, occurred A. M. 2023; but the Jewish historian makes it in the 2559th year of the world. Some copies of Josephus are said to have here "Salem or Hierosolyma;" and many still

* My meaning will be better understood by a reference to the accompanying plan of the hills and valleys, &c. formed by an accurate and laborious examination on the spot. I have in it endeavoured to reduce the ground, now covered by ruins, as much as possible to the state that it must have presented before any city was built upon it. I have also transferred to it Mr. Catherwood's plan of the modern city, but divested of those traditionary places which are completely foreign to my present purpose. For the workmanship of this map, I am much indebted to my friend, C. B. Cradock, Esq.

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derive the word from Hieros-Salem (Sacred Salem); this, however, is a Greek derivation for which we have no authority. Dr. Whiston ingeniously supposes it to have been called Jerusalem "after Abraham had received that oracle *Jehovah-Jireh*, 'the Lord will provide,' Gen. xxii. 14. The latter word Jireh, with a little alteration prefixed to the *old name* Salem Peace, will be Jerusalem." And certainly on this spot, the Almighty did subsequently provide himself with a sacrifice in his well-beloved Son.* Acknowledging tha tSalem was the original name of the city, the prefix Jebus, the name of the king who conquered it, would, with the alteration of a single letter, afford us the present name; and history presents us with many instances of the names of cities being derived from similar sources.

The first notice which we have of Salem is that related in the book of Genesis, xiv. xvii., and xviii.;† where it is recorded that Abram, when returning from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, was met by the king of Sodom, and Melchizedec, who was king of Salem, and priest of the Most High, in the vale of Shaveh, which is the king's dale, or, as is generally supposed, the valley of Jehoshaphat.‡ M. Poujoulat, in his most interesting "*Histoire de Jerusalem*," has lately called in question the general opinion as to the origin or derivation of the word Jerusalem, and certainly the subject is one not devoid of difficulty. "Is the city of Salem, of which Melchizedec was pontiff and king, identical with Jerusalem?" asks the French historian, who wishes to show that the city here

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* Victor Bythner, in his *Lyra Prophetica*, writes: "ירושלם idem quod 'visio pacis,' sive 'visio perfecta.' Ab יראה '*videbit*,' (ab ראה 'aspexit,') et שלם '*pax*,' et 'perfecta.' Mons Moria olim dictus שלם cui Abraham nomen, יהוה־יראה 'Dominus' *videbit*, i. e. providebit, indidit, Gen. xx. 14: appellata est urbs ירושלם in forma *duali* ob duas partes urbis, scil: שלם in *monte Zion* sita, et יראה montem *Moria*, qui postea Zioni junctus et inclusus." It was, however, "upon one of the mountains in the land of Moriah" that Abraham was desired to offer up his son; and if this really be the locality of that great type, it may not appear fanciful to suppose, that upon the *exact* spot where stood the altar for Isaac's sacrifice, the Saviour, the great antitype, was afterwards offered up.

† It is also mentioned by David, Psalm lxxvi. 1, 2; and Psalm cx. 4.

‡ Chateaubriand and Mr. Buckingham include Mount Moriah within the city of Melchizedec, but I cannot see any warrant for such a supposition.

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referred to was the "Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan," and mentioned in Genesis xxxiii. 18, as that to which Jacob came from Padan-Aram; but there is no authority in Scripture to warrant our believing that this was the city of Melchizedec. The site of the former is still discoverable on the road from Jerusalem to Nablous, a short distance to the N. E. of Beitin, the ancient Bethel; St. John informs us that the Baptist "was baptizing in Enon, near to Salem," (John iii. 23,) and it is not probable that Josephus, who wrote about seventy-five years afterwards, would confound the Salem of Jacob with the original name of Jerusalem or the city of Melchizedec.

It is said, that fifty years after its first building, it was taken by the Jebusites, the descendants of Jebus, the son of Canaan, who erected a fortress on Mount Sion, a place that offered this warlike people an advantageous position for converting it into an acropolis, like that of most ancient cities. By these people it was first called Jerusalem, probably in memory of their forefather. Joshua, it is reported, made himself master of the lower city Acra, which the children of Israel retained in common with the original inhabitants, till David, in the eighth year of his reign, took the fortress of Sion, and drove the Jebusites down out of it, B. C. 1048 (2 Sam. v.); from which time it received the name of The City of David, to distinguish it from the lower city. It was included in the lot of Benjamin, and that of Judah ran by its walls on the southern side, through the valley of Hinnom. Here we have both Sion and Acra or Salem, as it was originally called, within the compass of Jerusalem. David fortified the acropolis, or upper city, from a place called Millo,* and inwards.

Solomon succeeded, and he commenced to build the temple on Mount Moriah, to the east of the then existing town. Concerning this hill there is a tradition among the Israelites to the present day; and it is also related in the Targum, that "Solomon began to build the house of the sanctuary of the Lord at Jerusalem, in the place where Abraham prayed and worshipped in the name of the Lord. This is the place of the earth where *all* generations shall worship the Lord. Here Abraham was about to offer his son Isaac for a burnt offering; but he was snatched away by the word

* Millo appears to have been that internal valley afterwards called Tyropœon.

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of the Lord, and a ram placed in his stead. Here Jacob prayed when he fled from the face of Esau, his brother; and here the angel of the Lord appeared to David, at which time David built an altar unto the Lord in the threshing-floor which he bought from Araunah, the Jebusite."

At this period we see that the *three* hills originally mentioned became enclosed within the city, which then attained to a splendour and eminence it has never since equalled. And now, in process of time, this city, after many unheeded warnings and denunciations, was wholly destroyed by that extraordinary instrument of the Almighty's power, Nebuchadnezzar, in the year of the world 3390, (2 Chron. xxxvi.) B. C. 610, and its inhabitants carried away into captivity. After seventy years a new epoch takes place. The Chaldean empire passes into the Persian, and Cyrus gives permission to Zerubbabel to rebuild the temple, which is afterwards accomplished under Darius, (Ezra, vi.) but the city walls remained prostrate, till the return of Nehemiah, B. C. 446. Now, at this time, though the walls and gates were broken down, yet their foundations must have remained, for not only was the prophet able to trace the walls, but afterwards the people took particular and defined portions, some of which they rebuilt —others we read, that they only *repaired*. As we know of no other destruction of the city, we must suppose that this same wall remained in situ up to the days of our Saviour and Josephus. We therefore refer to the description of the Jewish antiquary, and with a map so constructed, and studying the natural position of the ground, we shall be able to trace the respective portions built by the Jews after the return from Babylon. There is, however, one exception to this. We learn from authentic sources, that the city becoming so populous, that it was unable to contain its inhabitants within its walls, a large suburb sprung up on the sloping ground, to the north of Acra. This in time became a part of the metropolis, and as the wall which separated it from the southern town would be of little use, it was in all probability neglected. In process of time, when Judea became a Roman province, and wars and dissensions sprang up on all sides, Herod Agrippa encircled part of this northern suburb with a wall, which was afterwards completed by the Jews themselves by permission of Claudius. The part thus added was called Bezetha Cenopolis,

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or the *new* city, in contradistinction to Salem, or the *old* city, or Sion, or the *upper* city. I introduce this here because it is a valid objection to *all* the maps, plans, and topographical dissertations that have ever been written upon Jerusalem in this country; for the persons who made those plans have fallen into the error of placing the gates and other landmarks mentioned by the early Scripture writers, and particularly by Nehemiah, in this outer northern wall of Agrippa, which was not built for many centuries after. Other geographers have marked separate portions of the wall, as that built by Manasseh, &c. but this appears to me to have been built round an *internal* portion of the City of David, on Mount Sion, probably between it and Acra, (2 Chron. xxxiii.) and both this wall and that of Hezekiah were before the time of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction, and they consequently merged into the walls of Nehemiah.

We now turn to the text of Josephus, which, as it has often been tortured and perverted, I shall here introduce verbatim. The bare reading of the description given of the city in the fourth chapter of the fifth book of the "Wars of the Jews" will not, however, put us in possession of all that the learned antiquary knew or related of the situation of the different walls and towers; for in numberless other places he enters into a detail of the parts attacked and defended, from which we learn more than from those particularly allotted to their explanation.

"The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall.* The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly it was called the Citadel by King David; he was father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first, but by us it is called

* Many persons, and among the rest, Dr. Robinson, understand this to mean three concentric walls; and that in some places, all three existed opposite onea nother; whereas, not one of the walls encompassed more than half of the city. (See Map.)

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the Upper Market-Place.* But the other hill, which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the others by a broad valley. However, in those times, when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off the part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it." And in another place, describing the temple he says—"At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when King Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its *east side*, there was then added one cloister, founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain." This hill is Mount Moriah, and these pillars and supports still exist, and were seen by Maundrell, Richardson, and others, and it is also stated by Josephus that it was joined to Mount Sion by a bridge, of which I shall have to speak heareafter.

"Now the valley of Cheese-mongers (or Tyropœon), as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain that hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also."

Of the fourth hill, he says, "for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also."

Having now become acquainted with the ground on which the city stood, let us endeavour to follow out its walls and towers. The lines marked RED in the map, show the walls of the modern city, except along the eastern side, which, being also the boundary

* This was undoubtedly Mount Zion; but Josephus, as has been frequently remarked, never uses this word in any of his descriptions.

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of the ancient city, I have retained in BROWN, which colour marks the ancient wall.

The same Jewish historian tells us that on the outside the hills of Jerusalem were "surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable." He informs us that there were three walls, which he describes in their numerical order, as regards their age; but in his account of the siege, he reverses them, and makes the third or Agrippa's wall the first, because it was first taken by Titus.

The first wall began at the tower Hippicus. This tower I have placed in the western wall, and believe that if it be not the same as that now called the Castle of David, or the Castle of the Pisans, and in which we find a most remarkable foundation of solid ancient masonry, that it at least stands on the basement of this ancient building. The stones of this tower are put together in that manner denominated "revealed rustic," having a deep groove or bevelling at the joinings. This method of building seems to be of very ancient date, though not at all peculiar to the Jews. It indeed appears more truly Grecian than any other I know of, and is frequently found in different ruins of that country, and is well exhibited in some parts of the walls of Mycenæ. It is, however, of much later date than some other, and more purely Jewish or Phœnician masonry, that I hope to point out hereafter. This tower was erected by Herod Agrippa, and it agrees in every respect with the description of the historian, except that it is a little more southward; a mistake rectified by giving it a northern position, with regard to the upper city on Mount Sion; and it is remarkable that Titus, we are told in two places, left this same tower standing, being struck with the strength and beauty of the work.* It is situated on the northern rise of Sion, to the right of the Jaffa gate, and is surrounded by a deep trench; and outside, the valley of Gihon or Raphaim turns by it to the west along the causeway, that here leads by the turning of the wall, and on which

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. vi. chap. 9, and b. ix. chap. 1. It must, however, be borne in mind that the works of this historian were written at Rome many years after the destruction. The "Wars of the Jews," it is supposed, were written about the year 75, and the "Antiquities" eighteen years later.

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the road conducts into the city. The upper part of the wall is of modern masonry, and the stones are totally different from those at the foundation. In the celebrated Itinerary of the Rabbi Benjamin, we find that in the year 1170 the lower part of this castle was rented by the Jews as a "dyeing house." "About ten yards of the base of this building," says this early traveller, "are very ancient, having been constructed by our ancestors; the remaining part was added by the Mahometans: and the city contains no building stronger than the Tower of David." It is now the citadel or stronghold of the town, was garrisoned during our visit by the troops of Ibrahim, and was the only place not taken by the Arabs during the rebellion some years ago. It mounts a few small cannon, which at that time greatly annoyed the family of Mr. Nicolayson, whose residence is just opposite to it. I have been thus accurate in the description of this tower, as it is not only a most remarkable remnant of the ancient city, but also serves as a central point to all the different walls and other localities. From its northern side the Tyropœon valley commenced, and pursuing a semicircular course, between Sion and Acra, emerged at the southern end of Moriah, near the fountain of Siloam.

Now Josephus informs us that the *first* wall "began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus,* a place so called, and then adjoining to the Council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way, westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain of Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east, at Solomon's pool," (evidently the lower pool of Siloam,) "and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas," (probably Ophel,) "when it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple." In laying down the outline, and defining the extent of this wall, I have followed the natural lie of the ground enclosing the brow of the hill of Sion, and where the appearance of the rocks and acclivities above the several valleys of Gihon, Hinnom, and that southern extremity of Jehoshaphat, sometimes called the valley

* The Xistus was an open space upon Mount Zion, used for public meetings.

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of Siloam, point out an evident marking for such, as seen in the curves and indentations opposite both the fountain and the pool of Siloam, to be pointed out when following the course of Nehemiah's walls.

"The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Genneth, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia." In order to trace this wall with any degree of accuracy, we must first inquire whether there be any existing remains of, or where stood Antonia—a place of exceeding interest during the siege of Titus, and in the history of the city for some time previous.

On entering St. Stephen's gate, on the left hand, adjoining the eastern end of the pool of Bethesda, of the outer wall of which it forms a part, are the remains of an ancient tower, the stones of which are of enormous size, some of them being twenty feet long, and the architecture of which is Cyclopean, as will be described hereafter. Some portions of the walls of this edifice are as high as those of the city. Beside it is a small entrance into the court of the Hareem Shereef, which it overlooks, and some broken steps formed of great stones lead to the top. This remnant of the ancient city corresponds in situation to that of one of the minor turrets and fortifications of the castle of Antonia. Josephus described this castle as "situated at the corner of the two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west and that on the north, and built upon a rock fifty cubits high, on every side inaccessible." The castle itself was forty cubits high, of great size and magnificence. He says it was a tower surrounded by four other towers, one at every corner; those on the south and east side being seventy cubits high, the two others but fifty cubits, so that from the highest there was a perfect view of the temple. On either side there was a flight of steps for the soldiers to come down out of it into the temple, for a band of Roman soldiers always lodged there, and guarded the temple; and they remained under arms on festival days, lest the people should attempt a riot or rebellion; for it commanded both the sacred edifice and the town.

At that period we learn that it was the citadel of the lower part of Jerusalem, and it was in all probability the castle spoken of in the Acts, (chap. xxi. to xxiii.) from which the soldiers ran

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down to rescue Paul, when the tumult arose, and he was driven out of the temple. Nay, it may have been from these very stairs which still remain in the north-eastern tower, that he preached to the people. I was never allowed to ascend those steps; and one day on attempting it, a green-turbaned descendant of the prophet drove me off, in not the most friendly manner, and spat upon me as I retired, calling me a Nazarene.

The fortifications of Antonia, I conceive, extended across the whole of the upper inclosure of the outer court, though the tower itself was placed at the north-western side, and Sandys observed part of its foundations at the western part of the wall of the pool of Bethesda. This second wall, which topographers have completely omitted, I conceive to have commenced in the sloping ground to the east of the place marked Calvary.* It then ascended the side of Acra to the north of the Tyropœon, and crossing over the southern horn of Acra, joined to Antonia. In this wall were two other towers, Phasaelus and Mariamne; these stood on the summit of the hill, and overlooked and commanded a great portion of the city. This is sometimes called "the old wall," and "the middle wall," and appears to be the "broad wall" of the inspired writers.

"The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city and the tower Psephinus." This latter was of an octagon shape, and situated in the north-west corner; it is described as a building of great magnificence, seventy cubits in height, and affording a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions toward the sea westward. Titus pitched his own tent immediately outside of it. To trace this third wall from Hippicus to Psephinus is a difficult task, for in doing this we encounter in our way the disputed site of the holy sepulchre—and those who deny the identity of that place will, no doubt say, that it is thus constructed to meet the objection; but a careful examination of the ground, and of the *several* walls and cities that have existed on this spot, will clear

* May not the gate of Genneth, mentioned by Josephus, be the gate of Goath, a name, not without good reason, applied to the place of the crucifixion.

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away many of the prejudices that have been entertained against its validity. The commencement of the wall was, in all probability, at the N.E. angle of the castle of David, or tower of Hippicus, because the ancient fosse, connected externally with the valley, still surrounds the north side. The wall then sank into the Tyropœon, and joined the hill of Acra at its S. W. curve, opposite the small or shallow *depression*, in which stood Calvary, and where it was joined by the central, or second wall of Josephus, at Genneth. Now, bearing in mind the crescentic, or semilunar form and position of the hill Acra, which just here has its convexity toward the west, we must of necessity carry the wall along the brow of what we are expressly told was the old or lower city of Jerusalem that occupied this hill *alone*. The bending of this (naturally surrounding the hill) brings us a little eastward; and at the Bab-el-Shem or Amud, (the Damascus gate,) are the remains of some old towers, the masonry, the construction, and the stones whereof demand particular attention, for they are similar to those in the northern wall of the enclosure of the Hareem Shereef referred to before. From this point it appears to me that the wall of *ancient* Jerusalem, long prior to the days of Herod Agrippa, was extended in a north-*eastern* direction, still following the outline of Acra, and by tracing it in this direction, we shall be able to follow the course of Nehemiah's wall. From this northward was the district of Bezetha or Cenopolis, the part enclosed by the Roman governor; and that from David's castle to the Damascus gate must have been the *ancient* city wall, even in the days of the Jewish historian, which followed the *natural* course of the ground that I have laid down. From the Damascus gate, this wall proceeded to the tower Psephinus, up the gentle slope of Bezetha, in a N.W. direction. The historian tells us that it "*then* was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabne, the mother of Izates;" "it then extended (or was prolonged) *farther to a great length*, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings;" or, to use a more critical translation, the royal caves, (*σπηλαιων βασιλικῶν.*) Now, here we come to another disputed point. Modern antiquaries not finding the monuments of Helena, must needs make the tombs of the kings, or royal caves, the places just referred to. This opinion was first proposed by Pococke, and it has

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since been adopted by Clarke and others, who not only endeavour to make the two places synonymous, but conduct the Bezethean wall *beyond* the royal caves, and enclose them *within* the circuit of the city; a line I do not think at all warranted, for we find these very monuments of the queen of Adiabne thus spoken of by Josephus. After the death of Helena and Izates, her son, Monobazus, "sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave orders that they should be buried at the *pyramids*, which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem;" evidently referring to the ancient or Nehemiahan wall. Now those pyramids were in existence up to the time of Eusebius, who, as well as Pausanius, Valesius, and others, mentions them; and the very fact of their destruction may be accounted for by their not being cut out of the rock, like the royal caves, but, being erected above ground, they would be plundered for their contents, or torn down to assist in constructing more modern works. The text of the historian is, I conceive, too plain to require a further refutation of this objection, for he expressly says, "*it then extended to a great length, and passed by the royal caves,*" very properly leaving this burial-place outside the city wall. But, to resume, having passed the sepulchres, it "bent again at the tower of the corner, (or more correctly *with* a tower at the corner,) at the monument which is called the Monument of the Fuller, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kedron." Where the pathway leading towards Galilee and Samaria crosses this line of wall, we find the evident and decided traces of the foundation of what appeared a gate, and leading east and west from it the remains of masonry are distinguishable. I have, therefore, made this the most northern part of the wall, and marked it in the map "Ancient Remains." Other traces of this wall, *south* of the royal caves, were visible in the days of Pococke in 1778, toward the N.W. corner.

We have now completed the three walls of Josephus, by joining that last described to the ancient wall, at the valley of Jehoshaphat, or Kedron, near the ancient Fish-gate; but there is still a part of the city, on the east, unencompassed by Josephus—that is, from the Fish-gate to Ophel, the place from whence we commenced at the S. W. corner of the temple. One-

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half of this wall he describes in another place, when speaking of the temple and its courts, as built by Solomon himself, upon the east side of it; all the rest of the house being at that time unenclosed. This refers, not to the walls of the temple itself, but to the enclosure made round the brow of Mount Moriah. From the northern point of that wall—that is, from the tower described at page 434, to the Fish-gate, where it met the wall of Agrippa—the historian seems to understand the "old wall," a term applied to it as well as to the second, or "middle," or "broad wall" of Scripture.

Having thus completed the circuit of the city at the time of the Roman invasion and its destruction by Titus, let us take up the Scriptures, and see whether these walls, or any part of them, correspond to those repaired by Nehemiah, (chap. iii.) In the year B. C. 445, Artaxerxes, king of Babylon, to which country Judea was then tributary, gave permission to Nehemiah to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, broken down by Nebuchadnezzar.

The inhabitants took this work in parts, and it is said finished it in the astonishingly short time of fifty-two days. "Then Eleazshib, the high-priest, rose up with his brethren the priests, and they builded the Sheep-gate."* This, from its position with regard to Bethesda, (John, v. 2.) and its being in the east wall, I think there can be now little doubt corresponded in situation to the present gate of St. Stephen (the *Bab-es-Subat*) to the north of the enclosure of the temple—and it may have received its name from being the gate at which the sacrifices were brought in; and this supposition is strengthened by its proximity to the site of the temple. From that, they sanctified it to the towers of Meah and Hananeel, which latter was in the north-east angle of the wall. Now in considering the expressions used in this third chapter of Nehemiah, we must remark, that some parts were

* Doctor Adam Clarke, perhaps the most learned and critical biblical scholar of our time, speaks thus upon our knowledge of this ancient wall in his day—"We really know scarcely any thing about these gates, what they were, why called by these names, or in what part of the wall situated. All the places of Jerusalem, its temples, walls, and gates, are mere works of conjecture; and yet how *learnedly* have some men written on all these subjects!"

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built, some repaired and set up, and other parts were only sanctified; and from this we can absolutely trace the state of dilapidation of the different portions of the wall. From the tower of Hananeel, a small part of the wall was built as far as the Fish-gate, by Zaccur and the men of Jericho. This gate appears to have been placed at the extreme angle of the eastern wall, and the north-eastern point of the northern horn of Acra, and its situation, if restored, would be about one hundred and fifty yards from the modern wall, just above a declivity that divided Acra from Bezetha. The gate was built by the sons of Hassenaah.*

Here we arrive at the northern brow of Acra, and must necessarily trace our wall along it, following the ravine I mentioned by the Fish-gate. This hollow still exists, and on its sides are several olives and fig-trees. Others completed the repairs up to the Old-gate, which was repaired by Jehoiada and Meshullam. This and the gate of Ephraim were the same; and it appears to have been placed in the northern quarter, and may have been the Damascus gate of that day. From the Old-gate we still follow the boundary of Acra, and here we arrive at the "Tower of the corner." This place, though not mentioned in this particular portion of Scripture, is very clearly marked out in several other parts, to be described hereafter.

From thence the wall was repaired by Melatiah, Jadon, and the men of Gibeon and Mizpah, "unto the throne of the governor on this side the river." This brings us somewhere

* Dr. Robinson has apparently fallen into many errors with regard to the position of the walls of Nehemiah—for example, making the eastern wall run, not above, but through the very valley of Jehoshaphat; and also by including the fountain of Siloam within the ancient boundary. To enter into a discussion regarding all these disputed points in the topography would be foreign to, and beyond the limits of a work of this description—and therefore, except in some remarkable places, I shall not enter upon the subject; I may add, that I have carefully perused and examined his very valuable work while correcting and revising this second edition, and that I still hold to the general description as I originally presented it to the public before Dr. Robinson's work appeared. The topographical dissertation given by Nehemiah is, however, scarcely alluded to by the American antiquary.

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near the antique masonry before noticed in the present gate of Damascus, where the wall of Agrippa springs off, and from hence to the tower of Hananeel; I have marked it in the map, "Nehemiah's wall." This governor was probably the person appointed by the Persian king over Jerusalem. Some difficulty arises here regarding the river mentioned in the 7th verse, none such now existing; but originally, when a ditch surrounded the walls, water may have been conveyed through it; especially as some way above this we find, *within the present town*, the large cistern called the Pool of Ezekiel, lying on the course of the fosse that was outside the ancient wall; and again, near the north-east corner of the present wall, we find a *stream-way* running into the brook Kedron, which in the rainy season, I was informed, becomes a river in the sense there understood. Nay more, Pococke mentions a pool in the streets, near the holy sepulchre, which was filled with water in his day, and supposed it to be connected with the upper pool of Gihon.

The next portion was repaired and fortified by Uzziel and Hananiah "unto the Broad Wall," which I consider to have been the second wall of Josephus, which meets the outer wall at this point opposite to Calvary. Rephaiah, Jedaiah, Hattush, Malchijah, and Hashub, carried forward the repairs to "the tower of the furnaces." This stood somewhere between the broad wall and the Castle of David. The remainder of the repairs on the north-west side of the city were completed by "Shallum and his daughters," to a point near the commencement of Mount Sion, where it is enclosed by the valley of Millo, or Tyropœon.

The sacred historian now turns to another point of the wall, which most likely was commenced at the same time as the Sheep-gate, and continued in a south-west course round the hill of Sion. He says, the "Valley-gate repaired Hanun and the inhabitants of Zanoah." This gate was in the extremity of the Tyropœon, where the hill forms a natural curve above the fountain of Siloam. It was out of this gate the prophet rode on that memorable night, when he rose and viewed the desolation of the city, and in that part of the description the fountain of Siloam is called "the Dragon Well." (Neh. ii. 13.) A little further south was "the Dung-gate repaired by Malchiah"—this was also in the Tyropœon valley, and was the general outlet for the filth of the

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city—nearly in the same place in the modern wall, there is a port that still goes by this name, but which was filled up at the time of our visit.

"But the gate of the Fountain repaired Shallum, the son of Colhozeh; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Siloah, by the King's gardens, and unto the stairs that go down from the City of David." This line is very plainly laid down indeed, and serves materially to fix two or three remarkable objects. This Fountain-gate was but a very short distance from the Valley-gate; and here, as we do not read of any intervening wall between them being repaired, that portion of the wall must have been very small. The walls of the pool and the fountain of Siloah were also repaired. The wall was then continued by the King's gardens, which were situated in the gentle slope leading down to the brook Kedron. Strange to say, such is the use made of this ground at present; we found it laid out in plots and vegetable gardens belonging to the opposite village of Siloa. It then turned into the concavity, where the pool or lower fountain of Siloam is placed; and where a steep declivity and scarped rock offers a probable site for the Stairs of the City of David.

Nehemiah repaired the part "*over against the sepulchres of David*, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." Directly opposite this part of the line are placed those extraordinary rock-carved sepulchres in the side of the ravine that rises up from the other side of the valley of Hinnom, which are said to have been *discovered* by a celebrated *modern* traveller. This lower pool of Siloam, or "the pool that was made," is sometimes called "the King's pool" (Neh. ii. 14.); and by Josephus it is styled Solomon's pool; it is placed in the indentation opposite the south-east angle of the wall. The Levites and others repaired it "up to the Armoury,"* at the turning of

* This armoury appears to be that referred to in the Song of Solomon, (ch. iv. v. 4,)—"Thy neck is like the towers of David, builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." This practice of hanging the shields upon the tower I have dwelt upon before at page 353 of this volume, and Sandys says that, in his day, "the tower of David, (whose ruins are yet extant,) of wonderful strength

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the wall. This I conceive to have been placed at the south-western angle, and here the wall has several turnings in it to encompass the southern brow of Sion, till it meets the castle of David, where we finished on the northern circuit. All this part, from the turning of the wall, was repaired by Baruch, Meremoth, Benjamin, and others, unto the corner—that is, the corner opposite David's Castle. Near this latter, Palal repaired another piece, over against "the tower which lieth out from the king's high house that was by the court of the prison, and after him Pedaiah, the son of Paroth;" each repaired opposite to his own house.

Here, then, we have the city encircled upon three of its sides, and then the prophet turns to the east again: "Moreover, the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel, and repaired unto the place over against the Water-gate, towards the east, and the tower that lieth out." We here reach the modern wall again, which corresponds to that of the ancient; and I have little doubt that in it is part of the foundation of that wall repaired by Nehemiah. This tower "that lieth out" must, however, be carefully distinguished from that on the western side, near the castle of David. This district is the Ophlas of Josephus. But to proceed, the wall here turns sharply to the east for a short distance, and at a right angle with that running north at Ophel. This side of it faced the north of the great tower "that lieth out," which was four square, and was the part repaired by the Tekoites.

The next place spoken of is the Horse-gate—this was placed at the south-east angle of the outer enclosure of the court of the temple, corresponding to the modern wall, outside the Mosque of Omar. When Athalia cried out treason at the anointing of Joash in the court of the temple, Jehoiada the priest ordered the captains to have her brought forth of the ranges, or the court of the sanctuary, and not to slay her in the house of the Lord; so

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and admirable beauty (was) adorned with shields and the arms of the mighty." I may also remark upon the above portion of Scripture, that, whether it be an allegory or not, or however it may be spiritualized in the present day, it appears to have had a literal meaning and a personal application at the time it was written; and to this hour the Song of Solomon is sung as a love-song, both by the Hebrews and by the Arabs of the desert, from Babylon to Tadmor.

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they took her forth, "and when she was come to the entering of the Horse-gate, they slew her there." (2 Chr. xxiii. 12, 15.) Thus it appears to have been one of the gates leading immediately from the outer sanctuary—moreover, it was nigh to the place where Solomon is supposed to have erected his celebrated stables, the remains of which are stated by some of the early writers on Jerusalem to have existed even up to the time of the Crusades. It may have received its name from the horses having been led out to water at the adjacent water-course; and in later times Herod constructed his hippodrome a short distance to the south-west of it, near the Valley-gate. Some rabbins have supposed that in order to go to the temple, a person might proceed on horseback to this gate, and then alight.

From this point we read that the priests, who, we know, resided within the enclosure of the temple, repaired "every one over against his own house." By following this line we continue on by the straight wall of the present city, to the east of Omar's mosque; but we are told that before the workmen arrived at the place where we originally set out, there were corners and turnings; nay, that Malchiah repaired unto the place of the Nethinims, on which we have already turned our back. This is all reconciled, however, by following the course of the *inner* or *western* enclosure wall of the temple, as well as the straight outer wall, when we arrive at the Sheep-gate, where we originally commenced. The gate Miphkad, repaired by Malchiah, was, I believe, in this inner western enclosure wall, and somewhere near its N.W. corner.

As the royal palace formed a conspicuous object in the circuit of the walls, the ascertaining of its precise locality is an object of importance in a topographical point of view. It was situated somewhere within the walls near to the king's gardens, and between the Fountain and the Valley gates; it is called in the 3rd of Nehemiah, and 16th verse, "the house of the mighty," and in the 12th chapter and 37th verse, "the house of David."

There are likewise other gates spoken of in Scripture, to which it is necessary to give, if possible, a locality; these are the High-gate and the East-gate; which I understand to be synonymous with the gate of Benjamin. This was in the eastern wall, mid-way between the Sheep-gate and the Horse-gate. When Joash commenced his reign, he took the people *down* from the house of

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the Lord, and they came through the High-gate, (2 Chr. xxiii. 20. and xxvii. 3.) King Jotham repaired this gate; and Jeremiah the prophet, when leaving Jerusalem to go to the land of Benjamin, was arrested in the gate of Benjamin. (Jer. xxxvii. 31, 12.) Now, as the land or lot of the tribe of Benjamin was eastward of Jerusalem, it is but natural to suppose that he went out on the east side, and that this was the same gate we read of in the twentieth chapter and second verse, where the prophet is put in the stocks—"in the *High*-gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord." I shall have occasion to mention this gate again in the topography of another city, under the name of the Golden-gate.

Biblical scholars, and those who feel an interest in any thing relating to this remarkable city, can now take up the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, and trace upon the map how the different parties proceeded at the time of the dedication.

Before we commence the description of the present modern wall, a very interesting inquiry presents itself. Are there besides those I have already enumerated, any existing remains of this ancient Jerusalem that I have just described?

Many persons understand the denunciation of our blessed Lord, that one stone should not be left standing upon another, as applying to the entire city; but this appears to others to have been uttered against the *temple* in particular, whose demolition is so complete, that I do not suppose one particle of the dust into which its ruins crumbled could now be found. For, independent of the plunder and destruction it underwent when fired by the Roman soldiers under Titus, we learn that Terentius Rufus tore up the very foundations of the temple with a ploughshare. Jerusalem became heaps, as was prophesied by Micah the Morashite in the days of Hezekiah: "Zion shall be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the HOUSE, as the high places of the forest." (Micah, iii. 12.)

But there are parts of the present wall of the city so truly remarkable, that they demand the strictest inquiry. These parts are found on the east side, opposite the Mount of Olives, above the steepest part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and rising above the present Turkish burial-ground. They form part of the outer enclosure of the mosque of Omar, commencing to the right of St. Stephen's gate, and reaching to the south-eastern corner, where

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the wall turns over part of Mount Moriah, and onward to Mount Sion. We found the lower part of the city wall formed of stones of enormous size, such as are not to be seen elsewhere in Jerusalem, or even in any part of Judea, except those noticed by Captains Irby and Mangles at Hebron, in the sepulchre of Abraham, upwards of twenty-five feet long. They are oblong blocks of *hewn* marble, very hard, and of a yellowish-white colour. Many that I measured in this wall, were twenty-four feet long, three feet thick, and five feet six inches broad, for some being corner-stones at the base of an ancient tower, allowed me to determine this point. On the inner side of the wall are some upwards of thirty feet long; in general they run to twenty in length by six feet square. They are put together according to that order of Cyclopean architecture, where square masses of stone were laid horizontally in courses, with intervals between each, the spaces being filled up with smaller stones, connected by strong cement. On the top of this is raised the present modern wall, as around the rest of the city. In some places this ancient work reaches up so far as to form one half of the whole height, in others not above fifteen feet; much, however, of the foundation being concealed by the increased elevation of the surrounding ground. This, it will be remembered, formed not only the outer enclosure of the temple, but of the city itself, which had *here* but *one* wall; the deep natural fosse of the valley beneath affording it a sufficient protection. Some architectural similarity to this enormous work is found in the Pelasgian walls of Italy, as at Valterra, Lodi, and Cortona, and other cities of Etruria; but in no part of Greece have I met stones of such dimensions, not even in the Cyclopean walls of Tyrus, or the Pnyx. All these latter are said to be the product of Phœnician workmanship, as well as those of Jerusalem, which we know were reared by the Tyrians. These two different forms of architecture at the top and bottom are not without their parallel elsewhere; for in Pompeii and on the acropolis at Athens the upper parts of the wall point out a period much more modern than that at which the lower part was erected.

This ancient work is continued round the southern corner, at the place where I have marked the site of the Horse-gate, and around Ophel to the modern Dung-gate, where it is the highest point of the city wall—nearly ninety feet high; and this part, it will be remembered, was raised up by Jotham and Manasseh,

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kings of Judah. A clergyman of the Church of England says of this wall—"We calculated that it was here about one hundred feet in height, and it was composed of evenly cut blocks of very remarkable size, such as are to be found in no other part, which have been evidently used or designed for some anterior purpose. One or two that we measured were twenty-two feet in length, by four in height."*

Again, on the western side of the wall that surrounds the enclosure of the mosque, there is the most perfect specimen of this ancient wall. It seems to extend a considerable way, but I was only allowed to examine it in an enclosure of about two hundred yards long, where it is quite perfect, and rises to the full height of the wall. This is the internal western wall, which shut out the temple and Mount Moriah from the city and the valley of Acra. Josephus informs us that in his time there was no gate in this part; and I am informed that no appearance of any can be now discerned in this old wall.

This enclosure is generally a place of the most intense interest, for it is here that the Jews go to weep, and mourn, and lament over Jerusalem—opposite to that which tradition leads them to believe is a part of the walls of their former city. I never visited this spot that I did not find it occupied by some of the Israelites. At all hours, late and early, there were they to be found; some sitting and rocking backwards and forwards, praying in a low, wailing tone, their faces turned towards the east; others standing motionless, and gazing intently upon the solid wall, their arms devoutly crossed upon their breast, and tear chasing tear down the cheek of many a silver-bearded patriarch; others whispering into its crevices, or kissing its sacred stones. For Judah mourneth; "all her gates are desolate; her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness." (Lam. i. 4.) The question of Sanballat rose to my lips, "what do these feeble Jews?

* "Three weeks in Palestine." The author of this interesting little work, however, supposes that they were the stones used by Julian, the apostate, in his impious endeavour to rebuild the temple; but it so happens that this was *not* the temple wall, but that common to its outer enclosure, and to the city, and they correspond in every particular with the line of the ancient wall.

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will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish which are burnt?" (Neh. iv. 2.) But the voice of the Psalmist answered me, "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. *For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.*" (Ps. cii. 13, 14.)

Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated Jewish traveller of the twelfth century, to whom I have already referred, mentions the veneration in which this wall was then held by the Israelites, who, he says, all inscribed their names upon it. It will be in the recollection of my readers, that after the siege of Jerusalem under Adrian, and until the days of Constantine, the Jews were prohibited entering their beloved city. At first they were only allowed to behold it from afar off, and then they were subsequently allowed to enter within the walls once a year, on the anniversary of the day on which it was taken by Titus.

Doctor Richardson has described some ancient remains, called "Berca Solymon," a subterranean colonnade supporting the lower edge of the ancient enclosure of the temple, now called Hareem Shereef. He says, that the stones are five feet long, bevelled at the joinings like "revealed rustic." The style and cutting of these stones are quite different, he states, from any other architecture at Jerusalem, and unlike any he ever saw, except the foundation stones in the temple at Baalbec. He thinks it not improbable that those stones may have been the ones used for the temple, as the workmanship is decidedly Jewish. Stones of a similar cutting and manner of joining are to be found in the lower part of the castle of David, or the tower of Hippicus, as I have marked it on Mount Sion; but this style is of a much later date than that exhibited in the outer wall just described.*

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* In a memoir read before the Geographical Society of Berlin by Professor Robinson, the writer, describing the enclosure of the mosque of Omar, says—"At the first view of these walls I was led to the conviction that these *lower* portions had belonged to the *ancient temple*, and were to be referred back at least to the time of Herod, if not to the days of Nehemiah or Solomon. This conviction was afterwards strengthened by our discovering near the S.W. corner, in the western wall, the remains, or rather the foot of an immense arch, springing out from the wall in the direction towards

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These remains, with those in the pool of Bethesda, the lower part of David's castle, the gate of Damascus, and another gate, which I shall speak of hereafter, are all even with the stones that mark the ancient city; the ground plan of which being now so far beneath the surface, accounts for so very little having yet been discovered. The valleys and deep ravines through the town, where we read that bridges were of old thrown across, and from which steps led up to the temple, (the foundations of which were constructed of large masses of rock—probably those on which Dr. Richardson described the colonnade as resting,) were filled up with the stones and rubbish of the former city, which were hurled into them at the time of its destruction. At present the city is comparatively level, excepting that part leading towards the west; and Dr. Richardson, in speaking of the Habsul, or the hidden place here described, says it appears as if the earth had dropped through

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Mount Sion, across the valley of Tyropœon. The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken; and it can only have belonged to the bridge, which, according to Josephus, led from this part of the temple area to the Xistus on Mount Sion; thus proving incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs."—*American Biblical Repository.* As I feel assured that this gentleman would not *wilfully* oppose, or endeavour to disprove, so awful a denunciation—one coming from the lips of Divinity itself, and one of which so manifest and literal a fulfilment has taken place with regard to the *temple* of Jerusalem—I conceive that he only looks upon it as the wall of the outer enclosure. It is, however, proper that this should be distinctly understood, that this square line of wall is *not* the temple wall, nor stood within some hundred feet of that sacred edifice, but was the wall of the enclosure of the *outer court* of that building. Since the foregoing was written, the "Biblical Researches" of the author have appeared, wherein we are led to believe from his description that the outer wall of Jerusalem ran through the valley of Jehoshaphat. With this opinion I do not think any accurate observer can agree, and the very passages which he cites in support of this idea from Josephus, evidently refer to the walls built by the Romans during the siege for the purpose of *keeping in* the Hebrews. The position of this antique masonry was not unknown to the Franks residing in Jerusalem, and had been already remarked by several visitors; but its historical import, that of being *the bridge* which led from the temple to the Xistus on Mount Sion, was first pointed out by Dr. Robinson, who found its probable span to be 350 feet, or about 116 yards.

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from the outer court, and that these columns were *once* above the surface.*

Walls constructed of stones of such magnitude as those I have described, surrounding the western enclosure of the mosque, in the east wall of the city, and in the tower, tell us that they belong to an era more than nineteen centuries old. No antiquary will, I think, be able to point out any such architecture *since* the Christian era. Parallels are only to be found amidst such structures as Baalbec, the magnificent theatre at Telmessus, the treasury of Atreus, the walls of the Piræus at Athens, the Cothon at Joppa, or the pyramids and gigantic temples of Upper Egypt and Abyssinia. Stones of this description were used in Jerusalem from the earliest time—"hewn stones," "stones of great size," ten and twenty cubits in length, both in the building of the temple and the city wall. And Josephus not only informs us of the general strength of the walls, but of *this* in particular, which was so strong, and the stones of such magnitude, that the Romans were unable to throw *it* down; and Titus himself on entering the city expressed his wonder and admiration at the extreme thickness of these walls. Again, on the east side, the very peculiar nature of the ground, and the steepness of the ravine that falls from it, together with the existence of the valley of Jehoshaphat, doubtless contributed to render it secure; and consequently the battering rams and engines of the besiegers could not without great difficulty have been applied to it—though I much doubt if such instruments could have taken effect on walls of such solidity. And I believe I am correct in stating, that unless in the late attack by Ibrahim Bâsha, cannon were never used against Jerusalem. Thus then we see that there was a physical impossibility of this wall being demolished at that time.

Now Josephus informs us, that as soon as the army had no more people to slay, Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish the entire city and temple, but leave a certain portion of the wall, together with the towers of Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne.

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* These subterranean remains have been further described by Mr. Bonomi. See Dr. Edward Hogg's Visit to Alexandria and Damascus. They were also visited by Mr. Catherwood, who furnished Dr. Robinson with a plan of them.—"Biblical Researches," vol. i. p. 448.

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"This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison; as were the towers also spared in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued: but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither to believe it had ever been inhabited."*

A palpable mistake occurs in the text of the historian here, in making the portion left standing by the Romans the western wall; for that, upon his own showing, was destroyed long before, not having the same natural defences as this; and the principal attacks of Titus were on the north and north-western walls. Thus we have the concurrent testimonies of the appearance and architecture of the existing wall; the written account of Josephus; the traditions of the Jews, (and we know not only to what lengths they carry these, but that there were always Jews in the place, who would hand them down through successive generations;) besides the prophecy of the word of God. And wherefore would the Psalmist have foretold of the servants taking "pleasure in her stones," if none such existed? What scenes has it not witnessed—what has it not yet to behold!

There is a very remarkable appearance observable in those parts of the ground around Jerusalem on which the ancient city stood; and when the place is viewed from the Mount of Olives, or any adjacent elevation, it is possible by it to trace out the probable extent of the ancient city. This is a peculiar blackness of the ground, perfectly different from the natural reddish yellow colour of the neighbouring fields. I have observed the sites of other cities composed of this kind of soil; but here a great quantity of the remains of tesselated pavement, with bits of white and yellow marble, are mixed through it.

Eusebius states the circumference of ancient Jerusalem to have been twenty-seven stadia, and Josephus thirty-three. The circuit of the walls in the accompanying map is but thirty-one stadia, or three miles and seven-eighths. Should apology be required for this disagreement with the Jewish historian, I can only answer,

* Josephus' Wars of the Jews, b. vii. chap. 1.

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that such was the line marked out to me on by a close examination of the ground.

The modern town occupies not quite two-thirds of the ancient, and is two and a-half miles in circumference.* Its eastern wall is that which I already described as belonging to the ancient city; and contains the *Bab es-Subat*. The southern proceeds from Ophel, over the summit of Mount Sion, where it turns to the north, and joins the castle of David, the ancient Hippicus. In this we find the modern gate of Sion, or, as it is called by the Mohammadans, the *Bab en-Neby Daud*, the gate of the prophet David. From this, the western wall is very irregular, and completely devoid of any of the natural ravines that fence the city in other parts; it is probably that built by the Emperor Ælianus Adrianus, hence called Ælia Capitolina; in it, he laboured to confound and *obliterate* the ancient topography, and hence perhaps its present irregular form. It includes Calvary, and at the western angle a part of the elevation of Goath; it then slopes downward to the Damascus gate, where it becomes the northern boundary, and proceeding along the brow of Acra, it joins the eastern wall at the place that is assigned to the tower of Hananeel. In it, are the gates leading to Jaffa and Damascus, the former called in the Arabic *Bab el-Kulil*, from its being the way to Hebron also, and the latter the gate of the pilgrims, *Bal el-Amud*. William of Tyre tells us that the walls erected by Adrian were so placed, "that the scene of our Lord's passion and resurrection, which had before been without the walls was now included within their circuit." It is also stated by the same celebrated historian, that "the Golgotha, and the place where the cross was discovered, as well as the place where the body was anointed, were formerly small oratories *without* the church." These walls, renewed by the Saracens and Crusaders, are still in good preservation, and for the greater part of their circuit are from forty to sixty feet high.

* The last measurement, that taken by Dr. Robinson, makes it 4326 yards; but he says it was done "without regarding the short angles and smaller zig-zags;" under these circumstances our measurements nearly correspond.

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CHAPTER XX.

JERUSALEM.

Promise of a New city—The Labours of Mr. Fry—Prophecies—Lines of the Prophetic City—Tower of Hananeel—The Eastern Wall—The Northern Boundary—Goath—The Southern and Western Walls—The Prophet Ezekiel—His vision—The City-like Temple—Its Measurements—Its Supposed Symbolical Meaning—Reference to Solomon's Temple—The Eastern Gate—Its Architecture—Traditions—Its station in the Millennial City—Remarkable Predictions concerning it—Mohammadan Traditions of Jerusalem—The Manuscript of Jalal-Addin—Prophecy of Mahadi—Expected Return of Messiah—Dr. Clarke's Topography—His alleged Discoveries—Position of Mount Sion—Objections of Mr. Buckingham—Their Fallacy—His Map—Refutation of Clarke's Objections—Sepulchres of David—Proofs from the Book of Joshua—Clarke's Knowledge of the Holy City—Authority of the Apostles—Calvary——Vulgar Errors—Golgotha—Identity of the Holy Sepulchre—Opinions of Dr. Robinson—Grotto of Jeremiah—The Royal Sepulchres—Tombs of the Judges—Their Manner of Construction—The Valley of Jehoshaphat—Tomb of the Virgin—Gethsemane—Mount of Olives—Sepulchres of the Patriarchs—Siloam—Valley of Hinnom—The Aceldama—Discoveries of the Author—The races of Mankind—Opinion of Dr. Prichard.

In the foregoing description I have endeavoured to trace the situation and precise locality of the several cities of Jerusalem that *have been;* from that of Salem, occupying Mount Acra alone; then Mount Sion added; afterwards Moriah, taken in for the site of the temple; Bezetha included in later times, as the population grew more numerous, and finally, the walls of the present city. But there is still a topography of Jerusalem to be considered, without which any treatise upon that subject would be incomplete.

We are informed by the inspired writers, in language such as cannot possibly be mistaken, that at the restoration of Israel "*Jerusalem shall be safely inhabited—and men shall dwell in it, and there shall be no more utter destruction of it.*"—(Zech. xiv. 11.) See also chapter ii., and this cheering promise is again and again repeated in other prophecies. But the inspired writers go further, and not only inform us of the rebuilding of the city,

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according to a precise plan, but they lay down the position of its walls and gates with such accuracy as to preclude the possibility of error or mistake; so that he who takes the Scriptures in his hand and goes over the ground may, even now, measure every cubit of the space it is hereafter to occupy. Mr. Fry, in his highly interesting and learned work upon the "Second Advent," has already taken up this subject, and the few errors that he has fallen into, are those merely arising from the defective maps which he consulted, and from his not having visited the places he describes. The quadrangular space marked by the YELLOW coloured line in the map defines the ground to be occupied by the future city.

In the prophecy of Jeremiah, we find the first description of the topography of this city. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring-line shall yet go over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kedron, unto the corner of the Horse-gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; IT *shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever.*"—(Jer. ch. xxxi. v. 38–40.) Here the prophet makes use of the different land-marks of the *ancient* city, which can be easily recognized, and which (although the ground may be raised up, and altered in appearance, as it is said in another prophecy, that it shall be) must remain to point out the circuit of its walls, such as they existed in that city, which I have already laid down. Their sites can now be distinguished, and every Jew in Jerusalem is perfectly well acquainted with many of them.

The prophet Zechariah thus describes the future city. "It shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the King's wine-presses."—(Zech. xiv. 10.) Let us now see how this description corresponds with the topography of the ancient city. The tower of Hananeel, which is introduced as a conspicuous point, was situated between the tower of Meah, and the Fish-gate, in the north-east angle of the wall. From it, the line runs southward to the corner of the Horse-gate, at the south-east angle of Moriah, and in the outer enclosure of the temple; but it goes still farther, and encloses a

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part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, till it arrives at the King's wine-presses, or the King's gardens, which are placed by all topographers between the fountain of Siloam and the lower pool of that name. Here then, we have an accurate plan laid down of the east wall; and it is very remarkable that from the tower to the Horse-gate, the greater portion of the ancient wall of the city is still in existence, so that, as I before remarked, it is the same in the modern, and also in that of the prophetic or millennial cities. Nay, it is still more curious and extraordinary that Mr. Fry, totally unacquainted, at the time he wrote, with the existence of this wall, says, "along this line the point of the temple was extended; the prophecy does not notice this; *we are to take for granted that the line is restored!*"

We now turn to the northern boundary, and here we read that the measuring line is to extend from the tower of Hananeel to the Corner-gate. This gate I have marked in the wall of Nehemiah, near to the place called the grotto of Jeremiah, and beside the Tower of the Corner. From that, it proceeds still farther, and crosses over the hill Gareb, which is a slight elevation north-west of the present city. But where are we to stop here? This is answered by Mr. Fry's explanation of the passages in Zechariah. "I conceive," says he, "that we are to understand the Hebrew particle with which the sentence begins in its comparative sense. The land shall be elevated and built upon '*as* from the gate of Benjamin to the place of the old gate, so also to the corner-gate;' that is, in the same proportional distance shall the wall be built up to the corner-gate from an opposite point, as from the gate of Benjamin, to the place of the former gate." (Fry on the Second Advent, vol. i. page 564.)

In the map used by the author from whom I have just quoted, the gate of Benjamin is placed in the north-east angle, and therefore the measure is incorrect. But, having established this gate to be situated on Mount Moriah, corresponding to that which is now called the Golden-gate, and in the times of Jeremiah, the High-gate—and also the first, or former gate to be in the northern wall of Nehemiah, about midway between the Fish-gate, and the tower of the corner—a line equal in length to the distance from the old gate to that of Benjamin, and carried straight forward from the Corner-gate over the hill of Gareb,

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will give us the circuit of the city wall in that direction which exactly corresponds in length with that of the eastern side. Having now formed two sides of a city, which we read elsewhere in the inspired volume is to be a *square*, it is easy to extend the line so as to complete the other two sides. From the hill Gareb it is to compass about Goath, or Goatha, a place which many readers suppose to be Golgotha. The western line then passes through part of the upper pool of Gihon, and reaches the northern extremity of Mount Gihon. Having completed the east, north, and western walls, the line then turns to encompass the southern side of the city, and passing through the lower pool of Gihon, crosses over the summit of Mount Sion, and joins the eastern wall at the King's gardens. "The valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kedron," I conceive to refer to that part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, along the eastern boundary, in which are several corn fields, the brook Kedron, and which is in some places literally paved with tomb-stones. Now that these prophecies relate to a *future* city, there can be no manner of doubt, for the city rebuilt by permission of Cyrus, after the captivity, has been long since destroyed.

Let us now look into another prophecy that bears upon this restored city. While the captive Israelites mourned over their condition, and wept for the destruction of their temple, their city, their country, and their homes, as exiles in a strange and distant land, whither they had been banished for their iniquities and rebellions against God, a young and highly favoured Hebrew was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and uttered many predictions concerning extraordinary events, which were to take place in the world; some of which have been already fulfilled, and others yet remain to be accomplished. He foretold the ruin of many kingdoms; he threatened cities, and lived to see his predictions fulfilled; he warned kings and nations of their approaching doom, and though he predicted many fearful visitations and judgments which were to come upon the Jewish people, no prophetic historian is more full and explicit in the cheering promises of restoration to the ancient people of the Lord, or the temporal prosperity and power, together with the spiritual blessings that are in store for them under the THEOCRACY that is yet to flourish in the country of their forefathers.

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While this prophet, whose name was Ezekiel, slept by the river of Chebar,* he was carried in a vision to the land of Israel, and there appeared to him the frame or form of a city, situated on a mountain, or raised ground, to the south of where he stood; and there met him a man of a bright or shining appearance, having in his hand a line of flax, and a measuring reed of six cubits long.—(Ezek. chap. xl.) This man was prepared to show and explain to the prophet the different parts of this building, and to describe to him the pattern after which it should be constructed, in order that he might declare all that he saw unto the house of Israel. After describing the form, the dimensions, and the uses of each particular part, as well as the ceremonies to take place there, he informed the prophet that the circuit of this four-sided building was two thousand reeds, or five hundred on every side. Now allowing the cubit to be eighteen inches of our measure, which multiplied by nine, the number of cubits in a reed, and then by two thousand, we have the circumference of the city in inches, which, reduced to feet, gives us the square that is laid down in this plan, corresponding *exactly* with the lines of the four-sided city of Jeremiah and Zechariah marked yellow on the map. Nay more, take up *any* tolerably well-constructed map, that gives any thing *like* an outline of the former city and the surrounding elevations, and measure according to its scale a square of two thousand cubits, taking the tower of Hananeel as the north-east point, and it will enclose the space mentioned by the two last prophets, so that, as Mr. Fry says, "Jeremiah's 'city of Jehovah,' and Ezekiel's city-like temple are found to occupy the same space."

It is but fair to state that objections have been urged against this literal interpretation of these prophecies. It is said that they are but emblematical and refer to spiritual matters; but if so, of what manner of use would be the reference to the topography of ancient Jerusalem; what spiritual import or meaning could there be in the towers, the gates, the hills and valleys, brooks and wine-presses, described by the prophets? What mystical or

* Chebar, a river of Mesopotamia, which falls into the Euphrates, near Karkemish. Strabo mentions it under the name of Abonas; Animianus, as Aboras; Ptolemy, as Chaloras.

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symbolical meaning can possibly be attached to the courts, the gates, the pavements, the porches, the chambers, the houses, altars, arches, palm trees, and decorations spoken of, and minutely detailed in the vision of the Babylonish captive? To get rid of this argument, another class of commentators have supposed that the prophet referred to the temple of Solomon, built on Mount Moriah, and restored by Zerubbabel, after the return from the captivity; or that rebuilt and beautified by Herod. But a comparison of the measures of both will prove their dissimilarity; besides, Mount Moriah itself, on which Solomon's, Zerubbabel's, and Herod's temples stood, *is not one-eighth of the space* to be occupied by this "city-like temple," which is to be twenty-eight stadia in circumference, or nearly a mile every way.*

An object of very great moment leads us to make a further examination of the eastern wall. About midway between St. Stephen's Gate and the south-west corner, are the remains of a most remarkable gate, built up in the wall, and originally opening into the court of the Hareem Shereef, or the outer enclosure of Solomon's temple. This is called by the Mooslims *Bab el-Derahei*, and is supposed to be the Golden Gate mentioned in the time of our Saviour. The upper part of this gateway consists of a double arch, with part of the capitals and pillars, but all the rest is built up in the wall, and guarded with the greatest care by the Mooslims, not only because it is in the outer wall of the mosque, but because they have a tradition that through this

* Among this class of interpreters is Sir Isaac Newton, who has gone so far as to give a description of Solomon's temple from the very lines and boundaries shown to the prophet when conducted to a city raised up and set upon a very high mountain. This view of the subject appears to us extraordinary, when we consider the great knowledge of prophecy possessed by this eminent and highly gifted philosopher, as seen in his luminous interpretations of the prophecy of Daniel. The plates of this temple figured in his work, will, however, afford most valuable and useful information to all who study this remarkable prophecy. In further proof of the fallacy of the opinion as to its mystical meaning and its applicability to Solomon's and Zerubbabel's temple, I would refer my readers to the preliminary remarks on the fortieth to forty-eighth chapters of Ezekiel by Archbishop, afterwards Primate Newcombe.

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very gate the Christians and the Jews are one day to enter in, and retake Jerusalem. The Turks, therefore, regard with a certain degree of jealousy and aversion all Christians whom they see approaching near it; and they would in all probability inflict a severe punishment on the Jew whose temerity might lead him to inspect it too closely. I never approached it but some Mooslim soon appeared, looking upon me with suspicion; especially as I generally went with a measuring line and a note-book in my hand. It can be plainly distinguished from Mount Olivet; though much mutilated, enough yet remains to show that but little of the Greek or Roman architecture was used in its construction, the capitals of the pillars being surrounded with leaves, rather in the style of the Egyptian, and the architrave being adorned with some of the floral ornaments peculiar to Hebrew architecture, and so well defined in sacred history, in which the pomegranate, the vine, and the lily-work were blended so as to produce the most beautiful effect.

These ornaments are well exhibited in the tombs of the kings, which are of undoubted Hebrew origin, and in other specimens of similar architecture about Jerusalem; but they are very much defaced on this gate.

The principal cemetery of the Mohammadans is placed beneath

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this gate, on a strip of level ground that intervenes between it and the steep declivity of the valley of Jehoshaphat; and in it are generally to be seen some Mooslim women mourning over the graves of their relatives. The large stones I before described, are seen well in the vicinity of this gate; while the doorway is built up of small ones similar to those used in constructing the modern Turkish wall. Bonomi states, that "proceeding to the interior of the Golden Gate," he discovered that "a central row of noble Corinthian columns, and a groined roof had once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship;" this may, however, be a part of the decorations added by Herod Agrippa. (See Hogg's visit.)

Sandys relates a curious old legend respecting this gate. He says "that the emperor Heraclius returning from his Persian victory, attempted to have entered thereat in all his glory, but was miraculously prohibited until he had put off all his princely ornaments, in a simple habit, bearing a part of the cross on his shoulders." Not only was this the gate of Benjamin in the ancient city, but it corresponds precisely to the gate of that name mentioned in the City-like Temple seen by Ezekiel, and also to that spoken of in the Revelations.

We see that this gate faces the Mount of Olives, looking towards the east, and is in that portion of the wall that was left standing. Here I would again refer my readers to the remarkable vision of Ezekiel, (xl. 6,) in which an eastern gate of Jerusalem is spoken of, and described with an accuracy and precision that is not used with respect to any other part. In this vision the prophet seems to have had a prospective glance of many centuries to come. He is first conducted into the city by a gate "which looketh towards the east," and which was the gate of the outer court or sanctuary of the temple. All its parts are here described with the greatest minuteness, as it was intended to be the type or model for all the rest. The two following chapters contain a description of the measurements and ornaments of the temple, and the prophet says in chap. xliii. v. 15, "Now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house, he brought me forth towards the gate, whose prospect is towards the east, and measured it round about." "Afterwards he brought me to the gate, even the gate that looketh toward the east: and behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the

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east, and his voice was like a noise of many waters, and the earth shined with his glory."—(chap. xliii. v. 1, 2.) This, the prophet says, was in accordance with the vision that he saw by the river of Chebar when he came to *destroy* the city, and the same is repeated in the fourth verse. May not this have been fulfilled when the Lord came from Bethpage, which is eastward of the city, and made that triumphal entry when the people cast their garments in the way, and acknowledged him as a prince, crying, "Hosanna to the son of David?"

In the commencement of the succeeding chapter the prophet states, that he was again brought back by "the way of the gate of the outer sanctuary, which looketh towards the east, and it was *shut*. Then said the Lord unto me, this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord the God of Israel *hath entered* in by it, therefore it shall be *shut*." This evidently refers to its present state, for in the third verse he says, "It is for the prince—the prince he shall sit in it to eat bread before the Lord; he shall enter by the way of the porch of *that gate*, and shall go out by the way of the same." Thus alluding to the Messiah's second advent, when "his feet shall stand in that day on the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east."—(Zech. xiv. 4.) In the remaining portion of Ezekiel's prophecy this gate is so often referred to as to render it a prominent object, and one well worthy the attention of the enlightened biblical scholar. Tradition states it to be the golden gate of the temple, and from this gate it is that the inspired writer says, that the waters are to issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea, where having arrived they shall be healed.—(Ezek. xlvii. 8.) The sea referred to is evidently the Dead Sea, to which the valley of Jehoshaphat leads from beneath this gate.

Regarding the restoration of the Jews, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the wonderful events that are yet to take place in a spot round which the movements of the different kingdoms of the earth seem to revolve as around a common centre, some faint glimmering of light appears to have long existed among the Mohammadans, as we learn from their many traditions; and particularly from that interesting manuscript lately published by the Oriental Translation Society, entitled "The History of the Temple of Jerusalem, by the Iman Jalal-Addín Al Siuti, written in

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the Christian year, 1444." This author says, "In the last times there shall be a general flight unto the Baitu-l-Mukaddas,* (the temple of Jerusalem,) and the ark, and the gracious presence (Shechinah) of God, shall be lifted up on high in this temple;" and then he goes on to say, "here shall be the general gathering of all men, the general resurrection: unto the holy abode shall God come in the darkness of thick clouds amidst his angels; and all creatures shall burst through their graves without difficulty, and all the inhabitants of Paradise shall come down again with pomp on the day of judgment unto this temple," and here "shall the seraphim blow the trumpet on the wall of the temple, and proclaim those great and terrific words—'O flesh torn from the bones! O bones gnawed and cut! come forth unto your reckoning, and let your breath breathe forth again, and receive the recompense of your deeds.'"

"Unto this temple, affirmed the prophet, there shall be flight after flight of all good people." Again, "also, said the prophet of God unto Abu-Ubaidah Al-Jirah, *hope of all hope* shall rest upon this temple, when the time of temptation and tumult shall appear." And though mixed up with the usual absurdities and traditions of Mohammadanism, the millennial days are dimly shadowed forth in this work, for at page 296 we read—"Now, for Al Mahadí (the True Guide) who shall live in later times, the prophet said, '*in the latter times great misfortunes and trials shall fall upon my people from their Sultáns*, such as never was heard of before, until the wide earth shall be too narrow for them. The earth shall be also full of injustice and oppression. Then will God send down a man to fill the earth with justice and equity, as it was before filled with injustice and wrong. Then shall the dweller in the heavens, and the dweller upon earth be well content: neither shall the earth be deprived of one drop of the copious showers which I will pour down upon it, nor the heaven of those streams I cause to flow. This man shall live with them seven, or eight, or nine years. His life or death shall be fixed and determined by the good which God wills to be effected for the people of the earth.'" Again, "Mahadí shall be

* Jerusalem is called *El Kuds* (the Holy) by the Arabs; and by most of the Arabian writers *Beit* or *Baitu El Mukaddas*.

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born in Medína, of the family of Muhammad, and of the same name."

"Now, for the expedition to the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, Muhammad-Ibn-Hanífa-Abbás said, Truly the black standards of the Prophet shall march forward; and from Khorasán another black and white array shall advance; in which array there shall be seen a man called Shaíh-Ibn-Sáleh, prince of the sons of Akama. He shall put to flight all the commands of Sufián, until he attack the Holy City, *in order to smooth the way for the assumption of the sovereignty thereof* by Mahadí. Mahadí shall come thither from Syria. Also between the commencement of the march and the final accomplishment of the proposed object, shall elapse seventy-three months. Others say that Shuaib shall suddenly and secretly march upon the Holy City, in order to prepare an abiding place for Mahadí, when he shall hear of the march to Syria. The number of the army shall be twelve thousand. Again, by the hands of Mahadí shall the ark of Shechinah (Divine Presence) be brought forward and exposed to view, from the desert of Tiberias, and shall be carried and placed before him in the Holy City; which when the Jews behold, they shall all become Moselims, except a few. Then Mahadi shall die. Again, truth and justice shall be perverted; men shall be avaricious, the world shall act perversely; not an instant shall pass unmarked by some evil deed or word on the part of created beings; *and none shall show and follow the right way, but Jesus, son of Maria.* It is also a common and well-founded tradition, that never shall the Holy City want: never shall there cease to be found therein a man to do the good deeds of the House of David, and never shall there be wanting a chief of the company of David's comrades to enter the Holy City."

And again, when relating the future glory of Syria, and the first building of Damascus, as well as the tradition of the reappearance of the Messiah, he says—"This is the tower (but God knows) upon which Jesus son of Maria will alight; for Muhammad is reported to have said, I saw Jesus son of Maria come forth from near the white minaret, east of the mosque, placing his hands upon the wings of two angels firmly bound to him. Upon him was the divine glory, (the Shechinah). He was marked by the red tinge of baptism. This is the mark of original sin. Jesus (it is also said) shall come forth from the

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White Tower by the eastern gate, and shall enter the mosque. *Then shall the word come forth for Jesus to fight with Antichrist at the corner of the city, as long as it shall please God.*"*

Having now completed the circuit of the ancient walls, and shown that they in all likelihood excluded Calvary, or Goath, let us consider what are the objections urged against the line of circumvallation, laid down in the accompanying map. Dr. Clarke states, "it is probable that the whole of Mount Sion has been excluded; and that the mountain covered by ruined edifices, whose base is perforated by ancient sepulchres, and separated from Mount Moriah by the deep trench or Tyropœon, extending as far as the fountain Siloa, towards the eastern valley, is in fact, that eminence which was once surrounded by the 'bulwarks, towers, and regal buildings' of the house of David." This is the Mount of Evil Council, which I have marked as the Mount of Offence, its name at the time Sandys and Pococke visited Jerusalem. The reasons assigned for this position by the learned antiquary are, first, that without it the circumference of the ancient city, a circuit of twenty-seven stadia, or three miles and three furlongs, as stated by Eusebius, would be too small; secondly, that he found certain sepulchres in the northern side of this hill, which he believed to be the sepulchres of the sons of David, mentioned in Nehemiah; and thirdly, that on several of these sepulchres, he discovered certain Greek inscriptions, some of which with a cross before them ran thus, "+THCAΓIAC CIWN

* See the History of the Temple of Jerusalem, translated from the Arabic MS. of the Imam Jalal-Addin Al Siuti, by the Rev. James Reynolds, B.A. published under the auspices of the Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland; one of the most extraordinary works that has appeared for many years, and well worthy the attentive perusal of the learned. Since the first edition of this "Narrative" was published, my attention has been called to this work, by the learned Hammer Purgstall, who showed in his review of it in the "*Oesterreichische Jarhbücher der Litterature*," that it is in many respects an erroneous translation; and with great justness observes, that its editor ought to have been aware of the existence of a translation of a great part of it, "ex codice manuscripto Niebuhriano Bibliothecæ Regiæ Hauniensis," by Paulus Lemming. A Latin translation with Arabic extracts, published by Schultz, Hauniæ in 1817.

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of the holy Sion." And besides, that the valley Gehinnom of Sandys, which I have marked Hinnom, as agreed upon by D'Anville and others, is "in fact the valley of Millo called Tyropœon by Josephus, which separated Mount Sion from Mount Moriah, and extended as far as the fountain Siloa, where it joined the valley of Jehoshaphat." Dr. Clarke goes further, and places the site of the crucifixion on Mount Sion! and the sepulchre where our Lord was laid among those of the royal tombs of the sons of David. Nay, he appears to have actually found out the individual crypt!!!

As it is better to place all the objections together, that the reader may be able to test their validity, I shall here introduce those adduced by Mr. Buckingham. He agrees with Clarke, as to the site of Sion being that of the Hill of Evil Council; but he goes still further, and makes Hinnom, the Tyropœon, and Gihon all the same!! He states that the place which is marked as the *hill* Gihon, to the west of Sion in the map, must have been a low place, because Solomon, in accordance with David's vow to Bathsheba, is taken *down* to be anointed there; forgetting that it was from the adjoining hill of Sion that he was taken; and surely a person may be said to go down from a higher to a lower elevation. Another objection urged by Mr. Buckingham, is one which turns out to be the very strongest proof of the position I have mentioned. He quotes Joshua, (chap. xviii. v. 16,) where it is said "the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is the valley of the giants on the *north*, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south;" and he then goes on to say "Jebusi, or the oldest Jerusalem, was on the north of Sion, occupying *only* the two hills of Acra and Moriah; and being commanded by the citadel which David erected there." Now Mr. Buckingham furnishes an answer to this objection himself, a few pages further on in his book, where he quotes Josephus as showing that the *oldest city* was *Salem*, the residence of Melchisedec, and this I have shown already *only* occupied Acra;—Moriah, as far as we know, never having been considered as part of the city, till long after, when it was included for the temple. In the same place he also quotes Chateaubriand, as saying that "the descendants of Jebus, a son of Canaan, erected a fortress on Mount Sion, to which the gave the

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name of Jebus their father. The Jebusites still retained possession of the upper town or citadel of Jebus, and kept it till they were driven out by David eight hundred and thirty-four years after." Here there is an evident contradiction. In reference to Jebusi being "on the north of Sion, and occupying *only* Acra and Moriah;" a little further on, he again says, "when David first laid siege to Jerusalem, it is said he took the lower city by force, but the citadel still held out, 'nevertheless, David took the strong-hold of Sion: the same is the city of David.'"—(2 Sam. v. 7.) Now it is perfectly clear that if the border lay to the south of Jebusi, it lay to the south of Sion, for that *Mount was undoubtedly included within the city of Jebus*, as we see from the above passages.

Another objection brought forward by Mr. Buckingham against the identity of the hill marked Sion, is that he could not find in it the sepulchres of David and the Kings of Israel.* This negative proof I do not think requires refutation; and, until its author has had an opportunity of testing the validity of that shown by the Mohammadans as the tomb of David on the summit of the present Sion, the question remains as it was before, and Mr. B. and Dr. Clarke must share the disappointment of Antiochus and Herod, who, Josephus informs us, searched diligently, but could not find them, though they opened several of what appear to me to have been the tombs cut in the rocks on the side of the valley of Hinnom, opposite and but a short distance from the foot of Mount Sion, as I have placed it on the map. But, forsooth, because the traveller could not see a sepulchre, he could not find a mountain, but did he excavate; or may it not be at present hid beneath the surface, or be among some of the other crypts in the south-eastern side of the hill?

Mr. Buckingham has added a map to his description, but, independent of its total want of similarity to the modern city, it places Mount Moriah completely distinct from, and to the south of the mosque of Omar, whereon the temple stood! Acra is placed to the west of the city walls, and Mount Sion he has represented at least a mile from the site of the Temple, and the Holy Sepulchre he has placed in the very centre of the city, and

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 277.

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to the east of the castle of David; and he has also drawn Kedron as a large river!!*

We now turn to the objections of Dr. Clarke, which we consider will be fully answered by an examination of the ground: for if ancient Jerusalem stood upon *any* part of that now occupied by the present city; and if the mosque of Omar is erected on the site of the ancient temple upon Moriah, (which no one has had the hardihood to deny,) it is impossible that the Mount Sion marked on the map could have been excluded, and a single glance at the plan of Dr. Clarke will prove that it must have been included in the city. The Psalmist says (Psalm xlviii. v. 2) that "the city of the great king," (that is Melchizedec,) was to the north of Sion. Josephus tells us of a bridge that crossed from the Temple to Mount Sion, but what bridge could possibly span the Valley of Hinnom! and if *this* be not Hinnom, where is it? for no valley occurs to the south of the Hill of Evil Council, that will answer to the description given of it. If this last-named elevation be Sion, the sepulchres of David and the Aceldama must have been *within* the ancient city! Now Nehemiah (chap. iii. v. 16) tells us expressly that the ruler of half of Beth-zur repaired the wall "unto the place over *against* the sepulchres of David," which, if Dr. C. be correct, must have been in the very centre of the city—a most improbable occurrence. This position is likewise confirmed by the boundary line spoken of in the book of Joshua, where, in describing the boundary of the lot of Judah, we are informed that "the border passed towards the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at En-rogel: and the border went *up* by the Valley of the Son of Hinnom unto the *south side* of the Jebusite; *the same is Jerusalem*: and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the Valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the Valley of the Giants northward"—(Joshua, xv. 7, 8.) Now Dr. Clarke, who acknowledged the position of Hinnom, although he confounded it with the Tyropœon, has made it to divide the city, and separate Sion from Acra and Moriah; although in the part of the inspired volume from which I have quoted, we are told explicitly that it was on the *south side of*

* See plan of modern Jerusalem in Buckingham's Travels, 4to, 1821.

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Jerusalem: and this Jerusalem must have included Sion, which was the peculiar city and fortress of the Jebusite.

Besides, it must be conceded by all, that this valley separated the inheritance of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Now Jerusalem is enumerated in the same book, not in the cities of the former, but in those of *Benjamin*, which lay on the *northern* side of the ravine; for we read of "Zelah, Eleph, and Jebusi, which is *Jerusalem*, Gibeath, and Kirjah, fourteen cities with their villages. This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, according to their families."* The mountain that lay to the westward of the valley appears to be that of Gihon, which here approaches to the extremity of the Valley of Giants or Rephaim, which was thus placed to the north of the boundary line.† Independent of all this, Sion being the highest Mount, except the Mount of Olives, about or within the ancient city, and being completely surrounded by deep valleys and ravines, it was the most likely place on which to erect the citadel or acropolis. And if we exclude it, as Dr. C. has done, it would be the most formidable position that any enemy attacking Jerusalem could possibly hold; for it completely commands the town and the opposite Hill of Evil Council, which he supposes was the Sion or acropolis of the old city.

But of the many proofs that could be adduced to establish the

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* Joshua, xviii. 28.—In connection with this subject it is worthy of remark that we have no positive record of the Jews having ever yet fully possessed Jerusalem, for in the time of Joshua they occupied it in common with the original inhabitants, neither could Joshua have driven them out, for in Judges (chap. i. v. 21) we read that "the children of Benjamin did *not* drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." In this passage we are again informed that it was included in the lot of Benjamin; and the very first promise of Jerusalem to the seed of Abraham remains yet to be fulfilled.

† The learned Adam Clarke has stated it as his opinion, that the city was divided between the two tribes, and that Sion was placed in the portion that fell to Judah. Having already said so much to prove the contrary, it is here unnecessary to advance any thing further; especially as this assertion is grounded on the authority of a gentleman who knew so very little of the topography of the ancient city as to state that the temple stood on Mount Sion!

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site of Sion in the position I have placed it, there is none stronger than the following—"Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it *straight down to the west* side of the city of David," or Sion—(2 Chron. xxxii. 30.) A reference to the plan will at once show that the remains of this very water-course, which is brought down to the *west* of Sion, exist up to the present time.

Dr. Clarke also speaks of the discovery of "marvellous" sepulchres in the side of this mountain, but these were described long before his time, by both Sandys and Pococke; the former of whom says, "in the rocks about there are divers sepulchres, and some in use at this day, having great stones rolled against their mouths according to the ancient custom;" and the latter speaks of them as follows—"I went up the hill to the west, opposite to the end of the vale of Hinnom, and saw a great number of sepulchral grots cut out of the rock, many of which have beautiful door-places; among them is the grotto where it is said the apostles hid themselves after our Saviour's crucifixion."

The Greek inscriptions upon these sepulchres are at best apocryphal, and no more prove this hill to be Sion, than the paintings of saints and angels in their chambers prove that they were erected by the modern monks; or the names of ships bedaubed on Pompey's Pillar, prove it to have been erected in the reign of Queen Victoria.

In one word, to show how little Dr. Clarke knew of the topography of Jerusalem, he informs us at page 351 of his work, that "Jerusalem now occupies one eminence alone; namely, that of Moriah, where the Temple stood of old, and where like a phœnix that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent, the famous mosque of Omar is now situate." We in charity pass over the impious allusion to the anti-christian mosque of the false prophet of Mekka being, as it were, the offspring of the temple of the Most High God, though it is but a small specimen of that spirit of scepticism that endeavoured to throw ridicule on the Holy Sepulchre; but we know beyond a doubt that Mount Moriah was a small eminence which was completely covered by the temple and its courts, nay, so small was it, that it required that its area should be artificially enlarged. This is a fact placed beyond doubt, and still so visible as to be admitted even by Dr. Clarke himself. If then this mount was occupied by the temple, how

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could the modern town, which is two and a half miles in circumference, stand upon it? much more so, when in the same sentence he tells us that it is at present occupied by Omar's Mosque! In short, though the learned Cambridge Doctor has expended much labour in endeavouring to disprove the locality given to the Hill of Sion as marked in the map, he was forced to acknowledge that its present appearance showed the fulfilment of prophecy, for it was ploughed as a field; and at the time of our visit, corn was waving on its sides and summit.*

If the Royal Caves on the north, and the Hill of Evil Council on the south, were included within the limits of the ancient city, it would form an area of nearly a mile more than the most extended limit assigned to it by authors who wrote at the time of its existence. If then Mount Sion was included within the ancient city, it completely refutes the opinion, that on its summit took place the crucifixion, and completely contradicts the *whole* of Buckingham's remarks on the subject, for we are thus explicitly informed by the apostle Paul, "wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered *without the gate.*"—(Hebrews, xiii. 12.) And John, who "saw it, bare record, and his record is true," that "the place

* It was not without due consideration, although contrary to the advice of some critical friends that I ventured to expose the fallacy of Dr. Clarke's work, in the first edition of this Narrative. The general acceptation of his views by the learned, for so many years in this country, is but another proof of the undue weight so often attached to name and learning. It is not generally known that Dr. Clarke was scarcely sixty hours in the Holy City, and that his dissertation on its topography was written more than ten years afterwards, in the library of Cambridge!! I am glad to find, however, that a scholar of the research, and an observer of the acumen of Dr. Robinson, has since taken precisely the same views of the Cambridge Professor as those I was bold enough to advance after his opinions had had the sanction of nearly forty years. It appears that Dr. Robinson had never seen my work, yet he writes—"Dr. Clarke apparently did not take the trouble even to think of reconciling his theory with the other topographical details of the ancient city;" and speaking of Dr. Clarke's idea of the Hill of Evil Council being Sion, he says—"the hypothesis is too absurd to admit of further refutation."—Again, "The language of Dr. Clarke in speaking of the tombs south of Hinnom is exaggerated and reprehensible;" and adds, such "extravagant assertions could come only from one who had a theory to support."—*Biblical Researches, notes to vol. I.*

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where Jesus was crucified was *nigh* to the city"—(John, xix. 20)—so near indeed does it appear to me to have been, that many of the Jews, who probably stood upon the opposite wall, read the title placed over the cross.

It is absurd to suppose that the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was placed among those of the kings of Judah, for they are more than a quarter of a mile from the spot where Clarke places the crucifixion, whereas we are told by the same evangelist, that it was a garden *nigh at hand* to the place of crucifixion. Nay more, St. Cyril, the first patriarch of Jerusalem, informs us, that the crypt was "in the *hollow of the outer wall*," which perfectly agrees with the situation I have given it with relation to the ancient city.*

Should apology be deemed necessary for this lengthened dissertation upon the topography of Jerusalem, I can only say that while volumes have been written upon Rome, Athens, Thebes,

* The strictures throughout this chapter on the opinions of Doctor Clarke may by some persons be considered severe, or at least presumptuous, but they are absolutely necessary; for if his statements were to remain uncontradicted, they stand in direct opposition to the opinions I have endeavoured to establish throughout the preceding pages. Dr. Clarke's travels were, without doubt, the very best published in their day, and though knowledge is progressing, and new and additional facts are being brought to light by the labours and researches of modern travellers, yet his work must still remain a lasting monument of the talent, the learning, and critical research of the author, as well as one of the standard works in our language, upon the countries of which he treats. But when Dr. Clarke entered Palestine, (where he spent something more than a week, about three days of which he resided in Jerusalem! and the account of which he published several years after,) he appears to have been so much disgusted with the monkish tales that had been previously related by travellers concerning the holy places at Jerusalem—such as, showing where the cock crew to remind Peter of his crime, &c.—and ridiculing the enthusiastic credulity of his predecessor, Chateaubriand, he was determined to refute, if possible, every tale or saintly legend, whether authentic, probable, or merely traditionary, that had been published concerning them. To the work from which I have quoted so largely, all who travel must feel indebted, and no one is more willing to acknowledge that debt than myself. The apparent anachronism with regard to Chateaubriand may be accounted for by the fact, that, although he did not visit Palestine till after Clarke, yet his work was published long before that of the English traveller, who had thus an opportunity of subsequently reviewing it.

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Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other cities—wherein the temple of every heathen deity, and the residence of every heathen philosopher, have been examined with labour and care the most minute, and described with surpassing accuracy—this, the first, the most holy, the greatest, and I might add, that which shall be the last of cities, has been comparatively neglected and forgotten; a city consecrated to the service of Jehovah, and where he manifested himself to his people; the scene of the labours, sufferings, and death of Messiah; a city, to whose establishment and future glory nations shall yet rise and fall, monarchs flourish, and dynasties decay; a city planned by the great Architect of the world, and before the splendour of which the greatest metropolis, the mightiest people, and the most transcendant achievements of man shall pass away, or be made subservient.

Having endeavoured to answer the objections as to the *site* of the sepulchre, I find it still further necessary to remove some popular or "vulgar errors" upon this subject. It is generally supposed that Calvary or Golgotha (which are synonymous) was a mount, or a considerable hill. This mistake is common to most authors, and is one into which Gibbon himself has fallen; but there is no scriptural warrant for such a supposition. It may, however, have been a small elevation or mound of some fifteen feet high, placed in the natural valley that surrounded the outer wall. Again, others suppose it to have been a place of public execution and a common grave-yard, and this opinion they rest on the word Golgotha (γολγοθᾶ), and translate it "the place of skulls," or "of a skull." Now if this supposition be correct, is it not as likely that the evangelists would have mentioned it as a place of execution (or, as some writers have been pleased to call it, a "gallows") as a place of "skulls?"

A learned correspondent of the Edinburgh Review* has thrown considerable light upon the meaning of the word Golgotha; but he too falls into the mistake of making it a place of public burial, "the place of the skulls of men," giving to the word אדם Adam, the general appellation of men or mankind, and not the proper name of our first parent. The monks and guardians of the Holy Sepulchre point out a place in the cleft of the rock,

* See Critique on Dr. Clarke's Travels in this Review for Feb. 1813.

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beside the cross, where they say the skull of Adam was discovered at the time of the crucifixion, and even pretend to show the skull itself; and they gravely assert that the father of mankind had himself interred there, in order that his bones might be sprinkled with the blood of our Saviour! Such is the absurd tale related by Epiphanius, and still retailed by the friars to all devout pilgrims.

But this place appears to have had an earlier date than the tradition of monks and fathers, and its existence is believed by both Jews and Mooslims, and is mentioned in the works of the latter.* Now it is probable that this spot in the trench outside the walls (and if the tradition concerning it existed from an early date, it would be a reason for its not being included in the city) was called the place *of the skull*, or as St. Luke writes: "*καὶ ὅτε ἀπελθον επὶ τον τοπον τον καλουμενον κρανιον*—and when they were come to a place called SKULL;"—a proper name, denoting not a burial-ground or a place of execution, but a spot to which a certain tradition was attached; and so the word Golgotha and the skull of Adam appear to be the same.† "But near the former," says the reviewer, "was the tomb of Christ, according to Scripture; therefore it was near the latter; that is, where it has always been placed." And this is the more likely to be correct, as the Greek and Latin priests themselves are totally unacquainted with the origin of this tradition, and know nothing whatever of the true meaning of the name given to the place shown as the repository of Adam's skull.‡

There are four things that must be taken into account when discussing this question of the identity of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. The probable position of such a place; its bearings with regard to the plan of the ancient city; the scriptural authority; the traditions, and the writings of authors since the days of St. Helena. The three first of these points I have endea-

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* See the work of Jalal-Addin, referred to at page 460–3.

† In our version the word *κρανιον* is translated Calvary, on what authority I know not, except from the Latin term *Calvarium* (a skull); and if CALVARY be a proper name, so ought SKULL.

‡ The absurd opinion that it derived its name from the supposed resemblance of this rock to the form of a skull, as related by Reland, and adopted by Mr. Buckingham, is too ridiculous to require comment. The latter author contradicts the same statement in page 286 of his book.

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voured to answer already; to discuss the fourth, I would be compelled to wade through masses of literary lumber that are only equalled by the rubbish that at present surrounds the spot.

But the absurdities and foolish legends which are often mixed up with the accounts of ancient authors and with the tales of modern monks and friars, are not sufficient reasons for disbelieving or ridiculing all we hear or read concerning this place; no more than because an extravagant or idle tale is told by the people of our own country, we are not to investigate the ruins or the incidents to which it refers.

It is extremely unlikely that while the tombs of other friends would be visited, reverenced, wept over, and strewn with flowers, as has ever been the case in a country where peculiar veneration is paid to the mausoleums of relatives, the place hallowed as the depository of the body of our Saviour would be forgotten or neglected by his disciples, or his earthly relatives and friends; or that this tomb would in a short time become unknown to the early Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. Surely then such a tradition would be transmitted for at least three hundred years. Nay, the very tomb of Joseph of Arimathea itself would be remembered for two hundred years; and we fully agree in the words of a learned critic and divine, now no more, who says—"Nor was it only its superior sanctity which would preserve its memory. As the private property of an opulent Christian family it would be secured from pollution and injury; and the tomb itself was no 'hereabouts' which tradition was to settle, but an object too visible and too definite either to be overlooked or mistaken. While a single Christian survived in the town it would never cease to be known and venerated; and it certainly will require a considerable weight of argument to induce us to believe, that while the tombs of Ajax, of Achilles, of Æneas, of Theron, are ascertained by satisfactory tradition, a sepulchre of a date so much more recent, and of so much more forcible interest should have been allowed to sink into obscurity, or have been supplanted by a spurious and imperfect copy."*

But the learned author of the critique from which I have

* Quarterly Review, 1813. I believe this article was written by the late Bishop Heber.

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quoted, has fallen into a grievous error in stating that "there is also another circumstance which has been rashly taken as granted —namely, that the tomb of our Saviour was in the same place as his cross." In answer to this objection I must again refer to Scripture, which states that "in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus."—(John xix. 41, 42.) And the rolling a great stone against the mouth of the sepulchre would rather incline us to believe that the garden in which it was placed was a comparative level, and not the steep precipitous side of a valley, as Clarke and Buckingham have supposed. The former, in endeavouring to disprove or at least to contradict every previous account, has gone a little too far in asserting that the stone above the entrance to the chamber is *verd-antique*, and not the usual limestone found in the country: a fact which all future travellers can easily ascertain.*

We know from undoubted authority that the Romans who retained possession of Jerusalem after the time of Titus, placed a

* The author of "The Modern Traveller" has fallen into the usual mistake of persons who have to collect their information from the descriptions furnished by others, without being able from personal inspection to describe the places they write upon themselves. He has too hastily adopted the opinions of Dr. Clarke; for in page 122 we find him saying—"But the spot in question, as we have seen, could never have been either a burial-place or a place of crucifixion, not being without the city." Again, in page 126, he objects to the sepulchre on account of the white marble sarcophagus shown as the tomb of Christ; which, he says, must have been hewn out of the compact grey limestone rock; forgetting that this white marble is merely said to *cover* the actual soros, as I have stated in a former part of this work. He, however, answers his own objection in the very next page by saying, that "all that the pilgrim is permitted to see is a marble *casing* of a supposed rock." The stone in the centre of the outer apartment is *not* shown as that rolled to the door of the sepulchre, but that on which the angel sat, and which is no doubt legendary; but it cannot be urged as a proof against the identity of the tomb, as it is not half the size of the doorway, while that shown by the Armenians is about one-half too large. Notwithstanding these inaccuracies and hasty conclusions, the work of Mr. Conder is one without which no traveller should visit the Holy Land; for it contains an epitome of all that had been written upon it up to the date of its publication; and, though compiled by a person who never visited the country, it is often the best guide that can be obtained, even in Jerusalem itself.

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statue of Venus over the tomb of Christ, and also the fane of Jupiter over the place of the crucifixion. These remained standing until the beginning of the fourth century (326), when the Christian empress, upon her arrival in Jerusalem, had them removed; and her son Constantine reduced the place to the state in which it at present appears.

An objection has been raised against the identity of the tomb, from its being a crypt *above* ground; but it is quite natural to suppose that the enthusiastic emperor and his mother, in order to adorn and do honour to the sepulchre, had the intervening ground cut away; that is, leaving the Rock of Calvary standing, they removed the stone that formed the gradual intermediate slope between it and the tomb; and so left that which was above the surface, not like a grave, but hewn in the face of a rock, a detached crypt, the bottom of which stands about ten inches above the floor of the church. In fact, it is related by Eusebius, that they had to excavate to find the *cave* of the sepulchre. In form and construction it corresponds in every particular to the other tombs about Jerusalem; especially to those in the rocks above the village of Siloam. It is a curious fact, that the sarcophagus is on the right-hand side; and in confirmation of this, we read that when the women came to the sepulchre, "they saw a young man sitting on the right-hand side."—(Mark xvi. 5.)

Clarke referred with great confidence to the effect that fire would have upon the sepulchre. That test has since been tried; the whole place was burned down since his visit; and though the surrounding pavilion was destroyed, the actual tomb remained uninjured, being "hewn out of a rock." The Rev. Mr. Nicolayson informed me that, anxious to learn what appearance it *then* presented, he made many inquiries, and at last found an old Greek priest, a sincere man, and one well worthy of credit, who stated to him that the morning after the fire he went into the tomb; and that as the white marble coating was broken across and not yet replaced, he saw beneath it *a plain trough or sarcophagus hewn out of the floor of the church, and not composed of masonry*, as Dr. C. supposed. This man, Mr. N. described as totally unacquainted with any of the disputes regarding it; and knowing nothing whatever of antiquities.*

* In the last edition of "Three Weeks in Palestine," its writer quotes

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I am not inclined to pay much attention to what is called the outer chamber; but as regards the fissure in Calvary, Clarke himself was forced to acknowledge that it was a most astonishing phenomenon; that he could not account for it; and that it was a natural crack or rent, proceeding down to a great depth, which could not have been formed by man, as its sides correspond to each other.

In conclusion, I do not think that any valid objection has yet been brought forward against the identity of the tomb, or Calvary; and until there has, we are bound, even as a matter of antiquarian research, to receive the tradition of nearly sixteen centuries, especially where no improbability appears against its authenticity. Thus it appears that Calvary or Golgotha was a small mound or elevation in the natural fosse or valley which surrounded the city immediately outside the walls, and derived its name from an ancient tradition regarding the skull of Adam. Here the Jews crucified the Lord, and the tomb of Joseph was in a garden beside it. And though no person can positively state that what are now pointed out as Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, are the actual places; yet to the present moment no sufficient proof to the contrary has been offered.*

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the author of the "Decline and Fall" to prove that the sepulchre was completely destroyed by the fanatic Hakem. This may account for the outer wall of the crypt being removed; but we here have evidence to show that the sarcophagus itself still remains.

* Having carefully perused the various articles that have appeared on this subject since the first publication of this work, particularly those by Dr. Robinson in his "Biblical Researches;" "The Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles," from the Oxford press; "The Bibliotheca Sacra" for July, 1843; and also the seventh number of "Ancient Christianity;"—and having weighed and considered the arguments pro and con, adduced with such learning and ingenuity by the several writers of those essays, I must confess that, although I have no theory to support, and no superstition nor religious bias to uphold, I still retain my original opinion. With regard to the miracle of the finding of the cross, I fully agree with those who look upon it as a "pious fraud;" and this has been, I think, completely established during the late controversy;—but I am still slow to believe that, because the reputed finding of the cross is an idle tale, the antiquity and validity of the Sepulchre and Calvary on that account fall to the ground. To my mind the matter in dispute appears to rest entirely on the topography

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Let us now make the circuit of the city, and examine some of the antiquities in its vicinity. Outside the modern wall, and near the Damascus gate, there is a deep excavation in the face of the rock, which anciently formed the outer side of the natural fosse or valley that bounded Nehemiah's wall, and separated Acra from Bezetha. This is called the Grotto of Jeremiah, and is shown as the prison of that prophet when confined by Zedekiah; and it is also said to be the place in which he wrote his Lamentations. Its first appearance is that of an immense quarry, in the outer enclosure of which are the tombs of several Mohammadan saints; the place being now in the hands of the Mooslims, who hold it in great veneration, and exact a tax of a piastre from each Christian, for leave to visit it. Within this court are several grots, subterranean halls, and small chapels, all

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of the ancient city, and of the position of the "second wall" of Josephus; and if the locality which I have assigned to this at page 435 be correct, then one of the strongest arguments against the topographical inaccuracy of the site of the Sepulchre and Calvary is disposed of. It must, I think, be acknowledged by every candid reader that considerable obscurity exists in the text of Josephus on the subject of these walls: and it is quite impossible to form any idea of the matter in dispute without a reference to the map. It may be possible that the triple wall of the Jewish historian had no reference to that which encompassed the southern brow of Zion, but consisted of the ancient "broad wall" running from Hippicus to Antonia—that inclosing the northern shoulder of Acra—or "Nehemiah's wall;" and lastly, the wall which encompassed the suburb of Bezetha. The narrowness of the city from Calvary to the tower of Antonia or the site of the temple has been also made the grounds of objection. To my mind this is one of the least valid; for the history of the various cities, the position that they held, and the natural condition of the ground itself, all teach us that Jerusalem being added *bit by bit*, and from south to north—from Sion to Bezetha, is a series of segments of circles; and where Acra sprung from the Tyropœon valley, *there* may have been, without being within the city, and without disturbing the topographical descriptions of the Scriptures or Josephus, the site of the Crucifixion. The question therefore remains nearly in its former condition. Although no man can positively affirm or prove it to be the Sepulchre, no man can positively deny that it is so. It should, however, be borne in remembrance that Dr. Robinson was but once, for a few minutes, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and does not appear to have ever seen the crypt itself during his entire visit! See pages 330, 331, vol. i.

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hewn out of the solid rock; the roofs being supported by massive pillars, which are also integral portions of the rock that have been left standing in the centre of these places. Some of these apartments likewise contain the tombs of Mooslim santons; probably they are the burial-places of the Durweeshes, whose college was situated near this place about two centuries ago.

Fifty yards from this place, where the Durweeshes are interred, we were led down a flight of steps into another hall and subterranean church, the roof of which was worked into massive and deeply-grooved gothic arches. One end of this place has been excavated into a deep cistern, to collect the water that is constantly dropping from the roof and walls. The date at which this many-chambered cavern was constructed, probably coincides with that of the numerous localities within and around the city; which, where tradition could possibly assign a shadow of sanctity, were hallowed by the erection of altars, and rendered sacred to some saint, either real or imaginary. A dim and feeble light is admitted from the opening at top of this place, just sufficient to make the darkness within visible. This, added to the hollow sound of our footsteps, the damp atmosphere of the place, the dropping of the water from the roof, together with the gloom and solemnity of all around us, was strikingly impressive, and called to my recollection the grotto of Engaddi, so graphically described by the great magician of the north. In this part of the suburbs there are several dry cisterns, and some curious vaults, of considerable size, that are completely beneath the surface, and lined with cement. In form they resemble bee-hives, with circular openings at top.

Leaving the grotto we proceeded to the Tombs of the Kings, or the royal sepulchres, to which I before referred when describing the wall around Bezetha.* These splendid remains differ from most other rock-caved sepulchres in not being cut in the side of a hill, but being placed beneath a level spot of ground approached by a narrow path which leads to a square inclosure hewn out of the limestone stratum, of about fifteen to twenty feet deep. A wall

* Several eminent authorities—Pococke, Clarke, and Robinson, regard this monument as the sepulchre of Helena, Queen of Adiabne. This, however, is still a disputed question.

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of the natural rock separates this inclosure from an inner square open court, then covered with rubbish and brambles, and into which it opens by a round arch on the southern side. This inner court has a very handsome square portico with a beautiful carved architrave—one of the most perfect specimens of Hebrew sculpture that I believe at present exists. The frieze is adorned with a regulus, trygliphs, vine leaves, and other floral embellishments; and in the centre is an immense bunch of grapes, of a size that might lead us to believe that the architect had far surpassed nature, did we not read of similar ones being brought to Joshua by the spies whom he sent to inquire into the fertility of the land. A pilaster at either end still remains; and in all probability there were two columns in the centre like those in the porticos of Telmessus, which, on the whole, it must have very much resembled. These columns have long since been broken off, and the entire carving has been very much defaced; a small portion of the left-hand column still, however, remains at the top. The face of the rock within the portico is smooth, and presents no appearance of openings; but a small low door-way in the left-hand side, leads into a large square antechamber, hewn with extraordinary skill out of the solid rock, similar to the hypogea at Sackara. There are no niches or places for sarcophagi within this apartment; but a series of small chambers branch off on each of its three sides. These are for the most part oblong cryptæ, with ledges on either side for holding the bodies or coffins. The floor of each has a small channel cut in its centre; probably to collect and drain off the moisture that is constantly dropping from the soft limestone rock out of which they are excavated.

The most extraordinary and ingeniously-contrived part of these chambers are the doors, each of which is formed of a single stone seven inches thick, sculptured so as to resemble four panels; the stiles, muntins, and other parts are cut with great art, and exactly resemble a door made by a carpenter of the present day—the whole being completely smooth and polished, and most accurate in all their proportions. The doors turned on pivots, of the same stone of which the rest of them were composed, which were inserted into sockets above and below; but I regret to say that they are all now torn down and many broken across. Many persons, supposing that these were carved out of the rock

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that filled up the door-way, have been puzzled to know how the hinges were constructed; but this has been already clearly described by Dr. Pococke, who has given a plate, and a most ingenious explanation of the manner in which this curious work was completed.* There are no troughs or soroi in any of the chambers of this subterranean mausoleum, but simply ledges on the sides, like those in the regal sepulchres in Asia Minor, which have been described in the former part of this volume.

A low door and a flight of steps leads down to another suite of chambers of similar form and construction below those just described. In these we found some of the most rare and elegant sarcophagi, as regards their form, ornamental work and adornment, that I have ever beheld in any country. Each of them consisted of two half cylinders of white marble excavated within; and which when placed together resembled the shaft of a beautiful pillar. The bottom part was of comparatively plain workmanship; but the lid or upper piece was literally covered with the most elaborately carved foliage in *basso relievo*, traced in vines, roses, and lily-work.

The groove or cavity for the body, which was principally hollowed out of the bottom part, was about two feet broad and a foot deep; a space sufficiently large to contain the body of an ordinary sized person. The ends of the sarcophagus were also carved; and in its form and appearance it resembled very much the large carriage trunks of former days.

The niches for these sarcophagi were somewhat different from those in the upper chambers, and formed the segment of a dome similar to those I have described as existing at Tyre. Above the coffin was a small niche apparently made for the purpose of holding a lamp, though not unlike those places found in heathen temples, for containing votive offerings.

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* See Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 21.

† In two learned essays written by my esteemed friend, Baron Hammer Purgstall, in the *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift* for 1836, he gives an account of some Christian (Arabian) kings of Gashan under the title of "The Adventures of Dschebele the son of Eihem, the last of the kings of Gashan; translated from the work of the prophet Ibrahim aus Kaleb Kano." Dschebele returns to Jerusalem after his expulsion from Mecca, (in the days of the Emperor

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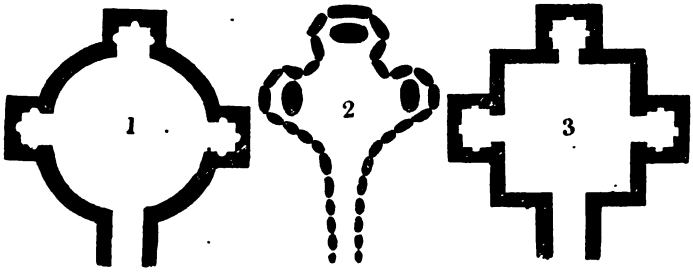
When describing some of the peculiarities of the tombs that I discovered at Tyre, I mentioned the similarity that existed between the ground-plan of the Egyptian, the Phœnician, the Grecian, and also the Irish, (as exhibited in the cromleigh or pyramid of New Grange,) in all of which the tomb consists of a stone chamber, having three recesses or tabernacles for bodies, *i. e.* one on each side, and one opposite the entrance. Now in these chambers that I have just described, the same character is preserved, showing a similarity of sepulchral architecture throughout these several countries, where the type is preserved, though the form is different. Sometimes we find the crypt of a round form, as at Alexandria, and in a few instances at Tyre.—See No. 1 in the annexed wood-cut. The eastern nations, who had made greater progress in the arts, carved their tombs out of the solid rock; the western piled up great stones for a similar purpose, as may be seen in No. 2, which represents the ground-plan of the Irish—while at Jerusalem, in Asia Minor, and in other parts of Egypt and the East, it is square, as in No. 3.



Many of the chambers in the royal caves are so filled up with

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Heraclius,) and a slave sings to him a song, in which the two following lines, as translated from the Oriental into the German, occur:—

"Heil Dschafne's Söhnen! die beschenkt mit hohen Gaben,
Den Grabort in der Nähe von Grab Maria's haben."

The tomb spoken of in this description, the great orientalist believed to refer to the Tombs of the Kings, or those of the Judges; but it is evident that it alludes to that known as the Sepulchre of the Virgin, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

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stones and rubbish that it is with great difficulty they can be entered. It is evident that the outer door was constructed for the purpose of concealing the entrance, and I have little doubt of the existence of a similar set of chambers on the other side.* Much remains to be done in clearing away the rubbish and carefully exploring these and all the other tombs in the environs of the city; and I am convinced that great light would be thrown upon the subject by such an examination.

How much would science be benefitted and how greatly would it redound to the honour of those travellers who go about from place to place, merely for the sake of saying that they have been here, or there, if, instead of scribbling their names upon whatever they can reach, disfiguring the roofs, and with a candle setting forth their address, they were to spend a little time and money in examining these places, which would amply repay them, and confer a benefit upon society. A few pounds would transport one of these splendid sarcophagi to England; and it is the duty of the British Museum, or some other of our institutions, to avail themselves of the facility given by the Bâsha at present, for conveying it to Beyrout; from whence

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* It is very remarkable that Messrs. Banks, Irby and Mangles, Dr. Robinson, and myself, should have come to precisely the same conclusions, with respect to the continuation of these sepulchral chambers, and that, too, without being at all acquainted with each other's opinions; for until the late "Colonial and Home Library" edition of Irby and Mangles, I had never seen the book. Dr. Robinson, who, I believe, had never seen the first edition of this "Narrative," says, "It was not until after these pages were written that I was able to get access at Berlin to the travels of Irby and Mangles." These industrious travellers, with Mr. Banks and their servants, did actually make some excavations, (in 1818,) but just as they had arrived at the place where they might expect to meet the entrance, they were discovered by the authorities at Jerusalem, and prevented proceeding farther. Dr. Robinson made some examination of the spot, and had much of the rubbish cleared away from the northern extremity, but ineffectually. "Yet," he adds, and in this I perfectly agree with him, "I would not aver that such an entrance may not, after all, actually exist, having been perhaps purposely concealed."—*Biblical Researches*, vol. i. p. 533. It is certainly well worthy of the especial attention of future travellers.

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it could be easily transported to England by one of our steamers.* The crime of plunder that has been so justly inveighed against in Greece and Italy, where a more enlightened and refined people exist, could not be justly chargeable in this case, for in removing any of these antiquities we would be but preserving them from destruction, for the Mohammadan takes especial delight in defacing and mutilating any object of antiquity existing in the country, and breaking down "the carved work thereof with axes and hammers."

We next bent our steps to the Tombs of the Judges, as tradition has been pleased to call them; and on our way passed through the level district of Scopus, where the camp of Titus was placed. These tombs are situated about two miles north of the city, the intervening tract of ground being rugged and mostly uncultivated. Fig-trees, olives, and sycamores, however, redeem it from the term barren; and in some places we passed vineyards, in a few of which were erected towers and wine-presses, reminding us of the descriptions given of them in Scripture history. Indeed it was impossible to travel through this land of sacred associations, where every object in the landscape, every custom of the country, and each of the common usages of life, and the very forms of expression, both within and without the city, hourly exhibited to us some ancient rite, or scriptural reference, without feeling that we were placed amid the scenes from which were drawn the descriptions and the imagery of the prophetic writers, and which furnished materials for the striking parables of the Saviour.

This vast cemetery in which it is supposed the Judges of Israel were interred, occupies the front of a stratum of rock facing the south-west, and situated on the way-side leading to Samaria. Some of these tombs are detached, while others are found in clusters; altogether the space covered by them is rather more than a quarter of a mile in length. The front of each tomb consists of a plain, square, and unadorned aperture, cut in the rock somewhat similar to the portico of the royal sepulchres;

* Alas! since the above was written, England has deposed this friendly Bâsha. Let the travellers of the present day tell under whose rule they experienced most safety and facility.

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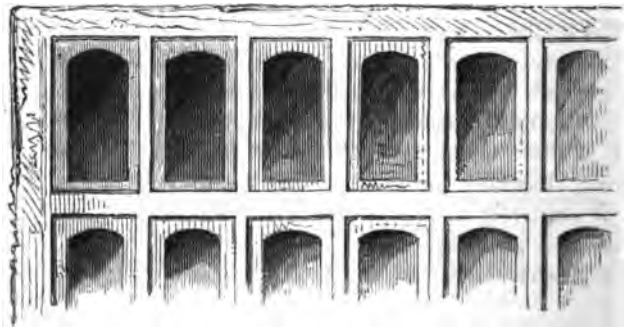
in one instance only I observed a pediment with some rude floral ornaments that indicated its Jewish architecture. One of these outer halls was thirty feet long, but the generality of the tombs were twelve feet long by eight or nine high. It is remarkable that none of these sepulchral grottos look toward the city. From these outer halls a small low door, generally two feet high, by one foot ten inches wide, leads either into an ante-chamber, or directly into the crypt in which the body was placed. In some instances there were also doors in the side of the portico or outer hall; and each of these doors was originally closed by a slab that fitted into a groove cut in the rock around the sides of the aperture. The floors of the chambers are about a foot or eighteen inches below the level of the outer doors. In order to give my readers some conception of the form of these tombs, and the appearance which they at present exhibit, I subjoin the following description of one of the largest of them which we carefully explored.

Having lighted our candles, we proceeded to examine the cavern under the direction of Elias, the baker belonging to the convent, who accompanied us as guide; and though a half-witted creature, one of the most enthusiastic explorers of sepulchres that I have ever met. Internally, this tomb consisted of a series of chambers, entered by small doors leading from one to the other, some being below and others above the level of the outer hall.



The accompanying wood-cut gives an accurate representation of the appearance which a portion of one of the chambers in the interior of this tomb at present exhibits.

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Each apartment formed a square, each of its sides being nine feet six inches in length and seven feet in height. Three of the sides were excavated with two rows of apertures or places for bodies, not unlike pigeon-holes, or the Columbariæ of the Romans, the tiers being separated by a projecting ledge. Each aperture was thirty inches high, seventeen wide, and six feet nine inches in depth, slightly arched at top, and having a square groove hewn in the rock round the entrance, in all probability for the purpose of receiving a door similar to that in the external opening.

The chamber I have taken this drawing from, contained thirteen such apertures, and the entire tomb no less than fifty-eight. But the most extraordinary and astonishing circumstance connected with these excavations, is the wonderful skill and architectural precision with which they have been all hewn out of the solid rock; the time, labour, and expense employed in constructing them must have been enormous. All the parts of these soroi are in due proportion, and their sides do not deviate an inch from the proper direction of each; and this, as well as the manner in which they were excavated, is the more difficult to understand, for the workman, in constructing each of these apertures, had barely sufficient room for his own body. The labour was only equalled by the ingenuity shown in its performance.

Having contrived to squeeze myself into one of these holes, in order to examine its farthest extremity, and to find whether it emitted a hollow sound, my light went out, and I stuck fast in the place, the narrowness of which rendered it impossible for me to use my arms in order to extricate myself. Here I remained for some time, certainly not in the most enviable position, until my friend the baker returning to see what had caused my delay, and having enjoyed a longer laugh at my ridiculous position than I was by any means disposed to join in, pulled me out by the feet. The bodies must have been put into these holes without any coffins.

I do not think that these sepulchres belonged to any particular person; for fifty-eight cryptæ are rather too many for any family mausoleum. Could conjecture as to the mode in which these chambers and vast excavations were formed be admitted, I would say that, from the appearance presented by the hewn surface, the rock was first roughly cut with an instrument in the form of a pick with a flattened point, and then smoothed by some fine-grained tool, like a comb-pointed chisel. A similar appearance is

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exhibited on some of the rocks, out of which are formed the sepulchral chambers in Egypt.

Some others of these tombs consist of simple low arched grottos of an oblong form, leading from the ante-chambers. There are also others similar to those at Telmessus, Laodicea, and Tortosa, having ledges at the sides; and again, others having niches for the bodies, representing the segment of a dome, like to those in the royal sepulchres. It appears extraordinary that this wonderful cemetery has not been accurately described by previous travellers; and it is to be regretted that Clarke did not visit it, as his ingenuity and extensive knowledge of sepulchral architecture would, in all probability, have thrown much light upon this place; whose date, by whom, or for what purpose erected, it is now difficult to determine. Sandys and Pococke briefly notice it, under the name of the "Sepulchres of the Prophets." In some of the Corinthian tombs at Petra, there are pigeon-holes of a similar form and construction. There are no inscriptions of any kind on these Tombs of the Judges, nor any vestiges of human remains whatever; indeed so new and perfect do some of them appear, that they look as if they had been constructed but yesterday.

On our return to the city, we entered the Valley of Jehoshaphat at its northern extremity; the northern elevation of Mount Olivet rising to the left, from the brow of which the city presents the appearance shown in the foregoing representation.

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This deep gorge or ravine that lies between the city and the mount is one of the most memorable localities about Jerusalem; and the associations connected with it are of no ordinary interest.

It might with propriety be termed the valley of tombs; for the lower part of it, together with that of Hinnom, is one immense catacomb, containing the remains of the inhabitants of the city, from its first erection to the present time. Its sides are in some places so precipitous that they can only be ascended in a zig-zag direction. The brook Kedron winds through its centre; which, however, at the time of our visit was completely dry, its course being only marked by a rough, pebbly, stream-way; though in winter, or after heavy rains, it is a rapid torrent, only passable by bridges thrown across it. One of these, supposed to be that over which our Lord was conducted on the morning of his betrayal, leads to the Mount of Olives, and is placed opposite St. Stephen's gate; and on the intervening ground there is a well, beside which is pointed out the spot on which the proto-martyr suffered. This bridge conducts the visitor towards the garden of the passion, and the summit of the ascension. The other bridge is situated lower down in the valley, beside the pillar of Absalom, and leads to Bethany and Jericho.

The gloom and stillness that in general rests over this "valley of the shadow of death," is well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of the Hebrews and Mooslims; and to strengthen the opinions which they entertain, that within it is to take place the final judgment; here also may the Christian speculate on the probability of its connexion with the battle of Armageddon.

Traversing it from north to south, the first object that attracts the attention of the visitor is a remarkable vault upon the left-hand side, named by tradition as the burial-place of the Virgin Mary.* This tomb resembles in its external appearance a large ice-house, and is entered by a small door, with a pointed gothic arch, supported by clustered pillars. In the square court in front were squatted some of the most importunate, nay, I might almost say violent beggars I ever encountered. These blear-

* The first notice we have of this tomb, is that given by Adamnanus, an Irish monk, about the end of the seventh century.

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eyed, filthy crones, clad in rags, and covered with vermin, set upon us the moment we made our appearance, yelling out, "a Hadgie! a Hadgie! Backshese, a Hadgie!" in voices suited to the Furies. A piastre given to one was but the signal for a general attack. They came rushing upon us like so many harpies; and some were so bold and determined as to lay hold of us, in order to obtain their demands. Had my late lamented friend, C. O., the graphic sketcher of the beggars of an Irish village, been there, I am sure he would have resigned the claims of the western islanders to those mendicants that swarm round the Virgin's Tomb.

A flight of forty-eight broad steps conducted us to a subterranean chapel, then in possession of the Greeks, and lighted by numerous small lamps suspended from the ceiling, whose dim, sickly light shed a most funereal gloom over the place. We were led by one of the priests into a small, low stone chamber, somewhat larger than that of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed behind the principal altar of the chapel. The walls of this little crypt were hung with tawdry, faded tapestry; and beneath a white marble slab, like the table of an altar, we were shown what is said to be the tomb of Mary. Other similar crypts were pointed out to us, as the sepulchres of Joseph, Anna, and Caiaphas. This tomb is a place of undoubted antiquity; but at what period it was constructed, or what its original use, the learned have not yet been able to determine. The opinion of Pococke, that it may have been the sepulchre of the Empress Melisendis, is ingenious, but unsupported by proof.

Leaving the Virgin's tomb, our conductor pointed out to us the spot on which it is said the Saviour dropt bloody sweat! This is a circular cave, surrounded by a wall about breast high, and covered at top by an iron grating, lest human foot should desecrate the sacred spot. A subterranean passage leads into its interior. This station is in possession of the Latins; but the simple-hearted curate seemed ashamed of the story he repeated to us; and seeing a smile of scepticism in our faces, he concluded his narrative with—"but it is mere tradition."

We now commenced the ascent of the Mount of Olives. What feelings and associations does not that name inspire! Hallowed from the earliest record of this wonderful and mysterious place, of all other spots about Jerusalem the Mount of

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Olives was to me the most interesting; and while climbing its sides, or gazing from its summit, I must confess that I felt a holy awe I did not experience elsewhere; and that more reverence and devotional enthusiasm possessed my mind than while hurried along by boisterous monks and fanatic devotees, through places which, whatever may be their sanctity, are desecrated by tawdry superstitious ornaments; as well as by the unholy scenes that are continually taking place around them.

But we hasten to a spot that few can visit without emotion—Gethsemane*—situated nearly opposite St. Stephen's gate, and looking down upon the valley of Jehoshaphat. It is a square plot of ground, forty-seven paces on each side, sown with corn and enclosed by a low, rude wall. Eight aged olive trees still exist within the enclosure, and are pointed out as those beneath whose shade the Man of Sorrows experienced the bitter foretaste of that death he was about to suffer—the "pangs—the throes—the agonizing struggle, when soul and body part;" and hardened indeed must be the heart that can coldly contemplate this sacred spot where the Lord of life and glory drank that bitter cup of superhuman suffering, for sinful man's redemption, and not partake of some such kindred feelings.

Perhaps the readers of these pages may ask me what authority there is for supposing this to be the garden mentioned by the evangelists, and how the olives within the enclosure could possibly have survived through nineteen centuries; and those learned in history or in works of travel may say, did not Titus cut down all the timber around the city; and did not the tenth legion of his army encamp on this very hill? True, gentle readers; but I answer—that the locality assigned to this garden renders its identity very probable; especially when we consider the circumstances that are detailed in the Gospels of the route taken by our Lord and his disciples when they went forth from the city after having observed the passover, and instituted the supper. On that memorable night they crossed the brook Kedron, in all probability opposite St. Stephen's, or the Sheep-gate, and from

* From the גת *gath*, a press, and שמן *shemen*, oil, the garden of the oil press; probably the place where the produce of the Mount of Olives was prepared.

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thence proceeded by the nearest route to the garden on the side of the mount; which corresponds exactly with the present locality of Gethsemane. It is also true that the Romans cut down the wood about Jerusalem; but the timber of an olive tree would be of little value indeed, in constructing engines, towers, and battering-rams, to be used against cyclopean walls such as I have described; and these trees in particular must then have been so slender that the besiegers would have considered them unfit for any such purpose. They are undoubtedly the largest, and I may add with safety, the most ancient olive trees in the world. The largest is twenty-four feet in girth above its roots, though its topmost branch is not thirty feet from the ground. The trunks of most of them are hollow in the centre, and built up with stones, like to their aged brother of Oratava.

There is nothing unnatural in assigning an age of nineteen centuries to these patriarchs of the vegetable kingdom, whose growth is perhaps the slowest of any in existence. They have not borne fruit for some years past; but, though their trunks are greatly decayed, yet, from the hardness of the wood, and each part being so very retentive of life, there is still a considerable head to each, whose light-coloured, silky leaves hang like so many silver locks over their time-worn and aged stems, that now, in the evening of life, are fast tottering to decay. But, having witnessed the scenes of suffering, and the long dark night of gloom and fearful retribution that has sunk the pride and prostrated the glory of Jerusalem, they seem yet to linger for the morning twilight of that bright era that will shortly dawn upon the land of Judah. The recollections of the hours I have passed beneath their shade, shall last while memory and reason retain their seat, and the leaves plucked from their branches be treasured with as much (though with different feelings of) devotion, as are the beads and rosaries of my Roman Catholic brethren. Yes; and the cross formed of their wood, which the kind-hearted Father Benjamin presented to me on the morning of our departure, shall ever hold a conspicuous place in my cabinet.

In the vicinity of this garden were pointed out to us the usual traditionary sites, attached to which there is not a single shadow of probability. Some that we examined have been lately erected, and have *recent* Latin inscriptions upon them. But I shall not enumerate them, nor would I have mentioned them

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here except for the following reason. They are *opposition shops:* that is, the Latins having of late years, and especially since Napoleon's invasion of Palestine, lost their influence in the country, as well as at the Porte, the chief holy places are now rented by the Greeks or the Armenians, but particularly the former. To make up for this deficiency the Latin fathers immediately pretend to have *discovered* some spot in the neighbourhood of each of these places, still more holy than the former; and at once establish its sanctity by reputed miracles, by masses and processions.

Our track now led toward the summit of the mount, by a narrow, winding road. The sides of the hill are partly cultivated; the corn was just becoming green; and the fields and enclosures were studded with numerous low bushy olive trees; the stones of whose fruit are manufactured into beads, and considered very sacred. We passed several cisterns, some of which bear evident marks of antiquity. The ascent is toilsome, and as we rested occasionally to take breath, the prospect gradually became more extended, and increased in beauty; for, step by step as we ascended, the city opened to our view, and like the unfolding of an immense scroll, or the turning of a panorama, Jerusalem and the splendid Mosque of Omar became developed, till we gained the summit, when it was so completely under our eyes that we could readily discover every place of note within and around its walls; nay, trace every street and lane that winds among its white, dome-roofed houses. In fact, so very much does the mount overhang the city, that the Lord may literally be said to have "wept *over* it."

The summit is crowned by an Armenian convent and a mosque; and in a space encircled by a high wall, we were conducted to the spot pointed out as that from which the Ascension is said to have taken place. Within this area there is a small octagonal building of very tasteful architecture, and in its outer decoration not unlike an ancient Greek temple. In the centre of this oratory a portion of the naked rock, encircled by a marble casing, is said to be the last spot of earth touched by the Saviour's feet. On it there is a mark something like the impression of a foot, which is believed by all devout pilgrims to be the print left in it miraculously by the Saviour; but it is now so much kissed away, and worn down by the multitude of casts in wax and plaster that

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are daily taken from it, that it requires considerable faith in order to recognise any resemblance to that which it is stated to be. The Christian pilgrims who went up with us, knelt around and devoutly kissed and rubbed their faces on this spot, which is considered a relic of great value, even by the Mooslims. An Armenian priest had the care of the place; but none of the Christian sects are allowed to celebrate religious services within it. The Latins informed us that they had intended purchasing a firman from the Bâsha, empowering them to perform mass within it, but were deterred from doing so by the fear of being out-bid by their richer neighbours, the Greeks, the next year. Some of the best specimens of carving to be found in or about Jerusalem may be seen in the capitals of the pillars that surround this oratory.

A little to the south of the place of Ascension, I visited a subterranean chamber in the form of a cone, having a hole at the top. It is lined by an extremely fine and solid cement, similar to that coating the cisterns lower down upon the side of the hill, and also those that I noticed outside the present wall near Jeremiah's grotto; to which latter cisterns it bears a most remarkable resemblance in every particular. Clarke was of opinion that this cave was one of the "high places" erected to the worship of Ashtoreth by Solomon, and that it answered the description of "the high places that were before Jerusalem which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption which Solomon the king had builded for Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom, the abomination of the children of Ammon." (2 Kings xxii. 13.) This Mount of Corruption he supposes to be the Mount of Olives, but offers no proof to substantiate his opinion. I see nothing, however, as yet, to invalidate the opinion as to the Hill of Evil Council, or Mount of Offence, which is to the south of the city, being the eminence that Solomon crowned with the high places of pagan worship; and the cave itself, which Clarke considered to have been one of the high places, is identically the same as those shown, and believed to be cisterns, in other localities; and if there were persons dwelling on the summit of this hill, such a contrivance was not only probable but indispensable. The Mount of Olives is mentioned in Scripture long before these "high places" could have been set up, and it is as likely to have been

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mentioned by that name as by the title of the Mount of Corruption—an appellation given to the site of these places from the abominations practised on them, and their leading the Israelites into the sin of idolatry. Had, however, the identity of the place which is more generally acknowledged as the Mount of Offence, remained unquestioned, it would consequently have interfered with Clarke's topography; and could not therefore be Mount Sion, as he has endeavoured to prove.

Not only is the prospect from this point grand and imposing, but the associations it recalls to the mind, and the impressions it leaves, are well calculated to inspire fervour and excitement. Jerusalem lay beneath us, stretched like a carpet at our feet, part of its ancient walls and the golden gate of its temple being distinctly visible.* The church that covers Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, formed a prominent object in the picture; and the magnificent mosque of Omar standing on the site of the temple, appeared so close beneath us, as though we could have leaped into its court. This building is of an octagonal figure, and is raised upon a large platform of masonry; and, surmounted by its stately and enormous dome, its walls coated with light blue tiles, its golden crescent glancing in the sunbeam, and standing within a large open space of green-sward, studded with olives, cedars, and cypresses, added considerably to the apparent magnitude of the edifice, and heightened the effect of the whole; while, the lines of Mooslim pilgrims traversing its courts and avenues gave life and animation to the scene. Sion raised its acropolis above the city, and the tombs and monuments of the mighty dead that slumber in the valley of Jehoshaphat, told of the greatness of the past. The broad plain of Rephaim led to the heights of Bethlehem, on the extreme left, and the conical hill, called the "Mount of the French," formed prominent objects in the landscape; while to the right appeared the stony country that leads towards Damascus. Behind us to the south-east, the dull waters

* Catherwood's beautiful panorama of Jerusalem was lately exhibited in this city, and many persons criticised it on account of the faded look the different places appeared to have. This appearance I have often remarked in the original; and in this consisted the great truth and accuracy of the representation.

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of the Dead Sea could be seen in the distance, having a bluish mist brooding over the perpendicular wall of the mountains of Moab and Arabia, that rises from its southern shores. A little more northward glimpses are obtained of the plain of Jericho, with the silver thread of Jordan's stream winding its way to the lake that covers the doomed cities of the plain.

There is this charm about Mount Olivet, that there can be no cavil as to its identity, no question as to its being the very Olivet up which David went, with his head covered and his feet bare, and all his weeping adherents with him, when he was driven from the city by the rebellion of Absalom; no doubt of its being the favourite resort of our Lord and his disciples, and the scene of some of the most remarkable events in his life. Even though the spot pointed out may not be the actual Gethsemane, we knew that it must have been within our view; and though antiquaries may dispute as to the exact position of Calvary, yet we were convinced that at this moment and from this spot we must have been looking at the place. No one acquainted with the past history of Jerusalem, or who has read and reflected upon the prophetic descriptions of its future state, can look down upon it from this spot unmoved. Its story rushes unbidden and irresistibly upon the mind: its many privileges; its slighted and despised mercies; its purchased woes, and glory yet to come—with Solomon as its king, Melchizedec its priest, Hiram its architect, Isaiah and Ezekiel its prophets, and Moab and Tadmor its dependencies, awaken feelings which they only who have stood upon that spot can experience.

"Oh! fair and favour'd city, where of old
The balmy airs were rich with melody,
That led her pomp beneath the cloudless sky
In vestments flaming with the orient gold;
How stately then was every palm-deck'd street,
Down which the maidens danced with tinkling feet,
How proud the elders in the lofty gate!
How crowded all her nation's solemn feasts
With white-robed Levites, and high-mitred priests;
How gorgeous all her temple's sacred state!"*

* Milman's "Fall of Jerusalem."

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The many vicissitudes that it had suffered under the hand of its successive conquerors, appeared to rise and pass before me—invaded by the Theban Shishak; besieged by Pharaoh Necho; razed and trodden under foot by the Babylonish conqueror; visited by Alexander; ruled by the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ; then governed by the Maccabees; bowed beneath the Roman yoke—when Jesus would have gathered it as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and it would not—again begirt and hemmed in by the soldiers of Vespasian; its temple pillaged, and its smoking ruins levelled with the dust.

"Her tale of splendour now is told and done,
Her wine-cup of festivity is spilt,
And all is o'er, her grandeur, and her guilt.
Her gold is dim, and mute her music's voice,
The Heathen o'er her perish'd pomp rejoice;
Her streets are razed, her maidens sold for slaves—
Her gates thrown down, her elders in their graves.
Her feasts are holden 'mid the Gentiles' scorn,
By stealth her priesthood's holy garments worn;
Oh! long foretold, though slow accomplish'd fate,
Her house is left unto her desolate."

Art and vanity have not been able to deface the natural aspect of this spot with tapestry and marble. All here wears the garb of unsullied nature, unadorned by the pomp of religious pride, and tinselled decoration of man's hand; no perfumed incense smokes from the golden censer; no flaunting banner waves in its refreshing breezes; and no jarring tones of the lip-worship of the creature grate upon the ear. Here all is real, and wears the livery of creation; if rocks are bare and rugged, they are those a Saviour trod; if olive-trees are stunted, it is their nature to be so; and though they want the verdure of more humid climes, they are the descendants of those that sheltered Emanuel's head; and if the earth appears barren, still it is that on which in his agony the sweat of Jesus fell.

The touching lines of Heber often rose to my lips while thus musing over the doom of that widowed queen of cities "which kings with envy viewed," but now—

"No martial myriads muster in thy gate;
No suppliant nations in thy temple wait;

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No prophet bards, thy glittering courts among,
Wake the full lyre, and swell the tide of song;
But lawless Force, and meagre Want is there,
And the quick-darting eye of restless Fear,
While cold oblivion, 'mid thy ruins laid,
Folds his dank wings beneath the ivy shade."

Many and varied have been the scenes of interest and excitement that I have experienced in other lands. I have stood beside the boiling furnace of one of the highest craters that the foot of man can reach, and marked from that stupendous elevation the glorious and wide-extended landscape, as it unfolded to my wildered gaze, when, sketched by the rapid pencil of the morning's dawn, object after object rose to the view. I have climbed one of the greatest monuments that art ever reared, and as my visual organs wandered over the ancient land of Eygpt, the eye of mind took in, in rapid succession, the substance of the present and the shadows of the past. But these scenes have faded, or are remembered as a vision of the night. I have groped amid the dark tombs of centuries long gone by, till to my fevered imagination the dead rose among the living; yet that too has lost its interest; as well as the excitement with which my fancy peopled the theatre of the Doric Lord, and conjured into shape and form the heroes and philosophers that once roamed through the streets of that vast Grecian necropolis. All these exist but in remembrance; not so the impressions left by the scenes I have witnessed at Jerusalem, before which all others sink into comparative insignificance; for, although some thousand miles may intervene between me and it, its glories are still phantom-like before me, even amidst the stir and bustle of every-day life. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." The recollections of what it was; the knowledge of what it is; and the expectation of what it shall yet be, are considerations which, added to an acquaintance with its locality, must ever act as a spell upon the minds of those who have seen and felt its beauties, its charms, and its power. And although we may mourn over the present superstitions practised in this Deicide city, and the blindness of its once favoured inhabitants; yet the feelings it awakens, and the recollections it leaves, force us to exclaim with the disciple, "Lord, it is good for us to be here," and lead us to anticipate the time when

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"——— shall glorious as a gem,
Shine thy Mount Jerusalem;
Earth by angel foot be trod,
One great garden of her God;
Till are dried the martyr's tears,
Through a thousand glorious years."

Again descending to Gethsemane, we continued our course through the valley of Jehoshaphat, by those remarkable monuments denominated the Sepulchres of the Patriarchs, which have been described as well as drawn with great accuracy by most writers on Palestine.* They are placed on the eastern side of Kedron, nearly opposite the southern angle of the present wall, and are some of the rarest and most extraordinary specimens of sepulchral architecture in existence. They are hewn out of the solid rock, with temple-like fronts. Some of them are enormous masses separated from the rest of the rock, and left standing like so many monolithic temples—monuments that record as well (if not more so) the labour and ingenuity of their constructors, as the persons to whose memory they have been erected. The names assigned to these tombs are those of Jehoshaphat, James, Zechariah, and Absalom. This latter is the most elegant and tasteful piece of architecture in Judea—indeed I might almost add in the east; and viewed from the valley beneath, it is one of the most beautiful tombs I have ever seen in any country. It consists of a mass of rock twenty-four feet square, separated from the rest, and standing in a small enclosure that surrounds three of its sides. It has four pilasters with Ionic capitals on each front; the two outer ones being flat, while those in the centre are semicircular; the frieze is ornamented with triglyphs. The upper part is composed of several pieces, and surmounted by a small spire terminating in a bunch of leaves. There is a hole in the back immediately beneath the architrave, through which I was enabled to climb into its interior. As the door by which it was entered is concealed, this opening was formed, in all probability, for the

* Written descriptions of the views and monuments in and about Jerusalem need never again be attempted—Roberts's magnificent and most accurate drawings, now publishing, have done more to bring those objects before us than the most graphic pen could possibly hope to attain.

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purpose of rifling the sepulchre of its contents. Within, it presents the usual form of eastern tombs, having niches at the sides for bodies, and on entering I was instantly struck with the remarkable similarity of the chamber to the interior of the temple I have already described, which stands near the sea at Telmessus (see page 335). Indeed the interior of this tomb is so like that building, both in the construction of its domed roof, and the arrangement of its arched sides, that one would be inclined to suppose it was a miniature representation of that edifice.

The general opinion of antiquaries is, that the Grecian architecture exhibited on the exterior of this rock is no test of the date of its construction, and that it was added in later times; a similar workmanship is visible on the other neighbouring tombs.

To this circumstance may be referred that rebuke of our Lord to the Pharisees, regarding their garnishing the sepulchres of the prophets. The tradition is, that this pillar, of which we have an account in the Book of Samuel, was erected by Absalom. "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the *king's dale;* for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name; and it is called unto this day Absalom's Place." (2 Sam. xviii. 18.) Josephus also informs us, that "Absalom had erected for himself a stone marble pillar in the *king's dale*, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar."* I see no reason to doubt the tradition regarding this monument, although the historian has stated it to be at a greater distance from the city than we now find it; but this is an error into which he often falls. In confirmation of its supposed origin I may add, that it has ever been a place of detestation not only to the Hebrews, but to both Christians and Mohammadans; and each of these sects when passing it by, throw a stone at it to this day; so that the interior is partially filled up and a large cairn has formed round its base.† The

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* Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews, book vii. chap. 10, sec. 3.

† I have already remarked upon this practice of erecting stone heaps in such places, practised among the Welsh and Irish; and a similar rite exists in Greece by way of anathema.

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tomb of Zechariah is somewhat similar in form, but crowned by an enormous pyramid of stone many tons weight. No entrance has as yet been effected into this, though it is reported that one is known to the Jews. Shortly before our visit, some arching had given way at the back of the enclosure that surrounds it, but this our time did not permit us to examine. Future explorers would no doubt be richly rewarded by a careful inspection of this, as well as all the other monuments in this cemetery.

The style of the whole of these four sepulchres, but especially the two that I have more particularly noticed, is very peculiar, and is totally different from other tombs in this neighbourhood. An inspection of them would lead us to believe that, at the time of their erection, the Hebrews had not quite forgotten the lessons on architecture which their forefathers had learned in Egypt. Around these mausolea, upon the sides of the rocks and the slopes of Mount Olivet, there are hundreds of plain, flat grave-stones belonging to the Jews. All these have Hebrew inscriptions, some of which a distinguished Hebrew scholar resident in the city informed me were dated a short time subsequent to the Christian era.

Proceeding onward through this valley, we found the whole face of the precipitous rock upon its western face, excavated into one vast and almost continuous catacomb, consisting of chambers of various sizes. Some of these were simple square apartments formed to contain a single corpse, and closed by a stone door, fitted into a groove round the entrance, so accurate that a seal might have been applied at the joining to make sure the sepulchre; and the first of them that I visited at once explained to me the form of the tomb of the Arimathean nobleman. There are other tombs in this cemetery formed upon a larger scale, and probably intended for family mausolea, having crypts and niches which are capable of containing from ten to twenty bodies. These sepulchral grots are continued down the valley of Siloam, beyond the southern limit of the present city, to the village of Siloam, having galleries, stairs, and small terraces, cut out of the rock, leading from one to the other.

On my first visit to this place I was induced to continue my search till on poking my head into one of these crypts, I was startled not a little by the wild, unearthly scream of an old Arab crone who inhabited its interior. The noise she made became

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the signal for a general outcry; the dwellers in the different caves, aroused by her cries, peeped out to know the cause—looking like so many beavers popping their heads out of their holes to reconnoitre an enemy. The children ran shouting in all directions; curses and imprecations fell fast and heavy on the Giaour and the Nazarene; and the whole Troglodite population of this cemetery of the living, became as much alarmed as if I had got into the hareem of the Bâsha. As may be anticipated, I made a hasty retreat amidst the general uproar; and took good care never to venture again so far upon a tomb-hunting expedition into Siloam.

All these sepulchres are now inhabited; and they, with some mud-built huts at the bottom of the valley, constitute the village of Siloam, which contains upwards of 1,500 Arabs; a vicious, quarrelsome, and dishonest set of people, and noted as such for centuries past. They were the principal ringleaders in the late rebellion at Jerusalem; and I never visited the neighbourhood that I did not see them quarrelling among themselves. They look more like the gipsy race, both in habits and appearance, than any other I know of; and their livelihood is principally obtained by plunder, and the cultivation of the lower parts of the neighbouring valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat.

The Fountain of Siloam, sometimes called the "Upper Pool of Siloam," is situated in an indentation formed in the side of the hill, beneath the south-eastern angle of the city wall, and nearly opposite the place where the Tyropœon valley separates the eastern sides of Mounts Sion and Moriah. It is entered by an arched vault, from which a flight of steps leads down to a low vaulted passage cut in the solid rock, and which leads in a north-west direction beneath the site of the ancient temple. The oft-repeated and, I might say, the hacknied quotation of

> "Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the Oracle of God,"

has never, I think, been properly understood, because both this fountain and that called the pool of the same name, are placed at a distance from the site of the temple. The following fact may illustrate and explain this quotation.

During the rebellion that I have already alluded to, the Arabs

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of the opposite village gained access to the city by means of the conduit of this pool, which again rises to the surface at a well placed within the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar. Dr. Richardson *conjectured* that this subterranean passage proceeded under the mountain, but until now no proof could be given of its doing so, nor was it known to travellers that it communicated with the interior of the city. The passage is evidently the work of art. The water in it is generally about two feet deep, and a man may go through it in a stooping position. May it not have been so constructed by the ancient inhabitants for a sally-port, or secret outlet from the temple? for it cannot have been made to conduct the water from the fountain into the city, inasmuch as it is lower than that point, and the stream flows down from it. The descriptions given of this remarkable well, both in the Scriptures and by Josephus and the early writers on the localities of the Holy City, and the position which it holds with regard to the ancient walls—as I have shown in the preceding part of this volume when treating of the topography—leave little doubt upon my mind regarding its identity. I do not think that it is connected with or receives its supply from the aqueduct that brings the water from the cisterns of Solomon, to be noticed hereafter, especially as that water is tasteless; whereas this is a mineral spring of a brackish taste, and somewhat of the smell of Harrogate water, but in a very slight degree.* It is said to possess considerable medicinal properties; and is much frequented by pilgrims. The remains of a church surround the vault at the top; and by the Latin fathers it is called the "Fountain of the Blessed Virgin," from the supposition that she washed the linen of our Lord in its sacred waters.†

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* I brought home a jar of this water, and am informed by Professor Kane, who has analysed it, that it is a strongly saline and sulphureous spring, whose specific gravity is 1003,5; that it contains much common salt, some carbonate and sulphate of lime, a trace of muriate of magnesia, together with a quantity of sulphureted hydrogen gas.

† An apparent contradiction and discrepancy is evident in the works of the early writers with regard to this upper fountain of Siloam: It is quite evident that the localities of the two reservoirs of water, which bear the name of Siloam, have been confounded. Dr. Robinson quotes at great length all these authorities, and inclines to the belief that this well or foun-

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Continuing our course round the probable line of the ancient walls, along the gentle slope of Sion, we pass by the site of the King's gardens, and arrive at the Lower Pool of Siloam, placed in another indentation of the wall, at the southern extremity of Sion. It is a deep square cistern, lined with masonry, adorned with columns at the sides, and having a flight of steps leading to the bottom, in which there were about two feet of water. It communicates by a subterranean passage with the fountain just described, from which it is distant about six hundred yards. The water enters the pool by a low arched passage, into which the pilgrims, numbers of whom are generally to be found around it, put their heads as a part of the ceremony;* and wash their clothes in the purifying stream that issues from it.

A very remarkable circumstance is related of this pool and fountain:—It is reported that the water in them is subject to a daily tide; and by some old writers (Jerome, for instance, in A.D. 333) it is stated to ebb and flow under lunar influence. I must confess that, on my first visits to the place, I was much astonished; for not only did I see the mark to which the recently fallen water had risen, but I also perceived that its height was greater at different times of the same day. Many ingenious

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tain of the Virgin is not the Siloam of Scripture and Josephus; but independent of its being cut out of the solid rock, and bearing the evidence of much greater antiquity than that called the Lower Pool of Siloam—which is obviously of comparative modernness—we have the direct testimony of Josephus for stating it to be in the mouth or embrasure of the Tyropœon valley, where the eastern curves of Sion and Moriah divaricate. And Dr. Robinson himself, while he acknowledges the authority of the Jewish historian on this very point, has shown by his description of the remains of the ancient arch that spanned the Tyropœon, that this valley here emerged into that of Jehoshaphat; whereas the lower pool is wholly distinct from the Tyropœon and placed in the junction of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, opposite the village of Siloa, and above the fountains of Nehemiah or En Rogel. The account of these fountains given by the American traveller is, however, most interesting and learned. The Doctor and his companion passed through the tunnel cut in the solid rock between the two fountains, and found it to measure 1750 feet.

* In Ireland a similar rite is observed by pilgrims, of putting their head into a hole at several of the stations; particularly at that curious old chapel on the summit of Croagh Patrick.

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hypotheses and many learned arguments have been adduced to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; the wonder and admiration of the pilgrim and the traveller. I think, however, that it can be thus simply accounted for—The stream or outlet from the lower pool is conducted by artificial channels through the gardens or parterres that lie immediately beneath it in the valley; and it is the chief source of their fertility; for as they are mostly formed of earth which has been carried from other places, they possess no original or natural soil capable of supporting vegetation. Now, immediately on the water-course leaving the pool, it is divided into numbers of small aqueducts, for the purpose of irrigating these different plots; but as there is little water in the pool during the dry season, the Arabs dam up the several streams, in order to collect a sufficient quantity in small ponds adjoining each garden; and this they must all do at the same time, or there would be an unfair division of the fertilizing fluid. These dams are generally made in the evening, and the water is drawn off in the morning, or sometimes two or three times a day, and thus the reflux of the water which they hold, gives the appearance of an ebb and flow.

The surplus water is finally collected into a small stream that joins the brook Gihon, near its junction with the Kedron; but both these latter streams were dry during our visit. This lower pool is that mentioned by Josephus, under the name of "Solomon's pool;" and by Nehemiah, as "the pool that was made."

We next turn into the valley of Hinnom, which is bounded on the north by the southern slopes of Sion, that are here cultivated and divided into olive yards and corn fields. A few caves and rock-carved vaults occur in this locality; one in particular our guide pointed out to us as the cave where Peter hid himself after the denial of his Master. The south side of the valley is steep and rugged, and gradually rises into a hill having two summits; both of which are, however, lower than that of Sion. The western of these elevations is of a remarkable conical shape, corresponding to the description given of it by the sacred historians. It has been called the Mount of Offence, because on it are supposed to have been erected the high places to Ashtoreth and Molech; which Clarke supposed he discovered in the remains of a cistern on the Mount of Olives. The locality is very likely to be that on which they were erected; for the valley im-

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mediately beneath it was long noted as a place desecrated by the idolatrous worship of Tophet and Molech. Sandys states that, from the church of the Arminians on Mount Sion, he "descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth Mount Sion from the Mountain of Offence; so called, for that Solomon by the persuasion of his wives here sacrificed to Chamock and Molech; but now by the Christians called the Mountain of Ill Council, where they say the Pharisees took council against Jesus, whose height yet shows the relics of no mean buildings."

Toward the eastern extremity of this valley, and in the side of the hill that forms the eastern elevation of the Mountain of Offence, are the sepulchres of the sons of David, that I noticed before; and also those discovered by Dr. Clarke. Among these there is one pointed out as the tomb of Isaiah, who, tradition says, was sawn asunder at the Oak Rogel, beside the well where Nehemiah is reported to have discovered the sacred fire on the return from the captivity, probably the En Rogel of the sacred writers. These places are pointed out near the spot where the watercourses of Gihon and Kedron unite in the neighbouring valley. There is here also another crypt called the cave of the apostles, on the walls of which are some remains of fresco, in a very tolerable state of preservation; and it is placed among those which contain the Greek inscriptions before alluded to, particularly that of the word "Sion." I am inclined to think, however, that those sepulchral grottos, which contain paintings and Greek inscriptions, were used as small oratories or chapels during the times of persecution, some hundred years ago; and at a period subsequent to the establishment of the Greek church; for the style of the painting is undoubtedly that of the modern Grecian —a style whose peculiarities are so obvious and remarkable, as to prevent its being mistaken for any other; and the inscription, with a *cross* before it, is in all probability coeval with the date of of such use. These many-chambered sepulchres are all hewn out of the solid rock; but they invariably correspond to the type of the eastern tomb, having horizontal benches for the bodies ranged along the sides.

At the foot of this hill, where it rises from the valley, is pointed out the Aceldama, or Field of Blood, said to be that purchased by the Jewish priests with the thirty pieces of silver that Judas had received for betraying his Master, but which he after-

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wards returned in remorse. The transaction is thus recorded by the evangelist:—"Then Judas which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, what is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, it is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field to bury *strangers* in. Wherefore that field was called The Field of Blood, unto this day." (Matth. xxvii. 3—8.) This same transaction is thus noticed in the Acts of the Apostles—"Now this man (Judas) purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama,* that is to say, The Field of Blood."—(Acts, i. 18, 19.) This Field of Blood still retains its name, and is called in every language, and by every people within or about Jerusalem, Jews, Christians, and Mohammadans—Aceldama. It is not far distant from the stream of Gihon; and at the period of our visit, there were still the marks and remains of bricks and *pottery-ware* in the adjoining ravine; a place always likely to be used for their manufacture, as it contains the clay suited for such purposes, and was

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* "Aceldama—This *proper tongue* was not the Hebrew, for that had long ceased to be the proper tongue in Palestine; it was a sort of Chaldaio-Syriac which was commonly spoken. The word in the Syriac version is *Chacal-demo*, and literally signifies the *field of blood*, because it was bought by the price of the life or blood of the Lord Jesus."—*Adam Clarke.*

The same learned commentator thus reconciles the discrepancy of the account of the same transaction, given in Acts and in Matthew:—"Probably Judas did not purchase the field himself, but the money for which he sold his Lord was thus applied. See Matt. xxvii. 6—8. It is possible, however, that he might have designed to purchase a field or piece of ground with this reward of his iniquity, and might have been in treaty for it, though he did not close the bargain, as his bringing the money to the treasury proves; the priests knowing his intention might have completed the purchase, and,

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in the vicinity of a rivulet. Toward the upper end of this enclosure, the traveller is shown among the many wonders to which tradition, ignorance, and credulity in this country, attach the credence due only to historic record, a large, square chamber, sunk in the earth, partly excavated in the rock upon the side of the hill, and partly built of masonry. It is arched at top, and there were formerly on the outside a number of small cupolas, like the tops of furnaces, with a hole in the centre of each, through which were let down the dead bodies to the vault beneath; much in the same manner as is practised in Naples, at the present day. A tradition existed that the earth in the bottom of this cavern was possessed of some extraordinary destructive or corrosive power; for it was said to completely consume the bodies thrown into it in twenty-four hours; and on account of this supposed quality, ship-loads of it were in former years exported from Jaffa to Europe. This tomb has been figured in the rare work of Sandys, who described it in 1610. The cupolas at top somewhat resembled those upon the Roman tomb represented by Montfaucon as erected over the Curatii, at Albano. The dead continued to be interred in this vault up to the days of Maundrell, who says, "looking down through these holes we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay, from which it may be conjectured that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported." Some few bodies were also to be seen in it at the time of Dr. Richardson's visit, but their condition proved

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as Judas was now dead, applied the field thus bought for the burial of *strangers*, i. e. Jews from foreign parts, or *others who visiting Jerusalem, had died there*. Though this case is possible, yet the passage will bear a very consistent interpretation without the assistance of this conjecture; for, in ordinary conversation, we often attribute to a man what is the *consequence* of his own actions, though such consequence was never designed nor wished for by himself; thus we say of a man embarking in a hazardous enterprise, *he is gone to seek his death;* of one whose conduct has been ruinous to his reputation, *he has disgraced himself;* of another who has suffered much in consequence of his crimes, he has purchased repentance at a high price, &c. &c. All these, though undesigned, were consequences of certain acts, as *the buying of the field* was the consequence of Judas's treason."

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how little reliance was to be placed upon the boasted sarcophagous properties of the place. It is now in a state of complete dilapidation; one side is a ruin; the cupolas have been demolished; and its only occupants, when we visited it, were owls, bats, and cockroaches.

This tomb has been generally described as that which was bought with the blood-money that was returned by Judas Iscariot. It is pointed out as such by the priests and guides, and the belief in its identity seems to have gained strength from its having been permitted to remain uncontradicted, and traveller after traveller has repeated the tale, till it is believed by all. But the architecture, the small stones of which it is built, and the very mortar with which they are connected, all testify against the absurdity of this opinion; and prove that it cannot possibly be coeval with the Christian era. It is of a character totally different from all other eastern tombs, and the similarity in external appearance to the Roman, and in purpose to the Neapolitan, is very remarkable. A date, however, of three centuries later has been assigned to it by Sandys. "In the midst whereof," says he, when describing this field, "a large square room was made by the mother of Constantine; the south side walled with the natural rock, flat at top, and equal with the upper level, out of which rise certain little cupolas open in the midst to let down the dead bodies;" but then it must be remembered that every spot connected with the traditionary history of Jerusalem has been attributed to the Empress Helena.

Having heard a rumour of a tomb that had been lately discovered and opened by the Arabs, in this vicinity, and it being reported that some human remains were found in it, I rode out one evening during our sojourn in Jerusalem, to examine the place, accompanied by two of my companions, Mr. W. Meiklam and Mr. A. Finlay. A little higher up in the cliff that rises from the cavern erected by the Roman Empress, within the ground denominated the Aceldama, and in the neighbourhood of the painted chambers and that excavation called the tomb of Isaiah, some Arabs, when at work in the place, accidentally discovered the doorway of a tomb carved out of the solid rock, which had been concealed by a heap of rubbish, over which the soil had accumulated so as to completely conceal the entrance. Such was the account given to me by credible witnesses in Jerusalem. This entrance

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at the time of our visit was still partly concealed by brambles, stones and dirt, so that but one half of the doorway was visible, as in the annexed view.

It represents a Doric pediment, supported by rude pilasters, with some remains of floral embellishments carved upon the architrave, such as I before noticed as being characteristic of Hebrew sculpture; the whole hewn out of the rock, from which it stands out in good relief, as exhibited in the above sketch, which I made upon the spot.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with this façade was its door, which struck me the moment I saw it, as being totally different from that of any other tomb that I had ever seen or read of, except one at Petra, and one described by Irby and Mangles at Bysan near Tiberias. It is formed of a single slab of stone, and moves on horizontal pivots that run into sockets cut in the pilasters at top, in the manner of a swinging hinge; similar to that which is sometimes seen in the doors of cottages in this country. The lower part of it had been, I was informed, broken

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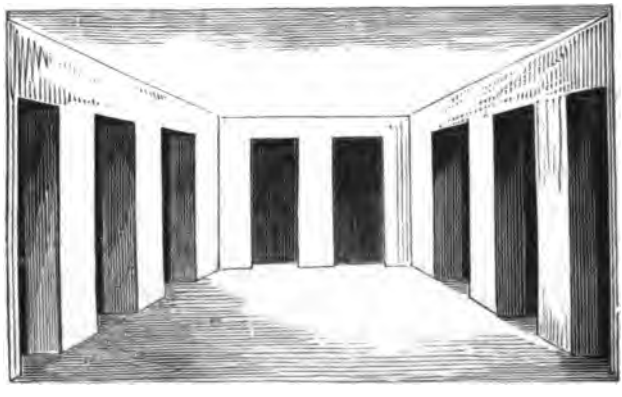
off by the Arabs in order to effect an entrance. It is the only outside door of a tomb that I have ever seen in situ, and it differs from all others in not having been formed for concealment, or for being completely closed when the body was deposited within; but was evidently made for the purpose of being opened occasionally. Having entered beneath this ponderous portal and lighted our candles, we were greatly surprised to find ourselves within a tolerably sized hall of an oblong shape, cut with great precision out of the rock, but without ornament or adornment of any kind whatever.

Curious to relate, the whole of this tomb afforded a most striking illustration of its appropriateness to describe the character of the self-righteous Scribes and Pharisees; and showed the forcible application of the language used by the Saviour when denouncing their hypocrisy; "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness."* At the end, and on either side of the hall a number of doors led into inner apartments, as shown in the accompanying cut.



* Matt. xxiii. 27. Dr. Shaw supposed that the whited sepulchres mentioned by our Lord were the same as the Mohammadan marabuts; but these I am inclined to believe are of a date more recent that the Christian era.

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Each of these chambers was a small oblong crypt, about seven feet long; on either side of which was a trough or sarcophagus, hewn like all the rest of the tomb out of the solid rock, and raised about three feet from the floor, and in *all* of them were quantities of human bones lying without order or regularity, but in a state of most astonishing preservation. The edges of these troughs were in many places chipped and broken, as if from long use; and the whitewash had not only coated these parts, but had actually spotted several of the bones that lay low down in the bottoms of the troughs. These bones were piled in layers, and as each trough contained several, the whitewash must have been used subsequently to some of the bodies being placed within them. This whitewash (which is the only instance of the kind that has yet been discovered of that ancient Jewish custom) was in a most extraordinary state of perfection; and, from the number of layers that could be seen, on picking it off the wall, it was evident that it had been frequently renewed. Such was the appearance this tomb presented when we examined it; and such I was informed was its state when discovered shortly before.

But the most remarkable feature in this catacomb was, that each set of crypts, that is, those on the three different sides, contained the remains of *distinct* and *separate races of mankind*, as shown by the skulls found in the trough of each.* Thus all the crypts upon the right-hand side contained crania of the same characters, shape, and appearance, whereas all those upon the opposite, left-hand side, were of a shape the very reverse, and in the end or central compartments I found skulls totally different from either. In this end of the apartment, however, the crania were more mixed, and not at all so decided as those in the two other sets of chambers that I have mentioned. But, although I searched with some care, I could not find a single instance of the skulls of one side being mixed up with those of the other two; all were perfectly distinct and separated from each other. Now, none of these curious heads belonged to the Jewish race, for not

* Could it have been a tomb of this description that is mentioned in Jeremiah, (chap. xxvi. v. 23.) where the prophet says that Jehoiakim, when he slew Urijah, "cast his body into the *graves of the common people*."

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one single European or well-marked Caucasian head could I find among the numbers scattered in the chambers; and as all who did not belong to that family, must have been strangers in Jerusalem—and as these heads belonged to races of mankind that we know did not inhabit Judea for the last two thousand years, they must have been foreigners; and this has led me to conjecture, that this tomb, which is situated in the acknowledged site of the field of blood, may be one of those sepulchres of the actual *Aceldama* that was purchased by the priests "to bury strangers in."

Although aware of the danger I incurred, and the uproar that it might occasion if discovered, I could not possibly resist the desire I felt to bring some of these curious skulls with me to Europe; knowing the interest they would excite amongst those who have studied the physical history of the human species—even though they had not been discovered in the field of blood. So, tying two of them in my handkerchief, and fastening it to the saddle, while I persuaded my enthusiastic friend, the baker, whom I before introduced to my readers, and who acted as our guide that evening, to carry two more of them for me beneath his beneesh, we in this way set forward to the city at sunset. I must confess that it was not without some feelings of trepidation I passed the Mooslim guard, as I dashed through St. Stephen's gate, and galloping up the Via Dolorosa, safely gained the convent with my prize.

Let us now consider who those strangers may have been that are referred to in the inspired record, and briefly inquire, to what race of men these remarkable skulls belonged. To enter at all upon the disputed point as to the many varieties into which the human family may be divided, or to discuss the opinions that have been set forth as to their common origin—a question which to the present time occupies the attention of the most learned philosophers and physiologists—would take up more space in a narrative of travel than the limits and purpose of the present work permit, or than would be interesting to the general reader. It is sufficient that we adhere to the most acknowledged general principles that are received at the present day by those learned in the physical history of man. Nor would it in the slightest degree interfere with the end and purpose of the following

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inquiry, whether we adopted the arrangements of Cuvier, Blumenbach, Lawrence, or Dr. Prichard, or examined these heads according to the rules of the facial angle of Camper, the vertical view of Blumenbach, or the more advisable plan of the general observation of the cranium by Prichard; the object being to know, if possible, to what races these heads belonged, and to what country they can be referred.

I may here remark, that this beautiful and most interesting subject of the physical history of the human race, has of late years become one of such general and popular inquiry, that I presume the readers of these pages are so far acquainted with its outlines, as to be able to go forward with me in this investigation, without any preliminary observations upon that branch of science. I may also add that, having had frequent communications with Dr. Prichard upon the subject of these heads, his opinions very nearly coincide with those which I had previously stated in writing to my esteemed friend, Professor Graves; and, lest it might be supposed that the former great authority was in any way biassed by a knowledge of *where* or under what circumstances these heads were procured, I can only say, that casts of the four skulls which I removed from this tomb were forwarded to Dr. Prichard, with a note from Professor Graves, requesting his opinion upon them, but giving no clue whatever as to the locality, or stating how, or in what place, they had been discovered.

Though there are some objections to it, yet for every useful object of this inquiry, the three great divisions of man into the Caucasian, Mongolian and Ethiopian, with the two intermediate varieties of the American, as the link between the first and second, and the Malay between the second and third, as adopted by the German school, will answer our purpose.

Although colour, language, religion, history, tradition, and antiquities, may be called in as auxiliaries, yet it is now universally admitted by the first authorities in this science, that to the form and character of the head can we alone refer in order to determine the varieties of man, either existing or extinct. "Thus," says a distinguished writer, "of all peculiarities in the form of the bony fabric, those of the skull are the most striking and distinguishing. It is in the head that we find the varieties most strongly characteristic of different races. The characters of the

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countenance and the shape of the features depend chiefly on the configuration of the bones of the head."*

The Potter's Field was bought to bury strangers in—but who were these strangers? I believe that all those who were not Jews, were considered strangers in Jerusalem; and who they were we

* A brief summary of some of the most prominent and distinguishing characteristics of each of these grand divisions may illustrate our subsequent remarks.

First—The Caucasian or ßoidal head is of an oval shape, possessing great symmetry and beauty of outline, with a high expanded forehead, and an oval face, having the forehead, cheek-bones, and teeth, all on the same plane, when the person stands erect. The zygomæ or bony arches in front of the ear are on the same plane as the temples or the side of the head; and a line dropt from the upper edge of the orbit falls *direct* upon the lower margin of the same cavity. With this external configuration there is in general high intellectual endowment; and the features, colour of skin, hair, and complexion, are too well known in these countries to require description. Under this head (though there are many shades of difference) may be classed the great Iranian or Indo-Atlantic nations—including at the present day all the Europeans, except the Finnish tribes of Lapland, and the Esquimaux; the south-western Asiatics; and those of the northern parts of Africa, between the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlas mountains; the different countries that have been peopled from Europe, particularly America; with the Jews, Bedawees, and high-caste Hindoos; and of the ancient nations, the Syrians and Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Chaldeans, and ancient Egyptians, with the Guanches of the Canary Archipelago, Celts, and Cimbri.

Second—The Mongolian division have heads characterised by height and breadth, as compared with those already described; and the more strongly marked races of this variety have pyramidal heads, formed by the bases of two triangles meeting at the junction of the cheek-bones and the zygomæ; the facial-angle is more retreating than the former, and there is extreme narrowness from before backwards. Confluent features, and large, deep orbits, set widely apart, characterise this race; a line dropped from the upper edge of the orbit falls *without* its lower; the teeth are somewhat projecting; and the zygoma is on a plane much more laterally extended than the temples or side of the head. The people of this race are smaller in stature than the Caucasian, have yellow or olive complexions; long, straight, and generally black hair, and rather scanty beards; the base of the head is broad, flat, and short. Under this class of heads come those nations denominated Turanian, including the extensive people of the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese nations; and all the north-eastern Asiatics, particularly the Calmuc Tartars, Tungooses, and other nomadic tribes of Siberia; the Esquimaux,

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learn from the Acts of the Apostles, which states, that on the day of Pentecost such strangers (immediately after the Aceldama was established) were assembled in Jerusalem from different parts of the world; and who, upon hearing of the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that the apostles spoke in different languages, came together to witness the miraculous gifts. These strangers were Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and *strangers* of Rome, Proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians.*

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and Laplanders, with the inhabitants of Thibet, Monguls, and Burats: and although it is not quite so well determined, I think that we may also place the wandering tribes of Turcomans under this division.

Third—The Ethiopian heads are characterised by extremely narrow and retiring foreheads; great depth of head from before backwards; flatness of the temporal regions; projecting muzzle and cheek bones; flattened zygomæ projecting laterally very little beyond the side of the head; and teeth set at a small and outward angle with the jaws. A line dropped from the upper edge of the orbit falls *within* its lower; there is general thickness and density of the bones of the head; the features are those known under the name of negro; the colour varies from dark olive to jet black; the hair is short, thick, curled and woolly; and the beard very scanty. This form of head, denominated Prognathous, is found in those extensive nations of negroes inhabiting central Africa, and the whole slave population of the world; except, perhaps, those negroes of Mozambique, who are characterised by high, though narrow and conical foreheads.

Fourth—The American variety, intermediate between the Caucasian and Mongolian, partakes more of the traits and contour of the latter; having the peculiar conformation of cheek-bones and pyramidal skull, characteristic of that race. This division includes all the aborigines of the new world, and perhaps the Hottentots and Bushmen.

Fifth—The Malay, another intermediate race between the Mongolian and Ethiopian, but partaking more of the latter, are also known under the name of Papuas, and may be enumerated as the vast tribes inhabiting the Indian Archipelago, New Holland, New Zealand, the aborigines of Australia, and some tribes of Southern Africa.

Those heads that are altered by artificial pressure and other mechanical means, could not be considered in the above brief sketch.

* I am fully aware of the opinion of Adam Clarke, that *all* the people enumerated in Acts, ch. ii. v. 9—11, were Jews; and that the "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea,

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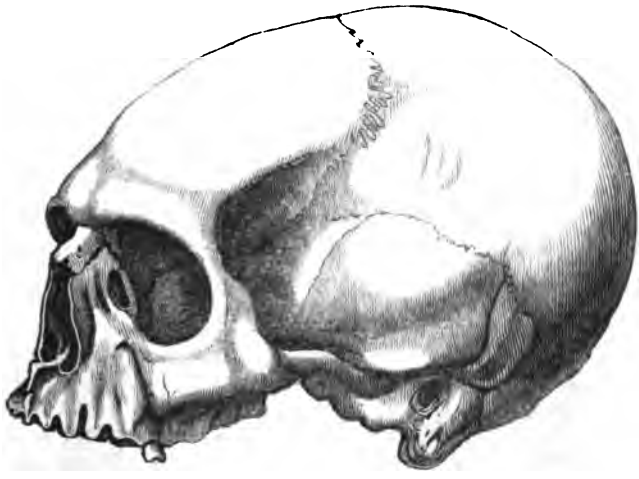
To which of these nations, and under which variety of the human species are we to refer the skulls found in the right-hand chambers of this tomb, as shown in the accompanying representation? Undoubtedly to the Ethiopian; and under that



head may be classed the strangers from Egypt, Lybia, and perhaps Cyrene; for the Abyssinian and Ethiopian nations were included in the first, and of such was, in all probability, the Eunuch of Candace. Lybia was a term among the Greeks to signify Africa generally.

A glance at the figure of this head, at once shows us to which

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and Cappadocia; in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia; in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, *Jews* and *Proselytes*, Cretes, and Arabians," were either Jews or Proselytes; but I confess that I do not see that such an inference can be drawn from this passage. If all these several nations were either Jews or Proselytes to the Hebrew faith, why should both the Jews and Proselytes be enumerated among them? We know that Jerusalem was at this time one of the greatest marts, as well as one of the greatest thoroughfares of the world; and besides, many other nations came up to worship at the temple, and to fill the *courts of the Gentiles*, who were not purely Israelites; but, even supposing that these were Jewish proselytes, still they were strangers at Jerusalem, and belonged to nations with heads differing in form from the Jewish; and if they were Jews, it is more than probable that although they spoke the

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class it belongs. Of this cranium Dr. Prichard writes to me, "I think, with you, that this skull is that of an African." Its characters are so well exhibited in the drawing, that I need not enumerate them, except to add, that the alveolar process of the upper jaw, which ought to have projected more forward, has been accidentally broken off. The skull is one of great weight and density, and belonged to a person about the middle age.

Here again is one of those skulls found in the left-hand cham-

bers; and although it differs in some respects from the true Mongolian, yet under that variety it must be classed. Its most striking characters are its very remarkable narrowness in its longitudinal diameter, not only in contra-distinction to the

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respective tongues of the different nations among whom they were scattered, yet that they would, like Jews of the present day, all understand Hebrew. But, even supposing that they were Jewish proselytes, still they were strangers, and must have belonged to separate tribes before their conversion, and consequently had skulls different in form from the Hebrew.

Regarding this miraculous gift of tongues, a friend has lately suggested to me an idea that deserves attention. It is, that these people heard *a language* which they themselves understood, and which, though spoken by one person, was equally intelligible to the whole multitude, and not that

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Ethiopian, which is characterised by extreme length, but in comparison with all other known crania. It has an uncommon breadth and flatness of the occipital or posterior region; and the very remarkable protuberance at the top of the head gives this skull a place among those termed pyramidal.

Dr. Prichard, who considered these heads as some of the most extraordinary he had ever seen, has stated that, in his opinion, they are of Turkish origin, and that they belonged to those tribes that possess much of the Mongolian form of skull; and, on the whole, he agrees with me as to the place I have given them—that is, although not true Mongolian, yet that they approach nearer to that race than to any other. Altogether, I am of opinion that they may have belonged to some of the Turcoman tribes, that to this day wander in hordes over different parts of those countries, called by the ancient names of Parthia, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and Pamphylia, and extending in the form of a semi-circle from the eastern extremity of Asia Minor, between the Mediterranean and the Euxine, on the one hand, to the countries lying between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, on the other, and mingling with the Tartar or Kalmuc hordes that extend to the north-east of the Black Sea beyond Mount Caucasus.

The Turks of the present day, it should be recollected, are not true Mongolians; for though descended from a race of Turcomans, yet now by intermarriage with the Georgian and Circassian females, the very purest and best marked of all Caucasians, they have lost the original configuration of head, except in the peculiarity of the protuberance at top, to which I before alluded. The base of this head is also remarkable for its great breadth and shortness, in a longitudinal direction.*

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they were alternately addressed in the seventeen different tongues of those nations. The opinion is well worthy of consideration, and it in no way detracts from the character of the miracle, that each heard a different language from one speaker, as for instance, when they were addressed by Peter.

* As an explanation of the minute anatomical peculiarities of these heads might not be interesting to the general reader, it will be found in the Appendix, together with a description of the modern Egyptian. See Appendix N.

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Lastly, the skulls found in the central apartments, one of which is exhibited below, deserve our attention. This is one of the most remarkable I have ever seen, and if it were the peculiar form of any race, as I see no reason to doubt, for there were numbers of the same kind in these crypts, that race is now either extinct, or is unknown to physiologists.

This head, which was that of a very old person, appears to have belonged to a mixed variety, and inclines more to the European or Caucasian. Perhaps it may be classed among those of the Medes and Elamites, who resided in a country beyond the Tigris, and were the same, in all probability, as the modern Persians. This skull is remarkably light, and so thin as to be almost semi-transparent; and it is curious to find that Herodotus mentions the extreme thinness of the Persian skulls, in contradistinction to the Egyptian, which were particularly dense and thick. (Herod. Thalia, xii.)

Finally, I may again add, that though I searched diligently, yet I could not find a single Jewish or well-marked Caucasian head. It may be objected to the hypothesis that these skulls belonged to the several nations that I have enumerated, that bones would not be preserved in so perfect a state for 1800 years; but the climate of Judea, and the peculiar construction of this tomb, would prevent their decaying for a much longer period. I do not think that any antiquary can instance a rock-carved sepulchre such as this having been formed after the Christian era.

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In a subsequent communication, Dr. Prichard concludes his observations upon the skulls, by saying, "The information you give as to their locality is very curious, and the circumstance that strangers were probably buried there, accounts for the diversity in the forms of these skulls."

From all the concurrent circumstances connected with this tomb—its being situated on the site of the acknowledged Field of Blood; the appearance of its external architecture, particularly its door, which differs from *all other* sepulchres we have yet heard of, except those at Petra and Bysan, in being formed for occasional opening; from its curious internal hall and chambers; the remarkable human remains found in them, so perfectly different and distinct one from another; and these belonging to foreign nations, and not to Hebrews—I conceive there is a strong probability, almost amounting to presumptive proof, that this sepulchre was one of the tombs, if not the actual one, purchased with the thirty pieces of silver to bury strangers in, and from that circumstance receiving the name of ACELDAMA, or FIELD OF BLOOD.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PALESTINE.

The Jews—Their Character in Jerusalem—Number—Benjamin of Tudela—Means of Subsistence—Their Love for the City—Patriotism—Transportation of their bones—Their Language—Synagogues—Ancient Customs—Present State and Prospects—A Touching Scene—Hope—Lepers—Houses—Female Inhabitants—Their Amusements—Missionaries—The English Church—The Different Sects of Christians—The Latin Fathers—A Pharmacy—Greeks—Armenians—Their Convents—Door of the Holy Sepulchre—Copts—Their History and Customs—Effects of the Conscription—An Arab's Love—Pool of Bethesda—Its remarkable Masonry—Tomb of David—A Prussian Prince—A Navigator of the Dead Sea—Irish Travellers—Eastern Shepherds—Bethlehem—Its Beautiful Females—Convent—Place of the Nativity—Etham—Solomon's Cisterns—Aqueduct—Visit to Bethany—Sepulchre of Lazarus—Return to Ramla—Sirocco—Climate of Palestine—An Adventure—How to catch a Mule—Reflections on the East—Its Wonders and present Prospects—Proceed to Europe.

THE Jews inhabit a particular portion of the southern part of the city, the Harat-el-Youd, between the foot of Sion and the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, and are not the least interesting of the objects presented to the traveller in the Holy City. This extraordinary people, the favoured of the Lord, the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets, and the aristocracy of the earth, are to be seen in Jerusalem to greater advantage, and under an aspect, and in a character, totally different from that which they present in any other place on the face of the globe. In other countries the very name of Jew has associated with it cunning, deceit, usury, traffic, and often wealth. But here, in addition to the usual degradation and purchased suffering of a despised, stricken, outcast race, they bend under extreme poverty, and wear the aspect of a weeping and a mourning people; lamenting over their fallen greatness as a nation, and over the prostrate grandeur of their once proud city. Here the usurer is turned into the pilgrim, the merchant into the priest, and the inexorable creditor into the weeping suppliant. Without wealth, without traffic, they are

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supported solely by the voluntary contributions of their brethren throughout the world.

I think I am warranted in stating, that the number of Jews now in Jerusalem is greater than at any other period of modern times. The population of any eastern city is with great difficulty accurately ascertained, owing to the total absence of statistical or municipal tables, as well as to the immense floating population, hundreds arriving at night, and passing out in the morning; besides, here, the number of pilgrims varies daily. The entire *resident* population of the city is about 30,000; of which 8,000 are Jews; 8,000 Christians; 10,000 Mohammadans; and about 4,000 foreigners, or partial residents, including the garrison. This, however, is by many considered too much, some estimating the total population at so few as eleven or twelve thousand.

As a rough guess would but little approximate to the truth, and as many contradictory accounts have been published of the number of Jews resident in Jerusalem, I used every means of procuring correct information on this subject. The Latins, and the Jewish rabbis themselves, whom I severally consulted, both agreed in stating, that the number is greater now (1837) than at any other period in latter times of which they have any record; and that, at the lowest calculation, it amounted to the number I have stated.

The period is not very distant when the Turkish law permitted no more than 300 Jews to reside within the walls. The celebrated Jewish historian, Benjamin of Tudela, gives a lamentable account of the state of the Jews in Palestine about the middle of the twelfth century: and "we may safely select," says Milman, in his History of the Jews, "his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land. There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on others. In Tyre, Benjamin is said to have found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem; but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but 50. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land; and may, perhaps, be

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ascribed in a great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions." A vast concourse of this people flocked to Jerusalem at the time that Syria was occupied by the Egyptians; and afterwards, on the conquest of Algiers. Within these two or three years, however, the extreme scarcity of provisions has deterred others from going there, and the number has not been so great as heretofore.

A partial famine was making itself felt among the Jews at the time of our visit, in consequence of the remittances for their support not having arrived punctually. Nor are those who, in the first instance, receive these remittances, free from the strong suspicion of withholding a part for their own private uses. Bread, all kinds of provisions, and even water, were becoming scarce and dear, owing to the increased population within the walls, and the decrease of agricultural population without, to cultivate the soil, and raise the necessaries of life. This decrease arose from the impolitic conscription carried on in this thinly populated country to augment the army of the Básha; and great fears of famine, and its horrors, were entertained. Many poor Jews were then beginning to suffer from hunger, and both they and the Mooslims were, during our stay, observing a solemn fast, and praying for rain to descend on this thirsty land, whose wheat crops were withering for lack of moisture. The army of Ibrahim Básha was entirely supplied with foreign corn.

With all this accumulated misery—with all this insult and scorn heaped upon the Israelite here, more even than in any other country—why, it will be asked, does he not fly to other and happier lands? Why does he seek to rest under the shadow of Jerusalem's wall? Independently of that natural love of country which exists among this people, two objects bring the Jew to Jerusalem; to study the Scriptures and the Talmud—and then to die, and have his bones laid with his forefathers in the valley of Jehoshaphat, even as the bones of the patriarchs were carried up out of Egypt. No matter what the station or rank—no matter what or how far distant the country where the Jew resides—he still lives upon the hope that he will one day journey Sion-ward. No clime can change, no season quench, that patriotic ardour with which the Jew beholds Jerusalem, even through the vista of a long futurity. On his first approach to the city, while yet within a day's journey, he puts on his best apparel; and when the first view of it bursts

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upon his sight, he rends his garments, falls down to weep and pray over the long-sought object of his pilgrimage; and with dust sprinkled on his head, he enters the city of his forefathers. No child ever returned home after long absence with more yearnings of affection; no proud baron ever beheld his ancestral towers and lordly halls, when they had become another's, with greater sorrow than the poor Jew when he first beholds Jerusalem. This, at least, is patriotism. "It is curious," says the learned author, from whom I have already quoted, "after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings; still, it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine, and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. 'The air of the land of Israel,' says one, 'makes a man wise;' another writes, 'he who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life to come.' 'The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to *embrace its ruins*, and roll themselves in its dust.' 'The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel.' He who is buried there is reconciled with God, as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan first come to life in the days of the Messiah."—*History of the Jews*, vol. iii.

It is worthy of remark, as stated by Sandys, that so strong is the desire this singular people have always manifested for being buried within these sacred limits, that in the seventeenth century large quantities of their bones were yearly sent thither from all parts of the world, for the purpose of being interred in the valley of Jehoshaphat; for the Turkish rulers at that time permitted but a very small number of Jews even to enter Palestine. Sandys saw shiploads of this melancholy freight at Jaffa; and the valley of Jehoshaphat is literally paved with Jewish tombstones.

"Samaria! thou art still my home,
And thou ere long shalt be my grave:
I know it—yet to thee I'll roam—
There let me sleep, where sleep the brave.

And if there lie o'er them and me
A waste, and not a flower-decked sod;
So let it be!—so let it be!
If but the spirit rest with God."

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In Jerusalem alone, of any place upon the earth, is the Hebrew spoken as a conversational language; for, although the Scriptures are read, and the religious rites performed in Hebrew in the various countries in which the Jews are scattered, yet they speak the language of the nations among whom they are located. And as the last link of that chain which binds them to home and to happiness, they, like other oppressed nations, cling to it with rapturous delight. And it is the only door by which the missionary there has access to the Jew, for they themselves have often said to me—"We cannot resist the holy language."

Most of the Jews are learned; and many spend the principal part of their time in studying the Scriptures or the Talmud; while others are engaged in discussing the law, and disputing in the synagogues, or in weeping over Jerusalem. They are particularly courteous to strangers; and seem anxious to cultivate an intercourse with Franks.

One morning while inquiring about some medicine at the shop of a poor Jew, I was accosted by a venerable rabbi in good English, who invited me to see their new synagogue, of which they are now very proud, inasmuch as it is built on a piece of ground lately restored to them by Mohammad Alee, after a judicial investigation of their right, and after having been withheld from them for upwards of two centuries. It was covered with heaps of rubbish and old ruined houses; and it is curious that in excavating among them, they found the remains of some very old arches and pillars, which they strongly affirm were portions of a synagogue in days gone by. They were clearing these away at the time of our visit; and some tolerable houses and baths were also being built upon the spot. The altar or holy place, in which are kept some ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch on parchment rolls, was adorned by representations of the different musical instruments mentioned in Scripture belonging to Hebrew melody, as the harp, sackbut, and psaltery. A compartment was railed off on the left hand for the females.

When I entered the synagogue, I found a number of old men seated at tables, the greater part of whom were reading the Talmud, and some few the Scriptures. All who were so engaged, had small square black boxes, each about two inches in diameter, strapped upon their foreheads, which, on inquiry, I was told were the "frontlets" that the Jews were directed to bind between their

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eyes; others had similar ornaments strapped on the left arm, (Deuter. vi. 8,) and containing a verse of Scripture. Several of these Jews were standing in groups, discussing and disputing about the law. They reminded me of the doctors in the days of our Lord, when similar scenes may have taken place, even on this very spot. There was a tolerable library attached to the place, where the young men were instructed in the Talmud, the books of Moses, and the mysteries of the Jewish religion, in order to prepare those that are intended for the priesthood, who are the only Jews that leave Jerusalem. The greater number met with in the streets are of the priestly order, marked by their tall black caps, with a band of gray and white muslin bound round them.

Heretofore both Jews and Christians, but especially the former, were prohibited from repairing any of their places of worship; the permission now granted them speaks well for the mildness of the government of Mohammad Alee. Indeed, that persecution which has ever since Jerusalem's fall been the birthright of the Jew, has been very much mitigated in Palestine, since the assumption of the government by the Egyptian ruler. Nay, I do believe that at no period, since Titus led them captive, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome, was their condition ever so meliorated, or have they enjoyed so many immunities, as under Mohammad Alee. Nor can tradition or historic record show so great a number of Jews, and so secure from persecution, residing in Jerusalem. Many say that this is but a cunning policy, to make a show of liberality; — but, by whom do kings reign? is a question never asked. Their becoming possessed of this synagogue and the portion of ground around it, after so many years, is the more remarkable, as for many years the Jews were not allowed to possess a single rood of the soil of their forefathers; and the circumstance reminded me of Jeremiah's purchase of the lands of Hananeel, and hiding the bond, in order to enjoy it after the captivity.

The male part of this people are exceedingly handsome; but I must acknowledge that those Jewesses I met in Jerusalem were not as beautiful as those I have seen elsewhere. Many of them had light complexions, which, with the highly marked and prominent features of the Hebrew countenance, is by no means pleasing. Here they do not wear the yashmac or face-cover.

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A well-known Jewish convert, who, for political reasons, was some time since denied admission into Egypt, and is now travelling in India, has been pleased to suppose that Mohammad Alee may be the "cruel lord" spoken of in Isaiah, although he is one of those who believe that the restoration of the Israelites is nigh at hand. It should be remembered, however, that Egypt is to be the high-way for the return of the people of the Lord; and do we not see this fulfilling daily, by the mild treatment exercised by this Egyptian ruler towards the Hebrews?

This very remarkable increase of the Jews in Palestine, and particularly in the city of Jerusalem, must strike even those who do not look upon it as a literal fulfilment of prophecy. Great and mighty events must, however, come to pass ere their restoration is accomplished; but though "the times and the seasons knoweth no man," yet the day *shall* come, when, to use the metaphorical language of the east, those broken pillars, the prostrate columns and ornamental capitals of that noble edifice that once reared its head within that land, shall be raked from out the *debris* of a world, where they are now scattered and trodden under foot, to deck the polished corners of that gem-studded temple that shall once more crown the hills of Salem.

The very wars and rumours of wars at present throughout the world tell us that we are on the eve of great events, and that the redemption of Judah draweth nigh. The flapping wings and soaring flight of

"The dark banner'd eagle, the Muscovite's glory,"

before she stoops upon her quarry, are already heard, speaking in accents that cannot be mistaken. Come those sounds for nought, or are they the distant murmur of those northern powers, whose part in that drama is so plainly spoken of by the inspired heralds of prophetic Scripture?

But of all the phases under which the Jews can be seen, the most deeply interesting is that exhibited, when they collect to weep over those stones of Jerusalem that I have already described as belonging to the ancient city, and situated in the western wall of the court of the temple. "In front of it," (the mosque of Omar,) writes Benjamin of Tudela, "you see the western wall, one of the walls which formed the holy of holies of the ancient temple; it is

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called gate of mercy, and all Jews resort thither to say their prayers near the wall of the court-yard."

One day during my stay, upon the anniversary of the great earthquake at Saphet, where so many of their brethren were destroyed, the whole congregation met for this purpose. It was a touching sight, and one that years will not efface, to witness this mourning group, and hear them singing the songs of David, in the full expressive language in which they were written, beneath Mount Sion, on which they were composed —and before those very walls, that in other times rang with the same swelling chorus. But not now are heard the joyous tones of old; for here every note was swollen with a sigh, or broken with a sob—the sighs of Judah's mourning maidens, the sobs and smothered groans of the patriarchs of Israel. And that heart must indeed be sadly out of tune, whose chords would not vibrate to the thrilling strains of Hebrew melody, when chanted by the sons and daughters of Abraham in their native city. Much as they venerate the very stones that now form the walls of this enclosure, they dare not set foot within its precincts; for the crescent of the Mooslim is glittering from the minaret of Omar, and the blood-red banner of Mohammad is waving over their heads.

Were I asked what was the object of the greatest interest that I had met with, and the scene that made the deepest impression upon me, during my sojourn in other lands, I would say, that it was a Jew mourning over the stones of Jerusalem. And what principle, what feeling is it, it may be asked, that can thus keep the Hebrew, through so many centuries, still yearning towards his native city—still looking forward to his restoration, and the coming of Messiah? Hope. Hope is the principle that supports the Israelite through all his sufferings—with oppression for his inheritance; sorrow and sadness for his certain lot; the constant fear of trials, bodily pain, and mental anguish; years of disgrace, and a life of misery; without a country and without a home; scorned, robbed, insulted, and reviled; the power of man, and even death itself, cannot obliterate that feeling. It is hope that binds the laurel on the warrior's brow; that leads the soldier on to conquest, and bids him face the battle's dread array; that, pointing to the enjoyment of earthly honour and greatness in time, cheers man amidst every discouragement he

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may have to encounter, and leads him to overcome every difficulty and obstacle for their attainment; and, when elevated and directed to higher objects by the influence of religion, gives him the cheering prospect of happiness in eternity. It is the very life-boat of our existence—the oil that calms that sea of trouble on which man launches at his birth. What would the poor despised Jew be—what would man be without its cheering influence? Yes, though clouds of doubt and mists of uncertainty may hover round, and for a while obscure our horizon, it is hope can

> "Smile those clouds away,
> And paint the morrow with prophetic ray."

Independent of the death-like stillness that prevails without the city, as we remarked upon first approaching it, there is a stillness and solitude within its walls, that could hardly be imagined in a place containing so many thousand souls. This may arise from the inhabitants not being engaged in manufacturing or commercial pursuits; for, except those things absolutely requisite for supplying the common necessities of the population, there is little bought or sold in Jerusalem; and, consequently, the bustle of traffic, and the busy hum of men, are never heard within its streets. As religious worship in some form or another is the object for which the greater number of the inhabitants have come to Jerusalem, they make it the daily business of their lives; and so much respect do the Mooslims pay to their Sabbath, that the city gates are always closed during the hour of prayer (from twelve to one); and no inducement could prevail upon the officer of the guard to open them for us one day that we wished to get out, until their service was concluded. A tradition is reported to exist among the Mohammadans that on some Friday (their Sabbath) during this hour, when all are engaged in prayer, the Christians will surprise them and retake the city—this is said to be the cause of closing the gates.

That portion of the town that encloses a part of the brow of Sion, is almost a waste; sunk in pitfalls or thrown up into mounds by ruined buildings, and overgrown with weeds and enormous cacti. This sacred spot is now the district allotted to the lepers, great numbers of whom are constantly met near the

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Sion gate, or seated by the road side among the nopals. These wretched people are most disgusting objects, and some of them exhibited the worst cases of this dreadful malady I ever beheld; many had lost fingers, toes, noses,—nay, whole hands and feet; and several were absolutely white as snow, from the peculiar scaly appearance that some forms of this disease had assumed. Some of these people are wealthy, possessing land and cattle; they are forbidden to hold communication with any of the inhabitants, but have whole villages appropriated to themselves. Their children are said to be born perfectly healthy, and the disease does not break out till twelve or fourteen years of age. It is high time that the rulers of the countries where leprosy exists should exert themselves to prevent its extension, by providing in all cases separate asylums for these unhappy beings; instead of allowing them to congregate in small communities, where the disease is sure to be propagated and perpetuated.

The streets of Jerusalem are narrow, ill-paved, and generally very dirty, particularly in the Jewish quarter. The sides of the houses fronting the streets are little better than dead walls, with a few small latticed windows—(Judges v. 28; Canticle ii. 9). The roofs of nearly all the houses are domed and white-washed, and around these are flat terraces; the whole covered with cement, and surrounded by a parapet wall, about breast high (Deut. xxii. 8). The house-tops are the constant retreats of the people, and many of them are covered with awnings. Portions of the parapet walls are curiously constructed of small cylinders of red crockery ware, piled up in a pyramidal form, and forming a kind of open work, that allows the air to blow through, and produces a most refreshing current. The inhabitants say, this construction has also the effect of preserving the wall from being blown down by the many sudden squalls and tempests common to this country at particular seasons. Besides this, it is useful for permitting the ladies to observe, unseen, what is going forward in the neighbourhood—all the Christian females in Judea being just as chary of their fair faces as the Mohammadans.

According to our notions of social and domestic enjoyment, nothing can be more cruel, dreary, and unnatural, than the enslaved condition in which the women of the East, and particu-

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larly those in Jerusalem are held. The chief amusement of many of them seems to be, mourning over the tombs of their departed lords; but I have occasionally observed others partaking of that agreeable imitation of the motion, productive of sea-sickness, called "swing-swang;" and whole hareems turn out to partake of this pastime, among the olive groves near the Bab-el-ahem. During the play, the ladies chant a low chorus; and the person who is swung, utters a shrill but not unpleasing cry, as she rises in the air.*

The face-cover of these ladies is not the boórcko of the Egyptian females, but the yashmac, similar to that worn at Constantinople. It consists of a white muslin handkerchief, drawn tight round the lower part of the face, immediately beneath the nose, and fastened at the back of the head, thereby exposing more of the face than is usual among Eastern ladies. From its continued pressure against the end of the nose, it has produced a general protuberance of that organ, by no means pleasing. If intense white, with a slight tinge of pink upon the cheek, can be called beauty, these ladies possess it; but among the Mooslim belles, it is size, not colour or the form of their features, that constitutes that envied appellation, expressed in one word, *dumpiness*. The Armenian females dress like the Turkish, and resemble them very much in appearance.

Besides the bath, one of the few excuses that an eastern dame has for leaving the hareem is, to visit the tombs of deceased relatives. Most of the Mooslim tombs about the city have the round stele or head-stone carved at top into the form of a palmetto leaf, or a number of grooves radiating from the centre. This is said to be for the purpose of catching the plenteous tears of the widows who resort there to weep over their husbands. In this respect they bear some analogy to the ancient lacrymatories mentioned by the Psalmist; but, though I examined numbers, I was never able to discover any of this precious fluid.

A Mohammadan graveyard is ever a scene of interest; and

* Swinging has been a very old and favourite amusement among Eastern ladies. See the Arabic Tales of Inatulla.

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although many resort to it from a more unworthy motive than that of mourning, yet I have seen others around these tombs, the outpouring of whose sorrow told of withered hopes and blighted happiness that no affectation could produce. How much greater reverence and respect is paid to the remains of the dead in the East than in our own country. The oriental looks forward to visiting the tomb of a friend for days and even years to come; and every thing about it is kept clean, neat, and elegant. Rows of tall cypresses shade the snow-white marble, interspersed with flowers and grass plots. At night small twinkling lamps are hung in the different sepulchres, and the Bulbul's song fills up the intervals of female lamentation.

In our country a graveyard is seldom or never visited by the relatives of the deceased, who daily pass its walls unmoved; while within, it is generally the most slovenly and unsightly spot in the vicinity. The rankest nettles grow upon the graves, till the sexton asks why the tenant cumbereth the ground, and upturns the ashes of the philosopher to make room for the body of the fool; and the green lichen soon creeps over the proud monument of the noble to tell that even his memory is forgotten. But a truce to reflection. In the burial ground to which I have referred there were hundreds of Turkish women, showing by the very position they assumed at the grave, how long ancient customs are preserved in the East. Sitting upon the ground is the posture of grief in that country. When the Israelites hung their harps by Babel's stream they sat down and wept; and this attitude of mourning is frequently alluded to in other parts of Scripture—(1 Kings, xiii. 30;—2 Chron. xxxv. 25;—Jer. ix. 17–20;—Amos, v. 16.) It is that adopted by the modern Hebrews who go to mourn over the stones of Jerusalem; and so characteristic is it of sorrow, that it was made by the Romans the emblem of their captivity, when—

"Lone Judea wept beneath her palm."

This is also the attitude in which the lower order of Irish women sing the *keenan* over the graves of their friends at the present day; and in Ireland we find a similarity of custom to the Easterns in the hired criers at wakes and funerals.

Connected with the Jews, I must now say a few words upon

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the different religious sects, and the English and American missionaries in Jerusalem. I was not long in the Holy City until I found my way to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, the Jewish missionary, and was received by him and his family with the greatest kindness and affection. Their dwelling is on the side of Mount Sion, in rather an unfrequented quarter of the town, and nearly opposite David's castle. In the evenings, after the fatigues of the day, in attending processions, or exploring ancient remains, it was indeed a comfort to sit and enjoy an hour's conversation with that interesting family; to talk about the land we had left, or consider the state and prospects of that in which we sojourned; and then to close the day with the service of our holy religion, and to hear the Scriptures read and expounded within the walls of Salem, and on the side of Sion, was indeed a privilege. In Mrs. Nicolayson I found a countrywoman, and though I had not the pleasure of meeting her before my visit to Jerusalem, yet we were acquainted with so many mutual friends in our native land, that we very soon cast off the reserve that generally follows a first introduction; if, indeed, the Irish ever require such inducements to become intimate in foreign countries. I shall long remember with delight and gratitude the happy evenings I spent under their roof.

Missionary labour must ever proceed slowly among the Jews in Jerusalem. And although I do not see that Scripture warrants the belief that the Israelites will be converted as a nation till after their restoration; yet some have come out and embraced Christianity in despite of the persecution which they knew awaited them from their brethren. For my own part, I only wonder that a Jew resident in Jerusalem ever becomes a Christian; for, perhaps, in no other place upon the globe is Christianity presented to him in a more *unchristian* spirit; the character and conduct of those who generally profess it is neither calculated to gain his confidence nor respect. Indeed both Jew and Mohammadan can justly point to the different religious sects, and ask, is this your religion? is this the creed you would have us to adopt? I am sure that if any of my enlightened Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen were to witness the scenes, and to know the real state of Christianity among those persons belonging to their church in Jerusalem, they would blush for

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their superstitious practices and be ashamed to acknowledge them as fellow worshippers.

The erection of the Hebrew church, in which the service of the church of England is to be celebrated in the Hebrew tongue, will, I trust, under the Almighty's blessing, work much good. The Jewish Society have reason to rejoice in being privileged to commence such a work; it is an undertaking worthy the high cause in which they are engaged. The Hebrew language, in which the service will be read, and the Scriptures expounded, together with the simplicity of our liturgy, will form a striking contrast to the mockery and impious miracle-mongering handicraft that the Jew has been heretofore told was Christianity; and will doubtless attract many of that people to attend the services of our holy religion, and lead them to believe in that Saviour whom their fathers crucified, and they still reject.

Considerable delay has, no doubt, taken place in its erection; but great difficulty was experienced, first in procuring the ground, and subsequently in conveying the necessary materials from Jaffa, as no timber of sufficient size for constructing such a building grows in Judea at present. The ground which has been purchased for the purpose is just beside the missionary residence on the side of Sion; and I have marked it in the map as near the site as the want of the necessary instruments enabled me to do.*

Some idea may be formed of the prejudices that exist among the Osmanlees as to the right of Christians of any denomination

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* The papers of the 19th December, 1840, contain the following intelligence with regard to this church:—We received last night a letter from our correspondent at Constantinople, dated Nov. 20, which states that Mahomet Ali had granted a firman to the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, for building a Protestant church in the city of Jerusalem, but that the *Porte* has not thought fit to ratify that firman." And now (1844) we see that the Porte has from day to day procrastinated and put off the granting of this firman, and it is very questionable whether it may be ever induced to accede to our request. Had, however, this church been commenced, and its exterior finished as a simple dwelling, instead of a modern ecclesiastical gothic structure, it would not have awakened the jealousy of other sects, nor aroused the superstitions of the Mohammadans, but have passed unnoticed; and internally it might have been fashioned in any way the architect pleased, and perfectly in accordance with the form and ritual of the Church of England.

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occupying any of the sacred soil in or around the Holy City, and of the obstacles that lay in the way of this purchase, when I state, that the American missionaries were refused permission to enclose a small plot of ground outside the walls for a family burial-place, because the shadow of the minaret of the mosque that covers the tomb of David fell upon the spot at sunset!

To preach with effect, or indeed at all to gain access to the Hebrews upon religious subjects, the missionary must be not only well acquainted with their language and peculiar opinions, but also versed in their laws, traditions, Targums, and Talmuds; for the Israelites in Jerusalem are generally a learned people, and spend their time in discoursing upon these subjects. I know no man possessing the requisite qualifications for this office in a higher degree than Mr. Nicolayson, who is, indeed, eminently fitted for the holy work in which he is engaged.

The labours of the American missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Thompson and Whiting, are more among the general Christian population of the city; and not only to the high character of these gentlemen in particular, but to that of the Western missionaries generally throughout the East, I must bear most ample testimony, both as to their zeal and usefulness—particularly in the establishment of schools.

Since our visit to Jerusalem, three events have occurred there, worthy the attention of the religious world, and of all who desire the restoration of the kingdom of Judah. The first of these, insignificant as it may appear to some, yet, even in a political point of view, of vast importance to others, is the establishment of a British consul in the Holy City. This may in truth be hailed by all who have the interest of Jerusalem at heart, as a work bright with promise, and which will, it is to be hoped, be one of enduring benefit. Soon, I trust, will our trans-Atlantic brethren send their stars and stripes to flutter in amity beside that banner which has so long braved the battle and the breeze, and now floats as the protective emblem of our nation from the walls of Jerusalem. He is the first, and as yet the only authorised Christian representative in the Holy City since the Crusaders were driven from its battlements.

The second interesting and important event is that of the deputation sent out by the church of Scotland, consisting of Dr. Keith and other eminent ministers of that persuasion, to

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inquire into the state of the Jewish people in Jerusalem. We have received the most valuable information as the result of their investigations, and it is cheering—though but in accordance with the spirit of the times—to witness the interest that is felt and is daily increasing throughout the whole Christian world in behalf of the scattered seed of Abraham.

And the third, and last in point of time, though the first in consequence, is the appointment of an Anglo-Prussian bishop, my esteemed friend Dr. Solomon Alexander—himself one of the seed of Abraham—to the see of Jerusalem.

In addition to the Jews and Mohammadans that inhabit Palestine, some of whom may be always found in Jerusalem, the several religious sects may be divided into Latins or Roman Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Maronites, Abyssinians, native Christian Arabs, and Syrian Christians who dissent from some of the tenets of all the preceding sects, besides Druses and Metouailes. Most of these denominations, but particularly the ecclesiastics, may be recognised by the peculiarities of their dress. That of the Latins is a simple brown habit, girt with a white knotted cord round the waist, from which hangs a rosary and crucifix. Their heads are shaven at the back part only, and they, as well as all the friars in the Holy City, wear their beards long; a small black skull-cap barely covers the crown of the head; a hood is attached to the collar of the dress, which hangs down behind, but can be worn up in wet weather; and rude sandals clothe the feet. Notwithstanding all their privations, fasting and want of necessary comforts, many of the monks were as fat and portly as aldermen. Seven years is the period they are required to spend in Palestine; and during this time they visit most of the convents and holy places; but heartily do they wish for the completion of their penance, (for such it is to many,) and long to return to the sunny shores of Spain or Italy.

Their convent is an immense establishment, and its roof commands one of the most splendid views of the city. The number of monks there at the period of our visit was but forty-five, who were a mixture of Spaniards and Italians; the principal is always an Italian.

Not the least interesting, and decidedly the most curious part of the building is the pharmacy, to which we were invited by the father who presided over the compounding department, a

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sprightly, intelligent, and loquacious Andalusian, who took great delight in displaying to us his array of bottles, jars, and pill-boxes, remarking as he went along upon the sanative efficacy of each, and the miraculous cures they had effected. The laboratory was a perfect curiosity, and such as I dare say could not be found at present in Europe. Retorts, alembics, and other chemical instruments of the antique fashion used in the halcyon mystifying days of alchemy and astrology—such as no doubt were often used by the professor of the times of the first Crusades to search for the philosopher's stone or the elixir of life—were there displayed in bright array. With these were mingled the relics of sundry skeletons — awful looking chirurgical instruments—grim monsters, and musty specimens in natural history:

> "A tortoise hung,
> An alligator stuffed, and other skins
> Of ill-shaped fishes."

with divers amulets and charms. All these, together with the dark gloomy vaulted chamber and its ancient furniture, afforded a strong contrast to the laboratory of modern times, worked by steam and lighted up with gas. The stock of medicines was, however, very good;* and as some of the brethren devote themselves to the study of medicine, and do much to alleviate the diseased of all classes and persuasions, it is really a most valuable establishment in that country; although the knowledge of those persons in medicine and surgery is just in that state in which we received it from the monks about three centuries ago.

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* I procured some good specimens of scammony from the Medicus of the convent; and received much valuable information regarding its culture and manufacture. Aleppo and Damascus are still the great marts of this valuable drug, though it grows all over Palestine, and particularly well about Bethlehem. The trade is still in the hands of the Jews, who purchase it from the Arabs; and I have good reason to believe that very little of it finds its way into this country unadulterated with clay and resin. The price in Jerusalem is six piasters, not quite 1s. 6d. an ounce. This is worth inquiring into by our druggists.

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Another singular part of this monastical establishment is the warehouse, to which it is expected that all travellers will pay a visit and purchase some of the sacred merchandise it contains. Were I to detail the vast quantities of amulets and beads, the tons weight of mother-of-pearl ornaments, and the stores of crosses of every shape and size we saw in these apartments, I fear my readers might say I was exceeding even a traveller's license. We were truly astonished at this immense stock of holy ware. There are upwards of seven hundred persons engaged in one branch of these manufactures at Bethlehem, and several thousand pounds worth of this trumpery are yearly forwarded to Europe, having been first sanctified and endowed with peculiar virtue, it is said, by being rubbed upon the Holy Sepulchre, hearing mass in the Latin church, and being blessed by the superior of the convent. I hope, for the sake of those who put faith in such wares, that they may all enjoy these advantages.

The Greeks are the most numerous of any of the sects of Christians in Jerusalem, and enjoy a larger share of Turkish patronage, as well as a greater number of holy places, than the others. Some time ago, however, their convent was in rather distressed circumstances, and the monks were obliged to pawn their plate and decorations to a Jew, one of the few rich ones in the city. I understood that this person was also the creditor of a late eccentric lady, whose case was a short time since before the English public. This man of money claims to be a subject of the British crown; and when one of our consul-generals visited the city a few years ago, a most extraordinary scene took place in the hospice of the Latin convent; the box, containing the pawned articles, was unsealed in his presence, and its valuable contents actually put up to auction; but, as there were no bidders, the ornaments were replaced, and still remain in the possession of the Hebrew. Notwithstanding the loss of these ornaments, the dresses of the Greek ecclesiastics are still very splendid.

The Armenians make a much greater show and display in their worship than any of the other sects. Their chapel, which is within the holy enclosure, is situated in the gallery to the right of the Sepulchre, and the furniture and decorations of the altar, and the costume of the priests, are superb. When we

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visited their chapel, the bishop was sitting in state in front of the altar, dressed in the most costly robes; having on his head a mitre shaped like the papal crown, of great brilliancy, and studded with the most valuable and precious stones; and holding in his hand a crozier of exceeding beauty and of great value. This sect do not use bells in their worship; but in lieu of them they shake a small silver cymbal, fastened to the end of a stick, as the signal for the different prostrations. On the morning of our visit, the service was chanted in Persian. Their music is not quite so inharmonious as that of the Greeks. Their convent is an immense pile of buildings, with spacious courts, and extensive gardens attached to it; in which are generally to be seen groups of pilgrims seated round fires, cooking their meals, and giving to the place the appearance of a caravansary. The chapel attached to this convent has for many years attracted the attention of travellers, chiefly on account of the beauty and exquisite workmanship of some of the side altars, the doors of which are inlaid with tortoise-shell, ivory, and mother-of-pearl set in silver. In some of the small chapels are a few old and very beautiful manuscript copies of the Scriptures. A large curtain hangs before the principal altar, having on it a wretched painting of a ship, and a sea view. The whole is a sorry daub, with perspective in Chinese style, and so ill does it accord with the splendour of the other parts of the edifice, that I should not have noticed it, but for the curious fact, that the English ensign is represented flying from the main mast of the vessel. Why, or wherefore, this device had been adopted, I could not learn; possibly it may have been the handiwork of some British sailor. The females sat apart in the chapel, and had their faces enveloped in white muslin handkerchiefs like the Osmanlees, whom they very much resemble in appearance.

Altogether, the Armenians are a very interesting people; they are less bigoted to their own religious opinions, more liberal to those of others, and less adverse to the reading and circulation of the Bible, than any of the other sects, and they are particularly courteous to strangers. The dress of the priest is blue; and instead of a turban or a small skull cap, he wears a high-crowned black hat, which spreads out at top.

They also possess another convent, which stands on the sum-

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mit of Sion, outside the gates, and they assert that it contains the real stone that closed the mouth of the Holy Sepulchre. The exterior of this building is highly characteristic of the late disturbed state of Judea, and of the defensive attitude that all the exposed monastical establishments were obliged to maintain, in order to repel the attacks of the Arabs, who were not only constantly on the watch for an opportunity to rush in and rob the convents, but sometimes came in strong parties, and tried to force an entrance. There are no windows, and no apertures of any kind in the outer wall, except the small, low, and iron-studded door, which is of vast strength. On the top of the parapet was piled a wall of loose stones, of about three feet high, in order to prevent the scaling ladders of the enemy from catching on the solid masonry, as well as to hurl down upon the besiegers.

Within, we found the tombs of the several patriarchs of that church who have died in Jerusalem; and on the left is shown a small plain chapel, adorned with Dutch tiles, like the churches in Portugal. Here the stone which as they assert closed the door of the sepulchre in which our Saviour was laid, forms the altar; and it also is covered with pottery ware, except at the ends, and on the back part, where the naked rock is exhibited, to receive the devout kisses of the pilgrims; of late, however, its peculiar sanctity has been very much on the wane, and it is now almost neglected. I believe that Maundrell was deceived when he stated that this stone had formerly occupied a place in the church of the sepulchre, and was stolen from thence by the Armenians, a few years before he visited Jerusalem. This story has now become current among travellers. Sandys, who visited the place eighty-seven years before, speaks of this very stone, but does not mention the theft, which if it had really occurred, would naturally have been fresher in the minds of the people then, than at the period when Maundrell visited the place. It is impossible that it could have been used as a door to the tomb of Christ, for it is seven feet five inches long, by three feet five inches in depth and breadth. In short, though the tradition about it is, no doubt, very old, yet it is an Armenian *opposition shop*.

The Maronites and other Christian sects that inhabit Palestine, and occasionally visit the Holy City, are so few in number,

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that they scarcely deserve any particular notice.* But the Copts cannot be passed over in silence.

Perhaps there is no other people in existence that deserve a more attentive inquiry into their history and physical character, than the Copts; because of no other nation, possessing such claims on our attention, from their origin, descent, or present condition, do we know less. The passing traveller is less likely to gain any accurate knowledge of the religion, customs, or domestic manners of this sect, than of any other; for they are a particularly reserved and silent people, who mix little with those of a different persuasion; and for this reason, information respecting them is with great difficulty obtained.

The question seems now decided, that the Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, though much altered by intermixture with other nations, particularly the Abyssinians, whom they resemble in colour, and also slightly in features. By the Egyptians here alluded to, I must not be understood to mean *all* those whose forms are so accurately represented on the ancient paintings and sculptures; for even independent of the conquered races that are exhibited on these drawings, there were at least three distinct races of Egyptians, as stated by Blumenbach, and as can be seen by a reference to the magnificent plates of Rosselini. I have, however, seen Copts who partook more or less of the peculiarities of all three, except in the copper tinge that appears to have been the peculiar colour of the higher cast.

In stature the Copts are generally small, though, as far as my observations went, they are not the ill made or deformed race they were represented to be by Denon. The figure of the head is that denominated Caucasian; the hair is thick and rather crisp or curly, but not woolly; the beard is scanty, but not remarkably so, or any thing like what it is in the negro. The nose is straight, though rather larger at the end, and more in-

* The following circumstance was related to me in Judea upon good authority:—Some of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon having lately (for certain political purposes) put themsleves under the dominion of the pope, the priests conditioned that they were not to say mass in Latin, as none of them had learned that language—the stipulation on the part of the See of Rome was, that as they could not speak Latin, they should read the service in ancient Syriac, an *unknown tongue* to the people who heard them!

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clined to the horizontal form than in that ancient race of Egyptians, who belonged to a high caste. The lips are thick; and the colour varies from that of the Abyssinian olive, with a tinge of yellow through it, to a deep bronze; though I have seen several Copts in Cairo as fair as any of the Turks. That which strikes the traveller most is the eye or rather the eye-lids; these Baron Larry has described as possessing a very long aperture. Such, it is well known, was a peculiarity in the eye of the ancient Egyptians, as seen at page 203 of this volume, where it is contradistinguished from that of the *modern* Egyptian, both being, however, blackened along the brow and tarsal margin; a practice still in use among the Copts.

One of the most remarkable appearances visible in the countenance of this race is the peculiarly dark, suspicious, and sinister look that the whole nation possess—perhaps it may be increased by their situations as tax-gatherers and customs' officers. "Of this," says no mean observer of nature, though not a professed physiologist, "I find it difficult, sometimes, to perceive any difference between a Copt and a Mooslim Egyptian, beyond a certain downcast and sullen expression of countenance which generally marks the former."* The Copts in Jerusalem do not amount to five hundred; they dress in black, and they have a small chapel to the right of the door of the church of the sepulchre, and a small oratory behind the pavilion. On attending their worship I was greatly struck with the similarity of some of their forms and customs to those of the Mohammadans, whom, on the whole, they resemble more than any other Christian sect known. Their chapel is divided into distinct apartments, separated by wooden lattice

* The Copts, with the exception of a small proportion who profess the Romish or the Greek faith, are Christians of the sects called Jacobites, Eutychians, Monophysites, and Monthelites, whose creed was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, in the reign of Marcion. They received the appellation of Jacobites, (*Ya'a'ckebeh* or *Yaackoo'bees*,) by which they are generally known from Jacobus Baradæus, a Syrian, who was a chief propagator of the Eutychian doctrines. "Saint Mark, they assert, was the first who preached the Gospel in Egypt; and they regard him as the first patriarch of Alexandria." "The religious orders of the Coptic church consist of a patriarch, a metropolitan of the Abyssinians, bishops, archpriests, priests, deacons and monks."—*Lane's Manners and Customs of*

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work. Many of the people sat cross-legged, and all on entering took off their shoes on reaching the mat that covered the floor of the interior, similar to that in a mosque; they then approached the altar, and prostrated themselves before it. The few who reside in Jerusalem are as much despised by their Christian brethren, as are their more numerous fraternity by the Mohammadans in Egypt.

During our stay in the Holy City, the war which Ibrahim Básha was then waging with the Druses and Arabs of the Houran, was at its height; owing to this cause, and to the recent rebellion of the Arabs around the city, and the universal murmurings on account of the unjust conscription, the hill-country about the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, was in a very unsettled state; and a few days before we arrived, two Frenchmen had been fired at across the Jordan. They had, however, proceeded there with a guard of some two or three Egyptian soldiers, whom the natives mistook for a party of conscription officers, then the most obnoxious people in the whole country. These gentlemen acknowledged that had they proceeded alone, they would have been suffered to pass unmolested. It was deemed advisable, however, that our party should not make the attempt to visit this part of Judea; more especially as, not having brought tents with us, we should have been compelled to bivouac for the night on the plains of Jericho, or seek an inhospitable shelter in the filthy village that bears the name of the memorable City of Palms. These circumstances were not very inviting to persons seeking health, as well as amusement, so we abandoned the project.

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the Modern Egyptians;—a work which contains more accurate information on the subject of the Copts than any other that has yet been published.

They adhere to the rite of infant baptism; but the form is that of immersion; they also use circumcision; the sacrament is administered in the form of small cakes, steeped in wine; they use auricular confession, abstain from swine's flesh, also from "things strangled, and from blood." The priests and deacons may be married, provided they have been so before ordination; but if their wives die they cannot marry a second time. The Copts are generally described as a sullen, bigoted, and superstitious race.

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The people of Syria complained loudly against the unjust taxation of human life caused by the conscription, an effect which should naturally be expected; and it might well be supposed that the very wildest of the sons of freedom, the Arab, who for ages roamed unshackled wherever his inclination prompted him, accustomed to his own weapons, and prejudiced in favour of his own mode of warfare, would (although fighting was his trade and birthright) resist the galling yoke to which he would consider himself subjected, by the discipline maintained in the army of the Egyptian general. As an illustration of the feelings of the inhabitants on this subject I may relate the following anecdote.

One day while toiling up the steep ascent of Mount Sion from the valley of Hinnom, we perceived an old grey-bearded Arab, who sat under an olive tree with a lovely child in his arms, whose beauty struck us as being very remarkable. The man rose as our party approached, in a different manner from that usually displayed by the generality of his people, and appeared to court an interview. Seeing us stop he advanced a little and inquired of our ciceroni if we were not Russians. On being informed that we were English the old man's face brightened up, his hesitation vanished, and coming boldly forward he seemed to recognise us as friends, at once entered into conversation, and related to us his sad tale. It is one that then echoed throughout the length and breadth of Syria—a tale whose sad reality makes the mother childless, and the wife a widow, but one ever consequent on the horrors of a forced enlistment, and the ravages of war. He told us, with tears standing in his large expressive eyes, that he had been the father of eight sons, seven of whom were dragged from him to join the Bâsha's army within the last two years. Four of them were killed during the Houran war, and after their death the survivors deserted to the Bedawees beyond the Dead Sea; and had then a price fixed upon their heads. The youngest, "his sole remaining joy"—the Benjamin of his old age—was the child he carried in his arms. "When," said he, "will the English come to take this country?—when will you come to rescue us from our present bondage? Here is my child—my youngest—and I know that I am but rearing him for the battle; a few years more and he too will be taken from me. Oh! bring him with you to your own free country—take him any where out of this unhappy land." And he held the child

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round to each of us in turn. From my heart I felt for him. On informing him that if we took the child to England he would be made a Christian, he appeared thoughtful for some moments, looked earnestly from us to his child—the inward struggle between deep-rooted religious prejudices and fatherly love were strongly marked in the man's countenance; the latter conquered, and he answered, "Yes, take him with you, even make him a Christian; better that than remain here to be shot." Never did I feel the pride of being an Englishman so strong as at that moment. Thrice happy land; even at that distance, and at the very gates of Jerusalem has the poor Arab heard of your freedom, and looks to you as a shield to the desolate and oppressed—the Judah of the Gentile world! We walked to our convent cells in silence, and often after mused upon the Arab's tale.

Having already mentioned the so-called pool of Bethesda, a few words on its site, architecture, and identity, may now be necessary. To reach it we were led down the long, narrow street, called the Via Dolorosa, from a tradition that through it the Saviour was led to Calvary. The pavement of the street is ancient, and formed of large stones laid crosswise, not unlike that of the Strada Cavaliere at Rhodes. To proceed up this, upon their bare knees, was formerly one of the penances imposed upon the pilgrims. Across one part of it is thrown a *modern* arch, called the arch of "Ecce Homo," and shown as that from which Pilate exhibited Christ to the multitude. The arch had an improved appearance at the time of our visit, having been lately repaired, and the window of it was newly glazed and painted!

The place called Bethesda is an immense deep oblong excavation, or cistern, somewhat similar to the pools of Solomon, near Bethlehem. It is situated to the south of St. Stephen's or the Sheep-gate, immediately beneath the wall of Omar's mosque, and beside the antique Cyclopean masonry that I noticed before in this locality. It is about two hundred and fifty feet long, and thirty feet deep; but is now dry, and partly filled with dirt, rubbish, and brambles. The walls that form its sides are so curiously constructed that they demand attention. They are of immense thickness, and formed of several upright layers of masonry. The first, or that most distant from the inner side of

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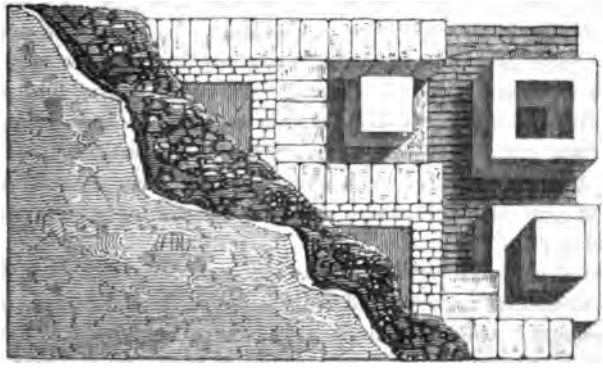
the pool, is formed of large and perfectly square masses of stone laid in courses, but separated from each other by a band of intervening smaller stones in the shape of long bricks, placed with their ends out, and projecting from six to eight inches beyond the plane of the larger ones; so that they thus formed a kind of reticulated work. The square space left in the centre of each band of projecting stones is again filled up by others still smaller; and the central stone of this part is fitted into a square groove or notch cut about three or four inches deep in the original large blocks with the greatest nicety; and the whole joined together by strong cement. Over this was placed a firm coating of mortar a couple of inches thick, and studded on its surface with small flat flints, and bits of marble; and last of all it was covered with a layer of strong cement of a whitish colour. As the walls have been much dilapidated in several places, I had an opportunity of examining them carefully; but the accompanying wood engraving will explain the construction of this extraordinary and unique masonry much better than any verbal description I could give.



This work is best seen on the southern side of the excavation, where it lies beneath some ruined houses. In the western end the remains of three arches are still in existence; but the third is at present nearly choked up with the *debris* of old and ruined houses. These arches appear to have been formed as an entrance for the water, which was probably conveyed to them from

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the Bethlehem aqueduct. In the authorised translation of the Scriptures we read that this pool was "by the sheep-market," (John v. 2); but as the word market does not at all occur in the original, the greater number of commentators now consider that it was the sheep *gate* that is here understood; and to this locality it precisely corresponds; but, like most of the other places in the Holy City, its site has been disputed. Maundrell, who first questioned its identity, says, "at its west end it discovers some old arches now dammed up. These some will have to be the five porches in which sat the multitude of lame, halt, and blind (John v.); but the mischief is, instead of five there are but three of them."

This statement has been handed down and quoted by traveller after traveller as proof positive against its identity. But although only three of these porches had been discovered, might not the two remaining ones have lain hid beneath the rubbish that has nearly filled up one side; and, from their position with respect to the bottom of the pool, they must have been below the water level. Maundrell and others should, however, have recollected that it was not the *pool*, but the Bethesda or house of mercy beside it, that contained these porches, in which were seated the impotent folk who waited for the troubling of the water in the adjoining pool, or, to speak more correctly, bath.* Pococke speaks of another pool to the south of the temple court, which he supposes to be Bethesda, because St. Jerome stated that the water within it was tinged red, owing to the blood of the sacrifices running into it. The anachronism of making St. Jerome and the ancient Jewish offerings contemporaneous requires no refutation. Altogether I see no reason for disputing its identity; and the architecture discovered in the construction of its walls is really the most remarkable with which we are acquainted. Dr. Robinson has lately called in question the identity of this large pool or excavation, and considers it to have been "the ancient fosse which protected the fortress Antonia and the

* The bed which the impotent man, healed by our Saviour at this pool, carried, was in all probability the *segaddah*, or small prayer carpet, still used in the East.

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temple on the north;" but adds, "that it was formerly filled with water is apparent from the lining of small stones and cement upon its sides." Had it been, however, a mere protective fosse, and not a reservoir, its builders would never have expended so much labour and ingenuity in rendering it waterproof.

To the north of this pool is an extensive ruin, the remains of the church of St. Anna; and one of the very few relics of the crusaders that now exist in Jerusalem.

That portion of the Mount of Sion which is outside the walls is crowned by the mosque which is said to be erected over the tomb of David and the chamber where our Lord and his disciples partook of the supper. A day or two after our arrival we walked out to it, and requested permission to visit either the tomb or the Cœnaculum. We had scarce set our foot upon the threshold of the outer enclosure, when an old grey-bearded Moullah rushed out of the mosque in a most furious passion to prevent our entrance, pouring forth a torrent of abuse, and crying out that "no *other* Christian dog should ever again pollute that sacred spot with his unhallowed foot." We naturally inquired into the cause of this conduct, so very unusual among the Mohammadan priests, and found that it arose from the very indecent and outrageous conduct of a certain Prussian prince, already known as a writer upon men and manners in England, who being employed, as report states, (and I believe it,) by the Egyptian viceroy, to write in favour of the government of Syria, was partly paid by getting a firman of admission to all the sacred places of the Mohammadans, and a *carte blanche* on every subject in the country to defray his expenses, and furnish him with all necessaries.

A scene occurred at Naplous that may serve to illustrate his excellency's mode of living and travelling in the country. Having had occasion for a bath, the keeper of it demanded the usual payment, which amounted to something less than sixpence of our money. The prince produced his firman, and refused to pay; but wrote an order on the neighbouring sheyk for the money to be paid out of the taxes to be collected for the Bâsha the following year!!! Next day the prince required horses, and desired the sheyk to procure some. The man stated his inability to comply with the demand; the prince produced his firman,

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Mohammad Alee's signature had its effect; the sheyk seized the horse of a Bedawee who was passing by, and mounted the Prussian. The owner of the animal instantly and deliberately fired at the rider, who narrowly escaped with his life. This circumstance, however, quieted him for some days.

The tomb of David is situated in a vault beneath the surface, and is considered by the Mooslims as a place of very peculiar sanctity. That shown as the actual soros is railed off from the rest of the apartment by an open work or lattice, within which even the priests seldom enter. The week before our arrival the prince went to visit this tomb of David, having previously outraged the feelings of the Mooslim population, and roused them to a state of frenzy by various acts of indecency in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. Not content with looking in at the soros, as other visitors had been in the habit of doing, he desired the attendant priest to open the door of the lattice and permit him to go in. The priest remonstrated, the prince was inexorable—he produced the firman; still the priest refused to open it, and besought him not to require it—all his entreaties were in vain—the hero of the firman drew his sword, caught the old Moullah by the beard—the very greatest indignity that could possibly be offered to a descendant of the prophet—kicked in the door, and entered, boasting that he had done what no other person would have dared to attempt. This requires no note or comment, but it fully accounted for the conduct of the Moullah towards our party.

I was quietly admitted to visit the chamber of the last supper next morning, which being a place to whose identity there is not the slightest shade of probability attached, I need not describe. But this edifice was mentioned by Cyril in the fourth century as the "Church of the Apostles." It is undoubtedly a building of considerable antiquity, and appears to be that alluded to by several of the older writers, as Epiphanius and Adamnanus.

In the vicinity of the mosque is the general burial-ground for Christians of all denominations; some of the gravestones in which must be ever interesing to an Irishman. My young guide having pointed out those of several foreigners who had died at Jerusalem, led me up to a plain, unadorned slab: "and here, sir," said he, "is the grave of my papa." We sat down beside it; it was that of Dr. Dalton, the first Jewish missionary who

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visited Jerusalem, where he died of fatigue, fever, and want of medical aid, for at that time there was not a properly educated physician in the whole of Syria.* The relinquishment of worldly prospects, the patient endurance of hardship and fatigue, the untiring perseverance, the enthusiasm, Christian devotedness, and holy zeal of this good man in the promotion of Judah's welfare, for which he laboured, and in the cause of which he died, will make his memory long revered at home, and his grave upon Mount Sion be sought out by all who visit Jerusalem. There is now another grave that also claims our sympathy—that of the daring but ill-fated Costigan, the first circumnavigator of the Dead Sea, whose sad tale has already been given to the world by Mr. Stephens.†

On the bright sunny morning of the 23rd we procured horses, and leaving the city by the Bethlehem or Sion gate, set forward

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* In the first edition of this work I wrote—"I trust, the day is not far distant, when some young and enterprising medical man will be induced to reside in Jerusalem. The value of such a person would soon become known to the Mohammadans, and no doubt but in a short time he would be amply remunerated. Our consul and the three resident families of the missionaries would afford him society, independent of the daily increasing influx of travellers. Science would be benefitted to a degree that cannot be limited. His influence over his Turkish patients would give him immense advantage in prosecuting his researches among the antique remains in that interesting neighbourhood, and the observations and collections in natural history that he might make, would be of great importance to that branch of science, which as yet has been too much neglected in Palestine."

I rejoice to add that since the above was written, a medical gentleman, Dr. M'Gowen, has become a resident in the Holy City, and with his indefatigable zeal, spiritually as well as professionally, the public have been made acquainted through the medium of the "Jewish Intelligence."

† Although I made many inquiries about the papers and journals of our enterprising and talented fellow-citizen, I am unable to add any thing of consequence to the simple statement of the American traveller, (for which science in general, and our own country in particular, are much indebted,) except to correct a slight error in the information, which Mr. Stephens procured; and this I do for the benefit of future explorers. I am informed by Lieutenant Webber Smith, the friend and companion of Mr. Costigan till he left Beyrout, where he first conceived the idea of this voyage, that the boat was not purchased there and carried across to the Jordan, which would have been a labour in itself; but that it was built

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to visit the place of our Lord's nativity. We crossed over the valley of Gihon, above the large cistern or enclosure in this ravine called the lower pool of Gihon, and proceeded along the verge of the long irregular hill from which the valley derives its name. Some chambers and excavations, probably tombs, and seats or resting places, and also steps, are seen in the western side of this deep fosse. The pathway is partly cut out of the rock, and bears the marks of great age and constant use. The distance from Jerusalem to Bethlehem is about six miles, or not two hours' ride, and Father Benjamin kindly furnished us with a letter of introduction to a brother friar of the convent there. For the first mile and a half the road passed over a tolerably level surface, the plain of Rephaim, interspersed with vegetation and several cultivated patches.

Shortly after leaving the city we met several flocks of sheep,

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at Tiberias—launched upon that lake, and floated down the Jordan to the Dead Sea. Great, indeed, has been the loss of the valuable information which that voyage would have given to the world, had its enterprising navigator been spared, for it would have set at rest the conflicting opinions of Strabo, Julius, Pausanias, Josephus, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus; and the many theories of modern writers as to its *supposed* geography, and the cities said to be submerged beneath its dark waters. Now that the way has been opened, it is to be hoped, that some of our English institutions (say the Geographical Society) will take up the matter, and send out some scientific person, with adequate means to complete what has been so advantageously begun. A firman and a guard of soldiers from Ibrahim Bâsha, would prevent the attacks of the hostile Arabs, who wander along its banks.

Besides the names I have mentioned, two other Irishmen have connected their history with Jerusalem. Some fifty years ago, an eccentric gentleman, a native of Dublin, laid a wager, that he would proceed to Jerusalem, (at that time a great undertaking,) play ball against its walls, and return within a given time. He performed the task within the allotted period, and won the wager. And, though last not least, a feat unparalleled in the annals of travelling has been lately performed by the Rev. Dr. Burton, who journeyed to the Holy City to inquire into the state of the Jews, in whom, few feel a livelier interest. This kind-hearted, amiable man, whom to know is to esteem, found himself in Jerusalem with but five guineas in his pocket, and upon that small sum he actually walked, except where water intervened, from Syria to Dublin.—See "Burton's Narrative."—Dublin, 1838.

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preceded by their shepherds, walking slowly towards Jerusalem, and at once the full force of all the beautiful imagery, and the many touching similes derived from such scenes and associations, and so often alluded to in Scripture, came vividly before me. These Arab shepherds, clad in the turbans and simple abbas worn by their class, and carrying a wooden crook in their hands, walked in front. The sheep, which are a peculiar and very handsome breed, are mostly low sized; the foreparts of their bodies are of a fawn colour, the hinder parts white; they have long, pendant, silken ears, and sweeping tails; their faces are more oval and longer than the species in these countries, and they have altogether a more pleasing, docile, and mild expression of countenance. Not one of them ventured before the shepherd, but stopped or quickened their pace as he did; or if a young and froward creature lagged behind or strayed to either side, a single word from their leader, often a very look, brought it back and checked its wanderings. A few favourite lambs frisked about their master, rubbing themselves against his legs and garments. After the sheep, came some young goats and lambs, and the whole procession closed with about two dozen of old, patriarchal looking goats, who brought up the rear. These goats have long horns and pendant ears that hang almost to the ground, and their hair is a glossy black and of the finest grain; the sheep and goats were perfectly distinct. These shepherds are often to be seen about sunset slowly approaching the city from all sides, to seek shelter for their flocks, during the night, in some of the deep valleys by which it is surrounded, carrying the lambs in their bosoms.

It is almost incredible, the influence that the shepherds of Palestine have acquired over their flocks; many of them have no dogs, but a word is quite sufficient to make them understand and obey the will of their shepherd. He sleeps among them at night, and in the morning leadeth them forth to pasture; always walking *before* them, guiding them to those places where they can enjoy the best food; and resting when *he* thinks they have obtained a sufficiency, or during the heat of the day, in some cool shady place, where they all immediately lie down around him. He has generally two or three favourite lambs, who do not mix with the flock, but follow close at his side, frisking and fondling about him like dogs; indeed the degree of intelligence and under-

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standing that exists between the Arab and his flock, is truly astonishing. "They know his voice, and follow him;" and "he careth for the sheep." It was probably to such shepherds as these, that the angel announced the glad tidings of the Saviour's birth.

We next passed the gloomy, prison-like Greek convent of Elias, and there lost sight of the city. From thence to the end of our ride, the country was greatly broken, and resembled, in miniature, that lying between Ramlah and the Holy City; and a continual series of hills, clad in their sombre grey limestone, gave the scenery a solemn and dreary aspect. Through the intervals of those hills, we caught occasional glimpses of the Dead Sea; and to the east, a peculiar conical hill, called the "Mount of the Franks," or the hill of Bethulia, supposed to be the Herodium mentioned by Josephus. From this point of the road, until we approached Bethlehem, the country was stony and uncultivated, though it hardly deserves the term barren, for it could be rendered productive, if a proper system of agriculture were adopted. Here I am again compelled to remind those who exclaim against the barrenness of Palestine, that its barrenness arises in a great measure from the want of cultivation; and such persons should remember, that the curse pronounced against the earth, was that of sterility—a sterility which can only be removed by the fertilizing dew from off the brow of man, till the dawning of another era, when the bloom of Eden shall clothe the rocks and valleys of this promised land.

As we approached the village, the scenery improved; the path wound through olive yards and corn fields, such as, in all probability, the Saviour often traversed. Bethlehem is beautifully situated, and does not require even the hallowed scenes, and the associations connected with its history—though they certainly heighten its effect, and give it an additional interest—to arrest the attention of the traveller, and bid him gaze upon the picturesque hill that rises before him in parterres of vineyards, almond groves, and fig plantations, watered by gentle rivulets that murmur through those terraces; and diversified by the tower and the wine-press.

On entering the town, we met a band of young girls going out to the neighbouring well, with their waterpots on their heads; and these, as well as the other females that we saw in Bethlehem,

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were some of the most beautiful of their sex we met in the East. They had slight and elegant figures; a native grace of mien and air, and large lustrous eyes, shaded by lashes of surpassing length, the soft witchery of which is described in the language of our country's poet—

> "Such eyes! long, shadowy, with that languid fall
> Of the fring'd lids, which may be seen in all
> Who live beneath the sun's too ardent rays;
> Lending such looks as, on their marriage days,
> Young maids cast down before a bridegroom's gaze!"

Added to this their oval expressive faces, composed of features, regular without formality, and marked without harshness; the tasteful drapery of their light simple attire; the dark tresses that fell in wild luxuriance over their necks and shoulders, braided with small golden coins, while a zone of the same brilliant material adorned their high expanded foreheads; their elastic step, the music of their silver anklets, (Isaiah, iii. 16,) and the beauty of the long-necked vases they carried on their heads, in some supported by the left hand, while the right held up the folds of their blue tunics—all cast a charm, an inexpressible charm round those lovely Arab maidens. The rosebud's bloom, that complexion so rare under an eastern sun, was on their cheeks and lips, very different from the pink, sickly tinge of the Circassian or Osmanli, or the dark olive hue of the Abyssinian, or Egyptian. In Europe those females would be admired as most interesting brunettes;* and a modern painter

* No females in existence possess finer or more erect, and at the same time more graceful carriages than those accustomed to carry light burdens on the head. It is a subject of some surprise, why those to whose care the education of the young ladies of our own country is committed, have not sooner taken the hint from this fact, and thrown aside those horrible machines, backboards, steel straps, and monitors, calculated not only to give an awkward and ungraceful gait and appearance to the person, but really to promote deformity. To appreciate the advantages of this mode of exercise, it is only necessary to observe any milkmaid walking with a pail upon her head. To preserve its balance, she *must* stand perfectly erect—the shoulders must be in their natural position, and on a perfect level; and, strange as it may seem, to preserve the equilibrium

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should have one of the maids of Bethlehem to sit for the Madonna.

Bethlehem is a straggling village, with one broad and principal street; the houses have not domed-roofs like those of Jerusalem and Ramlah, but are built, for the most part, of clay and bricks, and every house is provided with an apiary, the beehives of which are constructed of a series of earthen pots, ranged on the house tops in the same manner as the wooden ones are in Asia Minor. There are said to be about 3,000 inhabitants in this place, the greater part of whom are Arab Christians; for Ibrahim Bâsha, finding that the Mooslims were continually at war with the Christians, had lately expelled the former, leaving the latter in peaceable possession of the village.

The inhabitants are nearly all engaged in the manufacture of those articles of sacred merchandize that supply the bazaars and warehouses of the Holy City; and no sooner was our party espied than we were beset by a multitude of bead hawkers and relic sellers, shouting aloud the respective holy powers and miraculous virtues of their different wares. Some of the articles wrought in mother-of-pearl are carved with considerable skill; more than we could expect to find in that distant land, and the workmanship of some would not disgrace the artists of our own country. One of these manufacturers, whose workshop I visited, informed me, that when a boy he had been sent by his parents to Spain, to be instructed in the trade.

In the streets several Bedawee blacksmiths were at work. The rude and simple character of their temporary forges attracted

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of the burden, be it ever so light, the back must be straight; and more pressure is taken off those parts of it called, in technical language, the intervertebral substance, than when walking or remaining without any such appendage. Were a similar kind of exercise more used, and were our young ladies permitted to breathe a little more fresh air, we should see fewer of those deformities, even of a minor character, than at present unhappily prevail amongst the sex; and are more frequently, perhaps, the effect of inattention and improper education than of any other cause whatever. If these obvious principles were attended to, we should have less occasion for the single hour of powerful kalesthenics, resorted to, to make up for the many, many hours of the day, spent in acquiring mechanical and perhaps useless accomplishments.

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our attention. The bellows which they employed, was a most primitive instrument of its kind, being nothing more than an inflated goatskin bag, such as we read of being used by the early Greeks, and which in this instance was blown by the smith's wife pressing its sides together and then drawing them asunder to admit the air.

At the farthest extremity of the town is the Frank convent, at whose low massive door we alighted, and were well received by the fraternity. We were first conducted into the cathedral of St. Helena, a handsome, spacious hall, consisting of a central nave, and aisles separated from each other by rows of tall Corinthian pillars of grey marble, but much defaced by dirt and the remains of gaudy paintings. As there is no ceiling, the lofty roof is exposed to view; and, although composed of the last of the cedars of Lebanon, it is still in a state of good preservation, and affords a fine specimen of the architecture of its day. The chapel at the upper end of the hall is now separated from it by a wall; as it was considered too expensive to keep up the whole; and the centre has a most cold, lonely, and desolate appearance. In this cathedral Baldwin the First was crowned king of Jerusalem, and it is the most chaste, architectural building in Palestine. The chapel belonging to this part of the building scarcely deserves our notice; but, the attendant monk placing in the right hand of each of us a large lighted wax taper, led us to the subterranean grotto, called the "Chapel of the Nativity."

A flight of steps conducted us into an oblong apartment, in which a small low crypt, said to be hewn out of the solid rock, was exhibited to us as the actual place of the Nativity. On one side of it is an altar with a silver plate on the floor, like to that at Calvary, and said to cover the spot on which the birth of the Saviour took place. Opposite to this, a niche in the wall contains a very handsome, polished white marble trough, like a sarcophagus, which is shown as the very manger in which the infant Jesus was laid!! This trough is on a level with the floor of the apartment, which is somewhat lower than that of the outer chamber. The niche in which it is placed contains a very good Spanish painting, representing the event. Another place in this little vault is shown as that in which the Magi presented their gifts, and is also ornamented by a good painting. A number of silver lamps, suspended from the roof, are kept continually burn-

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ing; the walls are ornamented with blue satin and brocade, which are now in rather a faded and torn condition, but patched with tawdry furniture-calico.

Can this be, in reality, the stable in which the infant Jesus was brought forth—and this the manger in which he was laid? I am constrained to say, that I do not think they are: for the places shown as such are neither in accordance with the simple narrative of Scripture, nor at all analagous to the appearance that inns or public karavansaries at present exhibit throughout the East; and it must be remembered, that in the never-changing manners and customs of this country, we have at this very day the same usages and habits that existed from the very earliest period that history records. The opinions set forth and the statements for and against its identity are easily disposed of; nor would I have introduced the subject, except for the arguments brought forward by Dr. E. D. Clarke, who by the way has written most learnedly upon the place, though he acknowledges that *he did not visit it;* and whose arguments, if they were valid, would do away with all those that he had previously urged against the Holy Sepulchre—nay, they complete the only evidence upon that subject that he seems to ridiculè. The passage runs thus:—"The tradition respecting the Cave of the Nativity seems so well authenticated, as hardly to admit of dispute. Having been always held in veneration, the oratory established there by the first Christians attracted the notice and indignation of the Heathens so early as the time of Adrian, who ordered it to be demolished, and the place to be set apart for the rites of Adonis. This happened in the second century, and at a period in Adrian's life when the Cave of the Nativity was as well known in Bethlehem as the circumstance to which it owed its celebrity." He then appeals to the authority of St. Jerome, and says that "upon this subject there does not seem to be the slightest ground for scepticism."* This is strange language from a writer who, but a few pages farther back, totally overlooks the fact of this same Adrian erecting statues of Venus and Jupiter over the sepulchre of Calvary; and which likewise prove that they were subjects of

* Travels in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. By E. D. Clarke, LL.D. vol. iv. 8vo. edition, p. 415, 6.

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interest, if not of adoration, to the Christians of Jerusalem in the second century; and also in one who styles the Empress Helena "an infatuated old woman," and the Holy Sepulchre "a dusty fabric, standing like a huge pepper-box in the centre of the present modern church."

It is stated by the monks, and all previous travellers have given insertion to the legend, that the whole of this grotto is hewn out of the solid rock. This, from actual inspection, I can positively deny, for part of the tapestry having fallen from the roof I was enabled, much to the annoyance of the attendant friar, to examine it, and found it *arched with masonry*. The chief objection to this place is its total dissimilarity to all other inns or resting places. The answer to this objection, that "it is by no means uncommon in these countries to use similar *souterrains* as habitations for both man and beast,"* cannot have any weight, or be taken as a proof of the identity of the manger at Bethlehem; for the places that are thus alluded to were never formed for inns, but were originally tombs, which, having been rifled of their contents, became in turn resting places for occasional travellers, and their sarcophagi or stone troughs were converted into mangers. The catacombs of Alexandria, the tombs of Sackara, and numberless other excavations could be adduced to prove this position, and no traveller has yet recorded a single instance in any country of a stable having been formed by excavating the rock beneath the surface; this one, in particular, is so small that it could barely have held a donkey, which, in order to reach it, must have been led down a steep descent under ground.

In order to determine this point I paid particular attention to the karavansaries of the different eastern towns we visited. These places usually consist of a large square enclosure, surrounded by a range of buildings, the upper stories of which are appropriated to the accommodation of travellers, and the lower, and the court-yard itself for their beasts. It was in the latter of these, in all probability, the holy family had to take up their abode, the former being already so completely occupied as to afford them no room. To suppose that the place called the

* Three Weeks in Palestine, p. 58.

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grotto of the nativity bears any similitude to the stable of an eastern khan, as Pococke and others would lead us to believe, is truly preposterous.*

From the grotto we were led through a long winding passage to visit the tombs and shrines of sundry saints and saintesses, all good people in their way, no doubt, but too numerous to mention. On our return to the sacristy of the Latins we were shown a relic of priceless worth, encased in a splendid frame and decorated with gold and jewels. This is a relic the very oldest that superstition has yet pawned upon the world, and one that dates its origin from the nativity itself. It is the hand of one of the innocents who were slain by order of the tetrarch, and whose bodies were all thrown into a deep pit which was pointed out to us *beside* the chapel that contains the manger! This musty looking little article is considered of great value. There is, however, one slight objection to it. It is quite true that, owing to certain diseases, or to the effect of embalming, or any other drying process, a hand would keep for a much longer period than tradition assigns to this; but this unfortunately preserves that plumpness peculiar to infancy which such means could not possibly retain. This fact may prevent the scientific at least from enumerating it among the wonders of Bethlehem for the future. It is, however, an exceedingly good representation, and does considerable credit to the artist who made it.

Having procured some refreshments, not the least valuable part of which was some excellent wine,† we remounted our

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* The Modern Traveller contains many sensible remarks in confirmation of this view, and Mr. Buckingham was also of this opinion. Pococke gives a description of the ovens at Bethlehem that really appears so very like this grotto of the nativity that I cannot forbear quoting the passage. "In Bethlehem," says he, "I took particular notice of their ovens, which are sunk down in the ground, and have an arch turned over them; there is a descent of some steps to the door by which they enter into them."

† The wine of Bethlehem is the very finest that we tasted in this part of the Mediterranean. It is not unlike Marsala; and the monks, who were mostly Italians, had too good a taste to spoil it with anise-seed or resin. No doubt can exist but that the grape would grow in great luxuriance in Palestine; and the side of the hill on which Bethlehem stands is a fine situation for it.

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horses, and proceeded to visit Solomon's cisterns. On leaving the town we passed the well that is supposed to be that to which the mighty men of old fought their way through the camp of the Philistines in order to procure some of its water to assuage the thirst of their shepherd king.—(2 Sam. xxxiii. 14—16.) It is a spot of considerable interest, as no doubt can exist as to its identity. It is covered overhead by an ancient groined arch-way; but the crowd of Bedawees and Bethlemites around it prevented our dismounting to examine it more particularly.

From this place our road lay over very uneven ground; in some places so rough, craggy, and precipitous as to compel several of our party to alight and lead their horses. The road conducted us into a narrow but exceedingly fertile valley winding towards the Dead Sea, which exhibited the appearance of the bed of a dried-up river. At the upper end of this wild ravine there are the remains of an old town with some ruined forts and towers. This place is watered by a branch of the neighbouring aqueduct, which spreading into numerous little rills, produces most luxuriant crops of grass and corn, in the fields among which they meander.

This ruined village is supposed to be the Etam that was built by Rehoboam, (2 Chron. xi. 6,) and which is noticed by Josephus. "There was," says he, when speaking of Solomon, "a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham; very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot."* And this may be the place referred to in Ecclesiastes as one of the gardens† formed by the king of wisdom.

At the extremity of this valley we arrived at the three enormous tanks, sunk in the side of a sloping ground, and which, from time immemorial, have been considered to be the workmanship of Solomon; and, certainly they are well worthy the man to

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* Josephus's Antiquities, b. viii. c. 7.

† The original word garden is here supposed to be derived from the Persian *Ferdoos*, and signifies a pleasant place—a place full of delights—hence our own word *paradise*.

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whom tradition has assigned their construction. These reservoirs are each upon a distinct level, one above the other; and are capable of holding an immense body of water. They are so constructed, both by conduits leading directly from one to another, and by what may be termed anastamosing branches, that when the water in the upper one has reached to a certain height, the surplus flows off into the one below it, and so on into the third. These passages were obstructed, and the whole of the cisterns were out of repair when we visited them, so that there was hardly any water in the lowest, while the upper one was nearly full of good pure water. Small aqueducts lead from each of these cisterns to a main one that conducts the water to Jerusalem. They are all lined with a thick layer of hard whitish cement, and a flight of steps leads to the bottom of each, similar to some of those in the Holy City. Where the lowest cistern joins the valley of Etam, it is formed by an embankment of earth, and has a sluice to draw off the water occasionally. A short distance from the upper pool, I descended into a narrow stone chamber, through which the water passes from the neighbouring spring on its course to the cisterns. This, likewise has a traditionary tale to tell. It is said to be the sealed fountain to which allusion is made in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Canticles. From an examination of this place, it appeared to me that several springs empty themselves into these reservoirs, which are partly cut out of the solid rock, and partly built with masonry.

Nigh to the upper pool there is a large square castle apparently of an order of architecture belonging to the Christian era; and so placed, in all probability, to guard these waterworks during the period of the holy war; for we know to what extremities some of the early Crusaders were reduced from the different wells being poisoned by the enemy upon their approach to Jerusalem.

These fountains having been already described with great accuracy by Maundrell, Pococke, and others, I shall not dwell longer upon them, except to mention two circumstances, that it appears extraordinary have not been adverted to by former travellers. The first is, their great similarity to the fountains assigned to Solomon at Ras-el-Ain, near Tyre; and the fact of both being natural springs, that were pent up so as to raise the

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water they contained to the level of its final destination. The second is, that these springs were originally collected into one stream, which must then have formed a considerable rivulet, and running through this valley, finally discharged its waters into the Asphaltine lake.

It was beside these water-works that Ibrahim Básha suffered a defeat by the Arabs some years ago, when he made a sudden *sortie* from Jerusalem, and attacked the rebels there; but then their numbers more than doubled his. A garrison of five cavalry soldiers were stationed in the old castle.

On our return to the city we followed the track of the aqueduct as far as Bethlehem, and afterwards crossed it in several places on the road. It is very small, but the water runs in it with considerable rapidity, as we could perceive by the open spaces left in it here and there. From the very tortuous course this conduit takes in following the different sinuosities of the ground, being sometimes above and sometimes beneath the surface, it is difficult to persuade one's self that it does not run up hill, as many have supposed. Finally, it crosses over the valley of Rephaim, on a series of arches to the north of the lower pool of Gihon, and winding round the southern horn of Sion, is lost to view in the ruins of the city. It very probably supplied the pool of Bethesda, after having traversed a course of certainly not less than from thirteen to fifteen miles.

Having, on our return, gained the height on which the Greek convent of Mar Elias stands—the view of the Holy City that instantly burst upon our sight from this spot, was splendid in the extreme. It realized all I had previously conceived of its grandeur, but which had been dissipated on my first approach from Jaffa. From this point it is still a noble city, with tall arrowy minarets, vast domes, and several palaces, rising above its bold embattled walls, rendered more prominent by the valleys with which they are surrounded. Reining up our horses, we stopped to admire the glorious prospect. We could not but call to mind that it was from where we stood the first Crusaders viewed Jerusalem, and where the soldiers of the faithful Tancred first beheld the long-sought object of their wishes—for which they had suffered fatigues, hardships, and privations, almost unknown before. We can well imagine their enthusiasm, when it burst upon their ravished sight, and conceive the groans, the

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tears, the tumultuous feelings of transport, joy, and thanksgiving, that the historian informs us then broke forth, and which afterwards formed so glorious a theme for the muse of Tasso.

In the evening we rode out again; crossed the valley of Jehoshaphat, and skirting the southern side of the Mount of Olives, pursued our way to Bethany. The road is stony, and in many places rugged and precipitous. The miserable village of Bethany is about a mile and a half or two miles from the city; a few scattered huts, half in ruins, and an old mosque, still mark the place. But notwithstanding this desolation and wretchedness, it is a most romantic spot, beautifully situated on the brow of the hill, and commands an extensive and varied prospect of the surrounding scenery. The hour at which we visited it was favourable for viewing the scene, and well calculated to make a lasting impression upon us, for the sun was just going down behind the hills of Judah, to lave his burnished form in the waters of the midland sea, and the shades of night that in these climes follow quick upon his parting rays, were gathering from the distant desert, and sweeping over the dark surface of Gomorrah's lake. The birds were hastening to their nests, numerous crows, and large snowy storks winged their calm and noiseless flight above our heads, and the shepherds were conducting their flocks to places of security for the night.

One of these old shepherds offered to be our guide to the so-called tomb of Lazarus. This is a subterraneous vault, cut out of the rock, something like the tomb of the Virgin Mary, but much smaller. We entered by a low door, and descended a flight of steps which conducted us to a small chamber at a considerable depth below the surface, to the right of which, and still lower, is a grotto or crypt, with a bench on one side on which a body may have been placed. This is a dirty place, and in possession of the Arabs; but I see no reason to dispute its antiquity. Probably it may have been a village sepulchre; for such were not uncommon in Palestine. The Christian will scarcely visit the spot where Mary and her sister dwelt, and where the scene of those many interesting events narrated in the Gospels occurred, without calling to mind the many memorable circumstances and associations connected with it, and having brought before him, in all its vividness, the touching scene of the

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resurrection of him whom Jesus loved. After examining the place, we returned to the city, and arranged for our departure on the following morning.

Having paid a last visit to my friends on Mount Sion, I retired to rest, I cannot say to sleep; indeed, during my sojourn in the Holy City I slept little, except what resulted from sheer bodily fatigue. So exciting were the scenes witnessed in the day, and so perfectly absorbed was my mind in the object of my visit, that it seemed as if I were insulated from the rest of the world. None—not the most thoughtless, apathetic, and indifferent—can reside there a single day without partaking more or less of this enthusiasm and excitement. Yes; there is a charm in Jerusalem that those alone can feel, or can appreciate, who have stood beneath its ancient portals, viewed it from its surrounding hills, and mingled with its mourning children, amidst the ruins of its prostrate grandeur! Indeed it is almost universally admitted by travellers that so engrossing, so overpowering is the effect produced by the two or three first days' residence in Jerusalem, that they were for some time unable to view with composure even those places, and those scenes that they knew to be fictitious.

March 25th, we left Jerusalem. A circumstance occurred, which, as it is descriptive of the character of an Arab recruit, I may here record. Having started a few minutes before my party, on passing through the Jaffa gate, in which there was a guard of young Egyptian soldiers, one of them threw at me, by way of sport, a small pebble, which hit me in the face. Although it did not hurt me very much, yet, as the act was accompanied by the reproachful epithet of Giaour, I let my wounded feelings get the better of my discretion, and in the heat of the moment I turned my horse round and gave the fellow two or three smart blows of my coorbag. He quickly retired into a small recess beside the gate, and on my urging my horse to follow him, the sentry presented his firelock and stood boldly in the way; and the blow intended for the flying culprit, fell upon his shoulders. He instantly let the musket fall to the ground, skipt nimbly out of the way, and bolted after his companion. My friends now coming up in strong muster, and with a threatening attitude, the affray terminated by the whole guard betaking themselves to the innermost apartment of the gateway. No

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doubt the more proper and judicious, but less humane measure, would have been to have reported the transaction to the governor, instead of taking the law into our own hands. But what then would have been the consequence? We should have had the horrid satisfaction of having this unfortunate man's ears cut off, or his being, perhaps, bastinadoed on the soles of his feet until the very nails dropt off. Under other circumstances the effects of this rencontre might have been attended with more serious results.

We performed the journey back to Ramla in six hours, unmarked by any adventure except that of encountering a sirocco wind, if such be an adventure. While upon the highest elevation of the hill country, we had perceived a certain sultriness of the air; the wind was then blowing from the S.E., and on looking behind us we could discover a peculiar haziness of the atmosphere, which momentarily approached us, while in front all was yet bright and distinct. Presently the sultriness increased, although the sun was not particularly hot, and there was rather more breeze than usual. In fact, this wind, which was no other than the sirocco, appeared to move as a stratum of the atmosphere, and for some time, even after it reached us, it did not descend and fill the valleys. The wind had been blowing from the S.E. for two days previous, and it had, in all probability, been for some time traversing the hot and arid Idumean desert, where it met no particle of vegetable life to modify its force; and where the sand, in all likelihood, had never cooled during the night. This wind also takes up, and holds suspended in it the minutest particles of sand, which, in the space of a couple of hours, we could perceive upon our clothes.

We now began to feel its full force, and its effect was most unpleasant, though difficult to describe. The air itself became a hot thick palpable haze, of a bluish-grey colour, rendering the outlines of objects indistinct, though it allowed us to see much farther than in an ordinary humid mist. I know no better resemblance of the character the air assumes under these circumstances than that peculiar appearance and quivering motion which the heat and smoke of a fire has when lighted in the open air, on a clear hot sunny day. Although it may be blowing hard at the time, yet the breeze is unrefreshing, and comes hot and sultry on the brow, producing at first a feeling of oppression and constric-

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tion of the chest. This increases in time to a sickening sense of suffocation. There is a general dryness of the skin, the pores cease to throw out their secretions, the mouth becomes dry and parched, attended with urgent thirst, the vessels of the eyes become suffused, and headaché and lassitude ensues. Finally, great prostration of strength is felt, which remains long after the exciting cause has ceased, and the other symptoms have been removed; and above all, there is the most debilitating effect produced upon the mind by this sirocco—a feeling of good-for-nothingness.

This wind is one of the most trying things that awaits the invalid in his journeys through the Levant; and it is indeed trying to all, even the most healthy. The residents in those places subject to it, shut themselves up in their houses during its continuance, and close all their doors and windows. Its action is generally modified towards evening, though it may continue for two or three days together. For this reason people who live in eastern countries seldom travel, if they can avoid it, during the heat of the day. The depressing effect of the sirocco may be that alluded to by the Psalmist as "the arrow that flieth by day."—(Psalm xci. 5.) Homer also appears to refer to this wind when he speaks of the contagion that appeared among the Greeks, and ascribed it to the "arrows of the god of light." I may remark upon the subject of temperature generally in the Orient, that about two o'clock was the hour at which the mercury stood highest, and frequently it was higher at 10 A. M. than at noon.

Owing to the great difference of elevation in various parts of Palestine, the greatest dissimilarity prevails with regard to its temperature and climate. We were so fortunate as to visit it at the most favourable and healthy period of the year—the snows and cold of winter had just disappeared, and the rainy season had not yet commenced—a month or three weeks earlier we should have been travelling in some places with snow up to our horses' knees, while, at the same time, we would have endured a scorching sun overhead.* The rainy season in this country is very variable, both as to the quantity which falls, and

* For a table of the daily temperature on board our vessel during the Mediterranean cruise, see Appendix, O.

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the period at which it occurs; it is, however, on the average, generally from the middle of March to the middle of April. The best time, therefore, for those who seek health as well as amusement in visiting Palestine, is from the end of February to the middle of the ensuing month. It was for this reason we left Egypt* so early in the year, and spent the intervening time on the coast of Asia Minor.

We arrived at Ramla; and with considerable pleasure again entered the comfortable convent, and being greatly fatigued by our day's journey and the sirocco, we soon retired to rest; but the whole of the early part of the evening we were disturbed by the noise and uproar caused by the Mooslim part of the population, who, along with the Jews, were keeping a solemn but not a silent fast, on account of the great scarcity of rain, on which account the wheat and barley crops were in a withering state. The Mohammadans were walking in procession through the town the greater part of the night, accompanied by their priests and a number of boys who chanted portions of the Kooran, in which the female part of the procession occasionally joined in most shrill piercing tones. Annoying as this was to us, yet I could not help reflecting on the apparent dependence on the bounty of the Almighty that dictated this feeling; and which might be more frequently imitated by their Christian neighbours, who have the Scriptures revealing to them the true character of God, and pointing out the service that he requires from his creatures.

We set forward for Jaffa early next morning. On the previous

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* As far as my observation went during our stay in Egypt, I cannot say much for its climate as suited to invalids; indeed it requires a tolerably good constitution to withstand the effects of the nightly cold, which does not go off till the sun is well up. This variability of daily temperature is highly detrimental to health. There were severe harsh winds, attended with much rain, shortly before we left Alexandria, as can be seen by a reference to the register of temperature in the Appendix. To winter in Egypt with advantage it must be done at Cairo, and that with warm clothing and a fire in the bed-room. I consider that the most favourable time for travelling through the country, is from the fall of the inundation, in September, to the beginning of November, or from the end of February to the middle of April.

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day one of our party rode a mule; a small, wiry, bitter creature; and which, though as obstinate as mule could be, yet was not wanting in his paces; but could keep up with the horses very well when he liked. This being, however, a straightforward course, was by no means congenial to the stubborn little animal's taste; and, so having caused my friend to ride nearly one half more than any of our party, I undertook to use my influence with the beast during the remaining part of the journey to Jaffa. All went on very smoothly for some time; the mule seemed to have got into good humour, and we reached the plains of Sharon, among the olive groves of which we soon espied several large storks and herons. I was anxious to get a shot at one of these; and the mule, nothing loath to leave the direct path, carried me very quietly to where they had alighted. Arrived at the proper distance, I got down, and counting on the creature's recent good behaviour and improved disposition, I passed the bridle over my arm, and creeping stealthily among the bushes, presented my fowling-piece to fire at the birds; when, just as I was about to pull the trigger, the evil spirit of the mule returned—it reared—the gun went off, and, leaving me sprawling on my back, it kicked up its heels, gave a neigh of delight, and galloped away, showing a determination not to be easily re-captured.

Then came the chase—the whole mounted cavalcade set off after it; and, though they came up with, and several times surrounded it, the animal always contrived to escape, stopping and turning round with extraordinary quickness; and when its pursuers were at fault, halting to look at them with the greatest composure. After nearly an hour spent in useless endeavours to capture the obstinate animal, the majority of our party proceeded to Jaffa, supposing that in a short time it would be so tired that it would easily be caught, or that the owners, who had lagged behind, would come up and recover it. They left, however, two of the sailors, who accompanied us, to make what they could of the wild creature, and watch his movements in the meantime. For myself, I ran after the brute until I was so wearied that I was unable to proceed farther, and was compelled to lie down upon the ground quite exhausted. After some time, when I recovered my strength, I made my way to the port on foot, and left the sailors in pursuit of the animal.

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The tars, however, were not to be beaten by a mule. Off they set, and tilting at him, from different directions, not unlike the efforts of Clown and Pantaloon, more frequently encountered each other than the object of their pursuit, which, like a nimble Harlequin, still skipt out of the way. Seeing no hope of retaking him left, they loaded their carabines with small shot, and very deliberately fired several rounds at the enemy—whom, to use their own words, they soon "*brought to*;" for after having two or three rounds lodged in his hinder parts he fell back on his haunches, and rushing in, they captured him, and carried off their prize to Jaffa. They might have relinquished the pursuit for all the mule was worth; but, as it had a handsome carpet strapt upon it of as much value as itself—that could not be lost. The animal was not, however, very much hurt, as the shot, which was very small, only entered the skin, the distance being considerable.

The whole scene was ludicrous in the extreme; but to me its consequences were any thing but agreeable—for, when I arrived at the port, almost in a state of fever, I very injudiciously exposed myself to a cold draft of air, while resting on the house-top of the consul's residence. The Crusader had put to sea on our first landing, but was now ready to take us aboard; as soon therefore, as the baggage was shipped and the mule-owner satisfied, we once more set sail for Europe. My feverish symptoms, however, increased; I was confined to bed for several days, and did not recover from the effects of mule-hunting for a long time.

Having now completed the narrative of our eastern travel, and turned our back upon that land of wonders—the prospects that seemed in store for it, and the reflections suggested by the scenes that we had witnessed, kept our minds upon the stretch, till we gained the shores of Cyprus.

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CHAPTER XXII.

GREECE.

Departure from Jaffa—Flying Fish—Syra—Cape Colonna—Temple of Minerva Sunias—The Piræus—Omnibuses—Athens—View of the Parthenon—Present Condition of the City—Sir Edmund Lyons—Society—King Otho—Bavarian Government—The New Palace—Its Cost—The Greek Loan—Destruction of the Pentelic Quarries—Climate of Athens—Accommodation for Invalids—Means of Access—Fossil Beds of Pikermi—Visit to Marathon—Mr. Finlay—His Paper on the Battle—Arrow-heads—Their Similarity to Irish—Varna—Leoshes—Return to Athens—Easter—The Greek Church—Christian Salutation—Romaic Dance—Missionaries—Schools—The English Church—Hospitals—Museum—Proceed to the Morea—Napoli di Romania—Tyrinthus—Tomb of Agamemnon—Mycenæ—Its Lions—Architecture—Argos—Geological Appearance—Gibraltar—Advantages of Yachting—Return to Ireland.

On leaving Jaffa it blew a gale of wind, during which numbers of flying fish came aboard. It was then evident to all who observed the flight of these curious little animals, that, although they cannot, as some writers have stated, stop and turn back in their flight, they yet possess the power of making a considerable curve, nearly half a circle either to the right hand or to the left, in their transit through the air.

We arrived at Cyprus on the 28th, but finding that the plague had just broken out there, proceeded on our course to the bay of Symi, in Asia Minor, where we remained till the weather moderated.

On the 2nd of April we made the Grecian Archipelago, and cast anchor on the 4th at Syra, the Liverpool of modern regenerated Greece. The island of Syra is picturesque, but barren; the town is not unlike Jaffa, being built on a conical hill, which is covered to the very summit with white-washed buildings, and crowned by a monastery. Below this, the town spreads out along the water's edge, where the crowds of busy traders, the number of boats lading and unlading, and the mul-

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titude of sailors and porters that swarm on the wharfs and landing-places, tell of the rising condition, and commercial importance of this flourishing place. The harbour is one of the best in Greece, and generally exhibits a vast assemblage of the vessels of nearly every nation trading in the Mediterranean. There is a good light-house and safe anchorage.

The streets of the town are narrow, and the houses small and dirty; yet the number of shops, stalls, and bazaars, and the several happy faces that you meet in your walks through the town, speak, if not of wealth, at least of comfort and comparative independence.

I know of no place that has risen so rapidly as this. Its population in 1838 was above 21,000, though, but ten years before, it did not reach 6,000. The port is free; and all the steamers that ply in this portion of the Levant touch here. Not the least important item of the daily increasing trade of Syra is its pigs, which are the very finest I have seen out of Ireland.

We left Syra the next morning for Athens; but, owing to the baffling winds and partial calms that are met with among the numerous islands of this sea, we were in the evening but a short distance from the place we had left. At day-break next morning we were roused by the welcome information, that we were within a short distance of Cape Colonna. The cold, thin, morning air was just beginning to usher in the dawn as we descended the vessel's side, and proceeded in our boat to visit the ruins of the famed temple of Minerva Sunias, that crowns the summit of this bare, steep, and rocky promontory. Standing, as it does, so lone and drear above that wild and sea-washed shore, it forms one of the most awakening objects that Greece presents, to remind us of her by-gone days and glory; and it is still as noted a land-mark to the modern mariner, as in other times it was to the steersman of the trireme. Independent of its classic associations, it will be ever memorable to the Englishman, as the scene of "Falconer's Shipwreck." The hour at which we visited it, was one seldom chosen by the traveller; but one that, although piercingly cold, we had no cause to regret, for all around us was in unison with the feelings the place called up. The sea remained a perfect mirror; and the birds of the ocean had not yet risen on the wing to skim its placid waters, or disturb the silence and solemnity of the moment by their fishing song.

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The sun rose almost directly behind the noble cluster of white marble columns that still remain, until his broad disk appeared a crown of burnished gold above its head. We spent an hour or two in examining the ruins, and enjoying the glorious and exciting prospect which its site affords of that island-studded ocean, that lay stretched beneath and around us.

The same weather as that of yesterday succeeded, alternate calms and breezes, so that at night-fall we were still some leagues from our destination. This day was the anniversary of the revolution of Greece, and we could hear the firing of cannon, and the rejoicing of its people on all sides. At night a thousand lights sprung up around us, and the whole sea became illuminated, from the numerous bonfires on the different islands. There was one in particular that had the grandest and most imposing effect; it was a series of lights placed in the form of a cross, on the side of Mount Anchesmus that faces the city of Athens, and which, owing to the clearness of the night, was perfectly visible to us even at that distance.

We entered the harbour of the Piræus early next morning, and "brought up" among a large fleet of the Austrian, English, Russian, and French navies, besides some small Greek brigs and corvettes.

We found the port of Athens in a much more thriving condition than accounts had led us to expect. Several good houses have sprung up, with the usual accompaniments of stores and wine-shops; besides a handsome building lately erected for a military college. One of the first objects that caught our attention on landing, was a stand of cars, hackney coaches, and several omnibuses, that ply from the port to the city. In one of these we set forward to Athens, upon a good level road that runs in nearly a direct line to the city; and for the most part, upon the site of the long walls of Pausanias, part of the foundations of which are still discoverable near the Piræus. The distance is about five miles, and the prospect during the entire way is most imposing; for the Acropolis rises in monarchical grandeur in the centre, and every pillar of the Parthenon is clearly defined against the azure sky that forms the back-ground of the picture. On either side of the road is an extensive plain, watered by the streamlets of the Cephissus and Ilissus; it is fast coming under cultivation, bearing some good crops of well-grown barley, and

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several groves of olives, which yet remain, despite the desolating hand of Turkish tyranny and misrule, that had attempted to destroy them prior to the revolution.

We took up our quarters at the Hotel de France, and shortly after strolled out to inspect the antiquities, having for our cicerone, Mr. George Finlay, now a resident in Athens, than whom few possess more knowledge of the classic lore of ancient Greece, or, from actual observation and participation in it, are better acquainted with the late revolution, or the present condition of that country.

Notwithstanding its bad government, Athens continues to improve and to progress; its population is now nearly 20,000, though it was but 5,000 six or seven years ago. Alas! many of the sacred associations and illusive charms that surrounded the most refined city of the ancients, are dissolved by an inspection of the capital of modern Greece. To climb the acropolis, we must wade through the mud and dirt of narrow streets and lanes. The Lantern of Demosthenes is in the back yard of a miserable hovel; and several of the finest specimens of architecture form the sides and gables of modern buildings. The streets are long, straggling, and irregular; and it is very much to be regretted, that some plan has not been laid down for the construction of the new town, so as not to interfere with the remains of all that makes Athens valuable to the scholar, the traveller, or the antiquary. What an interesting object would not the Temple of the Winds form in one of the squares that may yet beautify the rising city; when the wretched houses that now obscure it and other like structures, shall very likely have to be purchased by a "board of wide-street commissioners."

With the antiquities of Athens I shall not trouble my readers. So many splendid works have been published on that subject; and so many proud names that note the genius and learning of our own countrymen, have gone before us, that unless he would plagiarise from the works of Stuart or Dodwell; quote the accurate and critical Colonel Leake; or draw from the able sketches of the chaste and classical Mr. Wordsworth, little remains for the passing traveller to notice, except its present condition under its *Bavarian* government. Not that we did not visit every scene of interest; make copious notes of its past purpose and present state; and, in the enthusiasm of the place and hour, pen

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down heroic and euphonious thoughts and reflections. But the page at which I have arrived, reminds me that I have already carried my readers over a long, and to some, perhaps a weary route; but bear with me a little longer—we are on our way to England—to home; there to enjoy whatever of climate suited to invalids our summer months afford; and then we'll part, perhaps for ever.

We remained in Athens, altogether, about eight days. In the mornings we loitered among its ruins, or inquired into its present social condition; and in the evenings enjoyed the society of some of our countrymen, or partook of the hospitality of our worthy minister—for all who come here, will find a cordial welcome at the residence of Sir E. Lyons; and few could enjoy the comforts of that elegant and social circle more than we did, after being so long estranged from all that makes the home and table of a Briton happy, no matter under what clime he may be placed. The ambassadors and representatives of foreign powers are by far the greatest personages in Athens; and their residences are the most splendid buildings in the city. In society, which is chiefly formed of those personages, and the few landed proprietors who may have settled in the vicinity of the city, the affairs of other countries and the intrigues of the several diplomatists are much more spoken of, than the affairs or prospects of Greece. But, besides these, Athens in general possesses a few enlightened travellers of different nations—artists, antiquaries, and men of letters; and nearly all the foreign residents are educated persons—well acquainted with the history, antiquities, and topography of their adopted country.

With the government of king Otho every party seemed dissatisfied, and apparently with great justice. But little good could be expected from the despotic administration of a stripling foreign monarch, who despises trade, and thinks that he is not only the state but the country; who acts as his own prime minister, and sits as president of the council that now governs Greece—and that assembly was, then at least, with one exception, composed entirely of foreigners! The Greeks naturally look with a jealous eye upon the Bavarian intruders, who they know will be preferred to any place of trust or emolument before themselves; while the Bavarians in turn consider themselves as martyrs, who have risked their precious lives, and deserted their

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happy homes, to follow the fortunes of their master. An order has been instituted by the king, and is now worn by every Bavarian soldier to commemorate his coming to Greece!! There is no faith between the two nations; and the only bond of union that might have merged all petty differences between the two people, that of intermarriage, is strictly prohibited by the German priests. Some idea as to the religion of this state, as well as the domestic happiness of royalty, may be formed from a knowledge of the fact, that the king is a Roman Catholic, the queen of the Lutheran persuasion, and their children, should they have any, must be brought up in the Greek church. The only part of the state that appears well regulated, is that in which the monarch does not interfere; this is the municipal government of the city, which consists of several citizens, and some of the foreigners who fought and bled for Greece during the late war, and are now proprietors and tax-payers under the present dynasty. At the head of this corporation is a lord-mayor or provost, who is chosen triennially.

The present palace, though an inconsiderable building as a royal residence, is yet good enough for a king of Greece, in its present infant state. There is, however, a palace being erected, that bids fair to rival any structure of the kind in Europe, both as to magnificence and extent. It is constructing of pure white Pentelic marble; the basement story was completed at the time of our visit, and stands on a space of ground equal to that of the enormous convent of Mafra. The front is to be a Doric colonnade, the columns of which were nearly finished at the time of our visit. Can it be believed that upwards of £150,000 has been already expended on this building, while the country for whose king it is in progress of completion, is scarcely able to afford a taxation sufficient to support its government? Where then has this money come from? Perhaps a solution to this query may be found by an examination of the items in the expenditure of the loan granted by England, France, and Russia, to replenish the exchequer of this bankrupt kingdom. But there is a still sadder tale to tell of that same palace than the mere squandering of the money I have mentioned; for every block of marble that decorates its walls, or forms its pillars, is *blasted* in the quarries of Pentelicus, broken with sledges, and rudely *rolled* down the mountain side; so that scarcely one half of them arrive in safety

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at the bottom. And when I state it as a fact within my own cognizance, that there is not (or was not up to May, 1838) a single truck or a single marble saw in the whole quarry, the lover of the arts and the admirer of Grecian architecture will indeed mourn over the vast and unnecessary destruction of this precious material, on which was once employed the chisel of a Phidias and a Praxiteles. This is no conjecture, nor was it gathered from "common report;" I visited the quarries, spent hours in their examination, and can vouch for what I say. I have there seen blocks of the purest snow-white marble blown into shivers with gunpowder; and yet so careful did the ancients appear of this beauteous stone, that the sides of the caverns, from which were cut the Parthenon and the temples of Theseus, and Jupiter Olympius, are as square, as if the object was to raise the admiration of the visitor, rather than economise the material. The only good road in Attica is that formed between the palace and the foot of the Pentelican quarries.*

But let us leave King Otho to his palace and his Bavarians, and speak of matters more interesting to the modern traveller, and more suited to the object of this work. Is Athens a place likely to benefit persons seeking health as well as amusement, and what time is the best for visiting it? A friend who has been long resident in the country has kindly supplied me with the following useful information on this subject:—

"With regard to the climate of Athens, it is warm in summer, and with a northerly wind, cold in winter; but in an airy situation, it is by no means oppressive in the hottest season; and when you are sheltered from the cutting north wind, it is pleasant in winter; for the sun almost always shines, and there is very little rain. The mean temperature has been estimated by a French officer at fifteen degrees centigrade. The extremes which I have myself noticed in one year, 1833, were, on the 23rd of January at sun-rise, 27 degrees; and on the 20th of August at three P.M. 94 degrees of Fahrenheit; but at nine P.M.

* The recent revolution and the proclaiming of a new constitution in Greece proves that all my conjectures and all my views of the government of King Otho were well founded [1844].

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the same evening, it was 86 degrees. In 1835 the extremes were 30 degrees and 88 degrees; this was the very unhealthy year, when the whole plain of Athens was a marsh, from the circumstance of the canals of irrigation of the Cephissus being blocked up, and the water having during the whole winter (which was a very severe one) spread itself over the plain. In 1836, which was a very cool year, the extremes were 28 degrees and 85 degrees. The weather is generally very agreeable up to the 1st of June; but June, July, and August, are very hot; nothing, however, can be finer than the autumn. Athens is a very healthy spot, and its unhealthiness in 1835 was purely accidental, for water in general is much too scarce to be wasted. The danger of the climate here is not from fever, but cold in winter; as people taking violent exercise and exposing themselves to the cold winds, are apt to suffer severely. Athens is unfortunately the only place to which invalids, who intend to reside for a year, can venture to come to in Greece; as it is only at Athens they can procure good houses. In the islands it would, perhaps, be very agreeable to spend two or three months in autumn and spring. The communications with Athens are now very regular; from Trieste and Ancona, we have steamers twice a month; from Marseilles, by Leghorn and Malta, three times a month; and from this, steamers go three times a month to Alexandria; and others as often to Smyrna and Constantinople, and thence to the Danube, and on to Vienna. Houses are now to be found here at a more moderate rate than formerly. We have had several families spending the winter; and one English family has taken up its residence. We have a very agreeable society, and liberty to dress and do as we like."

On the 10th, we visited Marathon. The distance from Athens is said to be about twenty miles. We passed over a wild and uncultivated district, broken into ravines and deep hollow gorges, or spreading out into irregular plains, wooded with Scotch fir and stone pine. A drifting mist rendered much of our way obscure, and in many places, the bridle-path was rugged, narrow, and precipitous. At Pikermi, about mid-way, we visited the great fossil formation recently discovered in this part of Greece. It is situated in the bed of a deep stream, and the bones, which are principally those of graminiverous and ruminant animals, and very much comminuted, are placed in a

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bed of hard red ochery clay, in some parts so hard, that the specimens were, with difficulty, cut out of it. The multitude of fossil remains in this pit are almost incredible. Several horse-loads have been conveyed to Athens, and in the museum of the Natural History Society there, I was afforded an opportunity of examining some most perfect specimens. Besides those animals that I have mentioned, I saw there a very fine head of the rhinoceros and also that of the palæotherium, as well as the skull of one of the simiæ of a very small size, but in excellent preservation, with the teeth quite perfect; and I have in my possession the jaws and teeth of some small ruminants and carnivoræ from the same locality. The rain pouring in torrents during the short time that we remained at the place, prevented any very accurate or extended examination. It is a field yet open to geologists, for I am not aware of any accurate account of it having been given to the world. It was discovered by Mr. G. Finlay, and is situated on the south-eastern slope of Pentelicus, and beside the ancient road leading to Marathon.

As we could only proceed at a slow pace, we did not reach our destination till towards evening. And now we are on

> "The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
> First bow'd beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword;
> As on the morn, to distant glory dear,
> When MARATHON became a magic word."

We entered the plain by a narrow pass between the sea and a shoulder of the Argalike mountain, to the right of the sacred grove and temple of Hercules, and where it is supposed the Greek camp was placed. This opinion seems the most probable even to a cursory observer; for, had not this pass been occupied, the Persians might have marched on to Athens without opposition.

This vast plain, the richest and most cultivated that we witnessed in Greece, extends, in a crescentic shape, between the mountains and the sea, broken only by the memorable tumulus, near the centre, and a wood of tall stone pines that rises at its northern extremity. The sky was louring; the mountains indistinct; the sea looked dark and moody, and rolled its moaning waves far up upon the beach, while the wind sighed and whistled through the gaps and hollows of the hills that margin this noble plain, so celebrated in story, because here liberty was at stake,

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and valour was the winner. We turned our horses' heads to the little village or hamlet of Varna, and took up our quarters for the night at the miserable monastery, the only accommodation the place afforded.

Varna, which is believed by Colonel Leake and other eminent topographers to be the site of the ancient Marathon, from which the plain beneath took its name, is situated in a lonely, wild, and picturesque glen or hollow in the range of hills that rises immediately from the valley. Our domicile was any thing but comfortable or agreeable; being a low empty room, without a fireplace, and having no less than four unglazed windows, and a tiled roof, through which the wind gained a very ready ingress. The night was piercingly cold, and the fleas terrific; but the early part of the evening was one of considerable interest, for our companion, Mr. Finlay, read for us that valuable Memoir on the Battle of Marathon, which has since been published in this country,* and in the morning we visited the tumulus, from the top of which he pointed out to us the position of the two armies, and the different places of interest that surrounded us.

The sides of this enormous barrow have now become so much broken down by the excavations of antiquity hunters, and the channels worn by the rains of above two thousand three hundred years, that we rode with ease to the top. Although but thirty feet high, it commands a perfect view of the surrounding plain, which is a rich loamy soil, and was then green with the young corn crop. Having picked up some of the flint and obsidian arrow-heads† that are scattered in such quantities through the

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* On the Battle of Marathon, by George Finlay, Esq.—See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. III. 1839.

† Although it is quite true that these rude and diminutive weapons are found in other parts of Greece, (and I have picked up some myself,) yet the vast quantities found in this mound are very remarkable; but whether they are, as some assert, the arrow-heads used by the Æthiopian archers, who, Herodotus informs us, formed a part of the Persian army, it is difficult to decide. Their identity with similar weapons that have been found in other countries is, however, curious. Colonel Leake mentions their being found in Egypt and in Ireland. The one to which the learned antiquary refers, as found in Ireland, is that in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society; but since he wrote, two most beautiful and perfect speci-

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earth of which this monument is composed, we bent our steps to the village of modern Marathona, a pleasantly situated spot, with some pretty country-houses, surrounded by tall waving poplars, and having the river of Marathon winding in its broken rocky channel through the neighbouring glen. Following this stream, we visited the fountain of Oinoe, and, in the overhanging crags, the subterranean cavern, by some called the cave of Pan. This is a succession of caverns, on different levels, covered with sparkling crystallizations, and the roof supported in many places by huge stalagmite pillars, which, with the arching over head, give it the appearance of rude gothic architecture. It is not unlike Mitchelstown cave, in this country; but, from being the retreat of all the goats in the vicinity, and also the haunt of robbers, the floor of it was covered with dirt, and the roof blackened with smoke.

After this, we ascended the highland country of Attica, to visit Leoshea, the estate of our friend, Mr. Finlay. We crossed through some well-watered ravines, with corn fields, oriental plains, and groves of magnificent oaks, as a short time ago a considerable traffic was carried on in the acorns of Greece; but the government having put a very high tax upon them, they are not now worth gathering. The soil is, for the most part, a rich ochery loam.

The extensive and elevated plain of Leoshea presents a scene of considerable beauty. The mountains raise their bare limestone heads to a height of nearly thirteen hundred feet, and the secondary range of hills that encompasses the plain, is clothed with forests of magnificent firs, oaks, and poplars, standing in a thick underwood of arbutus—both the Unedo and the Andrachne.

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mens have been obtained in a cromlech lately discovered in the Phœnix Park, which contained, likewise, two perfect human skeletons, a shell necklace, an antique earthen vase, and a bone pin—all of which were presented by the Marquis of Normanby to the Royal Irish Academy. These arrow-heads are not cut in the usual shape of those found in this country; but are generally about two inches long, and not quite half an inch wide; flat on one side, and angular on the other; in fact, they are three-sided. They are, however, very rare in this country: but a few have been discovered at Elsden, in Northumberland, and there is a large collection of them among the Scandinavian antiquities at Copenhagen.

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The Judas tree was in full blow, and the peach and apricot just putting forth their blossoms.

We passed the night at our friend's country-seat, and among the other creature-comforts we enjoyed, were regaled with a dish celebrated in Greece—a lamb roasted whole. Our second course was likewise one of the greatest delicacies among the mountaineers, called cookaratty, being the heart, lungs, and liver cut into small pieces, placed upon a ramrod, bound round with the intestines, and roasted something like the Arab kebobs; and it was most excellent. Next day we returned to Athens, by the marble quarries of Pentelicus; the country through which we passed was greatly overrun with low shrubby brushwood, but enlivened by small villages, surrounded by their olive groves and vineyards.

Of all the efforts made to regenerate this long-distracted country, none deserve such honourable mention as the labours of the American missionaries, particularly those of the Rev. Mr. Hill, who has established in Athens and Syra, schools, that will ever make the name of America dear to the people of Greece. In Athens, the missionary school contains upwards of six hundred children, and in Syra and other places, the number amounts to more than five hundred. Shortly before our visit, the Greek and Russian bishops had attempted to put down this institution, and endeavoured to make the government interfere in their behalf; but, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the priesthood, the schools continued to flourish; for all the higher classes of well-educated Greeks had determined on supporting them. The Scriptures are translated into the modern Greek from the original Hebrew. Thousands of copies are in circulation, and the anxiety evinced by the people to possess the sacred volume is really astonishing.

One of the most interesting scenes I witnessed in this country, was that of laying the foundation stone of a Church-of-England place of worship, on the site of an ancient temple, near the road leading to the temple of Jupiter Olympius. All the English residents were present, and a more impressive ceremony I never beheld.

On Easter Saturday I visited the Greek chapel, to see the procession and ceremony of "burying the host;" and a scene of greater violence and confusion can scarcely be imagined among a

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people calling themselves Christian. First came an immense crowd, carrying lighted torches; then a military band; the ministers and officers of the royal household followed; then came several richly dressed priests, and the aged Bishop of Attica, with his robes and crozier, preceding the hearse or bearer, on which was placed a small coffin, covered with a rich pall of black velvet, ornamented with silver, surrounded with lighted tapers, and decorated with flowers and garlands. A group of Greek and Bavarian soldiers closed the procession. Otho and his interesting looking little queen having taken their seats in the church, the bearer was carried in and laid down in the aisle. The bishop ascended his throne, and the priests commenced a chant that carried me back to the scenes in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This part of the service being concluded, each of the principal persons present having taken some of the flowers or candles off the holy bier, the crowd rushed in; noise, uproar, and confusion ensued; flowers and lights were snatched from each other; and, in their holy zeal, the pall and coffin narrowly escaped destruction; but the soldiers using their muskets with great energy, in a short time tranquillity was restored. Disgusted with this religion run mad, I did not wait for the conclusion of the proceedings, but I understood that they lasted till two o'clock in the morning. I know of nothing to equal this frightful scene, but that auspicious moment when, at the close of an election, the chair of the successful candidate is given up to the tender mercies of an Irish mob.

Easter Sunday.—We were awoke at an early hour by the firing of small arms, and the shouting of the people, rejoicing on the anniversary of the resurrection. On going into the streets, happiness beamed in every face; and when Greek met Greek, it was not in the "tug of war," but they rushed into each other's arms, a long embrace ensued, they then kissed each other on the cheeks and forehead, saying, "Christ is risen," and answered, "Yes, Christ is risen indeed." Not only among friends, but even slight acquaintances, did this primitive salutation take place. I cannot but think that this custom has prevailed in these countries since the days of the early Christians.

The noisy rejoicings continued all day, and towards evening the suburbs of the city reminded us of the Hebrew institution of the Passover; for, opposite every house, all who could possibly

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afford it were roasting a lamb whole. Their meal concluded, hundreds of the inhabitants congregated round the Temple of Theseus, and kept up the Romaic dance till nightfall. I shall never forget that scene. It was a calm and lovely evening; the distant mountains of Hymettus and Pentelicus threw back the mellow beams of the declining sun; the plain of Athens, with its academic groves and sacred way, was stretched beneath us; the Acropolis held aloft the ruins of the Parthenon above our heads; beside us rose the Areopagus, where St. Paul addressed the men of Athens, and first preached that Gospel which is again beginning to be published throughout the land; and a little farther on, the eye turned to the Pnyx, where the eloquence of Demosthenes so often touched the hearts, and roused the dormant energies of the ancient Athenians.

There has been a large hospital established near the Theatre of Bacchus, and a Natural History Society instituted, whose museum will well repay the visit of the antiquary and the zoologist. During our stay, the maximum daily temperature was generally 64°.

On the 17th we sailed for the Morea, and the morning of the 19th found us beating up the gulf of Nauplia, with a head wind and a drifting mist. Towards evening the weather moderated; the sun shone out, and we anchored before the walls of Napoli di Romania. The scenery around this place is truly beautiful, and the overhanging rock, with its covered way, and the neighbouring batteries, give it a very great resemblance to Gibraltar, though on a much smaller scale. From our position, the view of this fine open bay and the surrounding country was exceedingly imposing, being enclosed by a semicircular range of mountains, between which and the sea, stretches one vast level plain, not unlike that of Marathon, but far greater in extent, being ten miles in length, by three to four in breadth,—then all under cultivation. I never saw so vast and uninterrupted an extent of standing corn. At the extreme end of the bay, the Acropolis of Argos forms an object which, independent of its classic recollections, must always claim the attention of the lover of the picturesque in nature or in art. The town of Napoli di Romania has decreased in interest and importance since the removal of the court to Athens. The streets, though good, have a deserted appearance, and many of the houses which had been

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commenced remain unfinished. It is not unlike a Spanish town, but the lion of St. Mark, that decorates the gates and bastions, reminds us of its Venetian origin.

Next day we drove over to Argos and Mycenæ, visiting on our way the ruins of Tyrinthus, the reputed country seat of Hercules, and beside it, the marsh of Hydra. We spent some time in examining the former, groping through its dark passages, and scrambling over its cyclopean walls, the most ancient, perhaps, in existence; for, when in a state little better than the present, they excited the admiration of Homer and Pausanias. This memorable spot, containing the oldest remains of Hellenic architecture, and one which witnessed the gathering of the kings and warriors of Greece upon the surrounding plain, before the Trojan war, stands upon a low hill near the shore, and when viewed from a little distance, or on entering the harbour of Nauplia, looks like an immense oval tumulus.

Leaving the carriage at the foot of the rocky defile that leads up to Mycenæ, we scrambled over the hills, and followed our guide to the city of Agamemnon. The situation was lone and desolate, and just what the classic ruins of that heroic age should be. We approached it through the narrow walled way that leads to the Gate of Lions, and sat down to rest beneath the shadow of the oldest sculptured monument in Greece. The gateway was choked up with stones and brambles; but the slab that spans the top, and which bears in good relief the rampant lions, is still undisturbed. That portion of it, however, which contained the heads of the animals has been broken off, and, of late years, antiquarians have held learned discussions as to whether these animals were intended for wolves or lions, many inclining to the former opinion. Had those learned gentlemen combined a knowledge of zoology with their researches, they might have seen, that although the heads have been broken off, the feet, which are most exquisitely and accurately carved, are those of *feline* animals. The want of the mane, and the tuft at the end of the tail, leads us to look upon them as lionesses.* We climbed

* Quere.—Had the Mesopotamian lion a mane like those we are now acquainted with? Ancient authors say not.

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into the citadel, and read a lesson from the many beautiful specimens and orders of masonry that compose its honoured and time-worn walls, and then bent our steps to the tomb of its renowned founder—by some styled the treasury of Atreus.

This monument of the past is still in most perfect preservation. Externally it is covered with earth, and appears an immense conical mound, not unlike an ice-house; a long stone passage, open at top, leads to the huge Egyptian door-way; and here the attention of the visitor is attracted to the lintel, which is one of the largest stones I have ever seen in any country, being twenty-seven feet in length by sixteen in breadth, and four feet six inches deep. The architecture of the interior of this vast bee-hive dome, being already well known to the world, and having, in different places in this work, had occasion to point out the resemblance which it bears to some of the antique remains in our own country, particularly New Grange, the great pyramid of north-western Europe, I need not here describe it.*

From an examination of the vast plain of Argos, and a review of its geological character, I am strongly inclined to believe that, at some very remote period, the sea covered all that level surface now lying between it and the mountains—more particularly as the lower stratum of this circular range of hills is composed of a close compact conglomerate, precisely similar (though from its age more compact) to that at Rhodes, and along the coast of Asia Minor; like them, the beach, which in all probability this once formed, may have become consolidated. A good sample of these rocks is to be seen in the stones of which the tomb of Agamemnon is built.

Having regained our carriage, we spent an hour or two in Argos. The modern town is but a poor straggling place; the houses being low, mean looking, and detached. It is situated at the foot of the Acropolis, and is far inferior to Nauplia. The only antiquity of any value now remaining is the theatre, which, like that at Telmessus, is formed out of the hollow side of the mountain, facing the sea; and like it, the prospect it commands is most

* See "The Celtic Druids," by Godfrey Higgins, page 226.

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striking in scenic effect, having stretched before it this noble arm of the Ægean, with its distant islands—the fortress of Napoli—the terraced mountains, and the verdant carpet of the luxuriant plain. An idea of the vastness of this theatre may be conceived from its dimensions. There are three tiers of seats, and each seat is twenty-nine inches broad, and thirteen high; there are thirty-six seats in the first tier, with a division, four feet nine inches in length and two feet in height, between it and the next tier, which contains sixteen seats, with a division of eight feet nine inches and a rise of four feet—from this to the top there are nineteen seats. There is a part of one of the wings or side scenes standing; but, from the bricks used in its construction, and the apparent newness of the work, I should consider it of a more modern date than the rest of the theatre—probably, it may have been built in Roman times. In the immediate vicinity of these remains is shown a cavern, which Dr. Clarke conjectured to be a soothsayer's cave. This seems doubtful—the niches cut in it for votive offerings give it more the appearance of some rude and early temple. On our return to the yacht, we encountered a sirocco, which was exceedingly oppressive, and raised the mercury to 72°.

Here one of our companions, Mr. W. Meiklam, left us to proceed to Constantinople; and our kind friend and guide, Mr. Finlay, returned to Athens.

April 21, we hove anchor and stood out into the gulf, passing the town and island of Spezzia; and on the 23rd rounded the Capes of St. Angelo and Matapan. A few days more brought us to Malta; when, having received our letters, and taken in provisions and water, we sailed for Gibraltar on the 1st of May; but, from alternate calms and head winds, we did not reach it till the 17th. Our voyage, however, was not without interest; at one time we were becalmed, and employed in turtle-catching on the coast of Africa,* where we lay for several days; at another, we were running along the Sicilian coast, gazing on the snowy top of

* While in this latitude a pilot-fish made its appearance, and kept a-head of us for several days, sometimes remaining for hours beneath our cut-water, then shooting off in playful gambols to either side: rising to the surface to display the beauty of its azure bands in the sunshine, then dart-

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Etna, or the ruined temples of Girgenti, so picturesquely situated amidst the Italian scenery of the vineyard and the orange grove. Farther on, upon the Spanish shore, we encountered a storm of considerable duration and magnitude, which at length drove us into the bay of Almeria, the wind remaining nearly due west. Those romantic writers in the silken annuals of the day, who describe in such glowing terms the calm blue waters and Claude Lorraine skies of the Mediterranean, must have taken their descriptions from the terraces of Naples, the lovely groves of Messina, or the piazzas of the island city of the Adriatic; but could never have experienced a gale of wind beneath the Sierra Nevada of Granada.

On the 23rd we cleared out of the harbour of Gibraltar, rounded the Tarifa point, and once more bent our course to the happy shores of Britain. Our pilgrimage in other lands is now completed—our voyage nearly at an end. Scenes of the East farewell! Shall I ever again enjoy the exciting solitude of those resplendent monuments of past times and people, that have yielded to me so many hours of pure and unmixed enjoyment; and, while they ministered to the pleasures of the present, through the associations connected with the past, raised my thoughts to objects of higher and more enduring happiness in the future! Ye wide-spreading palms and glittering minarets, the evening note of whose Mooslim chant is still ringing in my ears—shall I ever again hear those thrilling strains of the Imam's call to worship! And ye, ye tombs! amidst whose dark recesses I have so long wandered, once more, adieu! On this latter theme I may have been fatiguing to some of my readers; but unpleasant as that topic may be, to it we must all, one day or other, come; for tombs, whether they be the simple mother-earth that enwraps the body of the rustic, or the martial-cloak that shrouds the stiffening form of the warrior—whether the gigantic pyramid, or the lowly greensward—the mound that covers the kistvaen, or the urn that holds the ashes—whether the costly sarcophagus that surrounds the embalmed

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ing far a-head, as if to defy our speed. After several fruitless attempts, it was at last struck with a *grains*, or forked harpoon, by one of the men. Considering the size of the animal, and the velocity of its movements, this was certainly a feat.

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body of the Egyptian, or the shell-adorned cave, where lie the bones of the mariner beneath the ocean's unfathomed depths—the sculptured cathedral monument, or the modest tomb-stone in the grave-yard—they are all so many chambers in the great treasure-house of time, in which are stored the coinage of successive ages, to be opened when the trumpet of the angelic herald summons the gates of death to surrender, and the bright morning of eternity dawns on the night of the grave.

Many topics that I have touched upon, and many scenes that I have described, may to some appear little worthy of notice; but to me they have been interesting and instructive, and as such I give them to my readers—for

> "In a strange land
> Such things, however trivial, touch the heart,
> And through the heart the head; clearing away
> The narrow notions that grow up at home."

And now, before taking my leave, I would say a word at parting on the subject of yacht-clubs and yachting.

"Of all the amusements," says Captain Marryatt, "entered into by the nobility and gentry of our island, there is not one so manly, so exciting, so patriotic, or so national, as yacht-sailing." It is, indeed, one that Englishmen alone can afford, not only from our maritime position, but from the wealth required for its maintenance. It has materially conduced to the improvement of ship-building in this country; for some of the very fastest sailing vessels, for their size, ever launched, were yachts. It is one of the best means of educating a superior class of British sailors, who often see more real service and seamanship, than many who are for years on board a vessel of the line."* How valuable would be the two thousand men who are now engaged in the different yacht-clubs of this country, when distributed among our navy, in case of war or invasion. In stating that the sailors in the yacht service were the best educated and the best conducted

* The English fleet has been now so long in the Tagus, that one of the officers told me, he really feared to go to sea with hands so long unused to work a ship.

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men in the whole British navy, I should, I feel, be but giving them that character which they deserve. They are, in general, a set of picked men. Their pay is better than those in men-of-war, and they are much better instructed in practical navigation than in the merchant service. It is, indeed, a lamentable fact, that the masters of our traders, so far from giving instruction to those who may wish for it, absolutely prevent men from "taking the sun," or in any way improving themselves in the theory of their profession. On board the Crusader, and several other vessels of the Royal Yacht squadron that I have known, some of the men were regularly instructed in those different branches that qualify them for rising to be mates or masters.*

Besides all these considerations, the money expended in yachting finds its way into the pockets of our own countrymen. The vessel, and every thing belonging to her, is purchased at home; the wages of the men are, in a great part, paid to their wives or relations at home; and the provisions that are required, especially on a Mediterranean cruise, are procured at English ports.

We are now upon the little Sole-bank, and fast approaching home.

"Below, there, forrard."

"Holloa!"

"Hand up the deep-sea lead."

"Ay, ay, sir."

"Now, then, my man, mind your helm. Come, my lads; one of you get out with it on the martingal. Luff, there, luff, and shake the wind out of her sails."

"Luff, 'tis, sir."

"Heave, men; heave."

"Watch—watch."

Splash goes the lead, and the coils are thrown off by the different hands.

"Soundings; haul on the line, now; ninety-five fathoms.

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* I should be wanting in duty did I not take this occasion to remember the care and attention exhibited on this subject by our sailing-master, Mr. W. Howard, as well as his skill and dexterity in the management of our vessel.

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Come, keep her, her course, north-east half east; crack on her; the breeze freshens; stunsails, alow and aloft. There she goes, nine knots; and to-morrow we shall be within sight of old Ireland."

On the morning of the 3rd of June, 1838, we entered Kingstown harbour. The hour was early; the inhabitants had not yet stirred. There was scarcely a vessel in port. A thick mist hung over Killiney hill, and every thing looked lonely and deserted; but still it was with a longing eye and a beating heart I hailed that shore, to me

> "More dear in its storms, its clouds, and its showers,
> Than the rest of this world in its sunniest hours."

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APPENDIX.

A.—Page 64.

ON A NEW METHOD OF PRESERVING FISH FOR ZOOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

Being the Substance of a Paper read by the Author before the Natural History Section of the British Association*—August, 1839.

A good method of preparing fish for museums has been long considered a desideratum to the naturalist, but none of those that I have as yet seen preserve those two great requisites—colour and contour. This is so obvious in the distorted, faded specimens to be seen in collections, that I need not dwell upon the subject. My mode of preparation is as follows:—I make an incision through the scales down to the muscles, commencing about where the operculum joins the cranium, and continue it parallel with the dorsal outline to the centre of the tail. A similar cut is made from above the pectoral fin, till it also meets in the centre of the tail; by this means, somewhat less than a third of one side is included between the lines. The fish is kept steady on a smooth board, to which it adheres by its own natural gluten; water being poured over it from time to time, so as never to allow the scales to dry. The skin is then dissected back as far as the dorsal margin, where it meets the bony rays which support the fins. These are cut across, as close to the skin as possible, with a strong pair of scissors or a cutting forceps. A similar process is used towards the abdomen, taking care to keep as close to the facia to which the scales are attached as possible. The first vertebra is then separated from the cranium, and the skinning process continued by lifting up the body and leaving the skin adhering to the board; from which it should never be removed, if possible, till the dissection is completed. Difficulty will be experienced towards the tail, where the muscles become more tendinous, and are attached to the subcutaneous facia. The

* See Athenæum for 31st August, 1839.

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rays of the caudal fin are then divided from the last vertebra, and the body removed entire. The gills are next taken out, and any remaining portion of the flesh about the head, cheeks, or thorax. It is as well, perhaps, to leave in the scapulæ, or a large portion of them. An opening is made into the side of the cranium, where it will be found very thin, and the brain taken out. The eye is completely removed on the reverse side; a hook, passed down through the orbit, transfixes the back of the sclerotic of the other eye, in which an opening is made; the finger then pressed on the cornea in front will squeeze out the lens and humours, retaining the iris perfect in its place; and I have lately succeeded in retaining the gills, if necessary. The tongue is left in, and the fish is then cleansed from all impurities, care being taken not to stretch the skin nor to injure the scales. It is then well anointed with arsenical preparation, or wet with the spirituous solution of corrosive sublimate. There is, however, an objection to the use of corrosive sublimate in those fishes possessed of much mucous, for it turns them white upon turpentine being applied afterwards to soften them or remove the varnish; but when the specimens are to be set up immediately, and not damped afterwards, there is no objection to it. The globe of the eye is filled with cotton from the opening in the back—care being taken to keep the iris in its natural position. The cranium is also stuffed, and flakes of tow, cotton, or any material of a similar light description, laid along the body till a sufficiency to give the form of the animal has been put in. The reflected edges of the skin are then returned—the fish removed from the board, and placed with the front up—the tail and fins expanded are pinned down in their natural position on cards, supported by little bits of cork; the fish is given its proper shape, and all the inequalities on its surface smoothed off with a soft brush. It is then set to dry in a current of cool air, with little light or sun, much in the same manner as a dried anatomical preparation, and should be carefully watched to see that it dries equally, and that no part of the skin shrinks more than another. If it should, a brush, wetted in cold water, touched upon the part, will restore it. It should be varnished the moment it is sufficiently dry, and the cards, &c., removed from the fins, which will now retain their natural position. I have tried several varnishes, and found the common copal, or mastic diluted with turpentine, the best. The cornea, which is continuous with the surrounding skin, now becoming hard and transparent, the wadding may be removed through the back of the sclerotic, and a bit of foil introduced in its place, of the colour originally possessed by the animal, in many of which we know the tapetum is very brilliant. Finally, a pin at head and tail will retain the preparation on a board, from which it stands out in bold relief, and preserves its shape and colours better than any other I have yet seen. Much difficulty will be found in skinning those on which the scales are very small, as in the mackerel tribe, and the thin skin will not, of itself, preserve the contour of the fish; in those cases, I found that pasting a few layers of common brown paper on the inside of the skin, until it

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acquired sufficient dryness to retain the position with the stuffing underneath, answered the purpose perfectly. I find this method is not so applicable to the shark and eel tribes; the most effectual mode of preserving which will be, by drawing the body through the mouth.

Myriads of small red ants swarm in Madeira. These I found so destructive to entomological specimens, that a whole trayful would be eaten up in a night; yet none of my fish suffered from them. Specimens properly prepared can easily be brought home by being pinned lightly on thin boards, and placed in boxes with an interval of a few inches between each. When dry, they do not create the slightest smell, and when brought home they can be afterwards damped, reset, and the position altered by removing the varnish with a little turpentine, and damping the interior. Should not a second specimen be at hand, or if good plates cannot be procured, I draw the outline of the fish upon a board before I commence the dissection.

The specimens in my possession have now been tested by nearly six years' trial, and though they have been subject to much knocking about, yet they still preserve their forms and much of their colour. Regarding the above method, in comparison with that by Dr. Parnell and others, my friend, W. Thompson, Esq. of Belfast, our most celebrated Irish zoologist, writes to me the following:—"For a private collection, portability, occupying little room, and the rapidity with which specimens can be prepared according to it, I like Dr. P.'s method very much; but for a *public* collection, your plan of preserving the fishes according to their natural form is, I conceive, in every point of view, incomparably superior;" and a similar opinion has been expressed to me by Mr. Yarrell.

It is much to be regretted that, although Ireland possesses facilities for making an ichthyological collection, such as few other countries possess, (with the exception of those specimens prepared by pasting the flattened skin of one side of the animal upon pasteboard, in the collection of my friend, Mr. Ball,) we have not even an attempt at a collection in any of our museums.

I may add, that the recent and most judicious appointment of Mr. Ball to the curatorship of the museum of the University, leads us to hope that we may shortly possess a complete collection of our native fishes.

B.—Page 68.

On travel, the education suitable for travellers, and the advantages that would arise to science from travelling fellowships in the University of Dublin.

There are two descriptions of modern English travellers; those who travel for instruction, and those who travel for amusement. The latter and more numerous class are generally persons of large fortunes, who,

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whatever may be their observations and their knowledge, seldom give them to the world.* The former are the fewer in number, and seldom possessed of those pecuniary means so necessary to engage in scientific research. To remedy this latter defect, some effort should be made by the different literary and scientific institutions of our country.

In almost every land that I have visited, I have met collectors of natural history, antiquaries, botanists, and other men of similar attainments located, who had been sent out, some by the governments, and others by the different colleges, universities, and learned societies of Europe, particularly those of France and Germany; but never was it my lot to meet with a single individual sent on such a mission from Ireland.

Aware of the value that such persons, properly educated and supplied with requisite means, would be to science, the Society of the Dilettanti was formed in London, in the year 1734. One of the resolutions of this society was, "that persons properly qualified, should be sent, with sufficient appointments, to some parts of the east, in order to collect information, and make observations relative to the ancient state of those countries, and to such monuments of antiquity as were then remaining." In 1764, James, Earl of Charlemont, the first president of the Royal Irish Academy, and a name ever dear to Irishmen, as connected with the science, literature, and best interests of this country, particularly patronized the Society of the Dilettanti, and was placed at the head of its committee of superintendence. It was under the auspices, and by the assistance of this society, that the celebrated Doctor Chandler travelled, and, with the assistance of Messrs. Revett and Wood, presented the Ionian Antiquities, and other eminent works, to the world.† In later times, the University of Cambridge established travelling fellowships, for a like laudable purpose. Of these, I believe Dr. E. D. Clarke filled one of the first; and the Rev. Mr. Low in Madeira, and Mr. Smith in Teneriffe, now occupy two of these with much credit to themselves, and many advantages to the interests of science and literature. The value of such men has been duly appreciated by our continental neighbours, and much of their labour is to be seen in the collection of the *Jardin des Plantes*, and in the libraries and museums of the different German colleges. Without such persons, the lifetime of a dozen Cuviers would not have sufficed to collect and arrange the *Regne Animal*.

Although much has been done for the cultivation of natural science, by the universities and institutions of England, both at home and abroad, much still remains to be done; but I regret to add, that I may almost say, we have yet to commence in the University of Dublin.‡

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* To this, however, we have one honourable exception of late years, in the work of Lord Lindsay.

† See also the valuable papers of this Society, published in London in 1769.

‡ Since this observation was penned, a reform, the greatest for the last half century, has been

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This being an age of travel, it requires little to be said for the advantages that all derive from such an occupation of time, and the pen of an Addison has already opened up, though not exhausted, the valuable mine of information that may be drawn from it, and the lasting benefits it gives to the scholar and the gentleman. It is to be regretted that the youth of this country do not in general receive an education that fits them to become observant or scientific travellers;—and from this cause much valuable and interesting information has been lost to science and literature, by travellers not being able to appreciate what they saw, or observe with effect the wonders amidst which they happened to be located. This is a position in which I have often felt myself placed, and had frequent occasion to regret.

I know of no learned profession in this country that gives a proper *preliminary* education to its students. This is a truth that I think few will deny; and it is one felt by all who enter these professions, at some one period of their course through life.* I may be asked, does not the divinity student receive a proper education? Surely not, while he is ignorant of that language in which the volume is written from which he is to give and receive instruction—or with that tongue with which very often the generality of his flock are conversant—while the first ten years of his academic life are spent in acquiring a knowledge of languages, in which he only reads the fabulous tales of Greek and Latin authors, or in learning the immorality and false doctrines of heathen philosophers. Not that I would in any way depreciate a knowledge of the classic authors, or detract from their value; but I do think that they are overstudied, while Hebrew and other languages of more enduring account are, with some few exceptions, either comparatively or completely neglected. Surely that education cannot be complete, while the student is in total ignorance of those wonders of the animal and vegetable creation to which in after life he daily calls his hearers to look as evidences of design, or as displaying the power and magnificence of their Maker. "On this subject," says Mr. Swainson, in his "Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural History," "it cannot be concealed, however, that this exclusion of zoology as a 'part and parcel' of our academic studies, is a national stigma; that it has repeatedly been adverted to, in terms of regret and of censure, by our own writers; and that it calls forth the astonishment and reproach of every enlightened foreigner. A stranger, ignorant of our national peculiarities, would almost

effected in our University, in the appointment of Mr. Phillips, Professor of Geology; Dr. George Allman, Professor of Botany; Mr. Ball, Curator of the Museum; and Dr. Harvey, Curator of the Herbareum and the splendid botanical collection of the late lamented Dr. Coulter. With one more appointment, that of a Professorship of Zoology and Natural History, our University might vie with any in Europe.

* So much was this deficiency felt by the legal profession, that a school of law was lately established in this city. It was much wanted; it promised well; but, like many other good institutions in this country, it was crushed in its very infancy.

imagine, from the rigour with which their study is enforced, that the writings of the heathen poets were peculiarly adapted to purify the heart, and curb the licentiousness of the youthful imagination; or that they formed, in some inexplicable way, a string of commentaries upon our religious creed. And he might be further led to suppose that those wonders of the visible creation, which, when considered, will bring home conviction to the philosophic sceptic, were unworthy of study or regard, as if they were things of mere chance—produced by a congregation of fortuitous atoms, alike incapable of demonstrating the being of a God, or the care he bestows upon his creatures."

But it is not to the clerical profession alone that this applies, the preliminary education of which has been so much improved in our University of late years; it is not to the ill-recompensed, hard-working clergy alone that this refers; in the medical profession affairs are still worse. In it, there is no preliminary education; I know it from experience, and state it with regret. Such, it is true, may be, and is by some possessed; but so long as it is not required by our Licensing Institutions, it will never be possessed by the generality of students. Here, on the other hand, the classic authors are comparatively unknown, and modern languages are never thought of. Of mathematics, mechanics, and natural philosophy, our medical and particularly our surgical student knows little or nothing—nothing of zoology, or comparative anatomy, and little of either botany or chemistry. How long is this to continue? Not only would the professional man, but the country gentleman, or the statesman, derive profit from this early cultivation of the natural sciences; not only would they, and all who interest themselves in such pursuits, have an entertaining and useful store of knowledge laid up for after years, but all would be better fitted to form observant travellers in their own or other countries.

The government of this country is not, and never has been, a patron of science. There is little or no emolument to be attained by those who spend their lives in the pursuit of scientific subjects. It is, therefore, the "bounden duty" of our chartered bodies, and particularly of our University, to assist the cause of science, and to further its advance by following the bright example of the English colleges, in creating travelling fellowships. It would be presumptuous in me to point out the best method of carrying this into effect; but of the value of such fellowships, and of the researches and discoveries that men educated like those who grace our College would make, little doubt can be entertained, and the works that would then issue from our press would soon wipe off the long, too long-continued motto of the "SILENT SISTER." Another defect in our national education is the want of instruction in eastern languages, particularly Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. In a diplomatic point of view the study of these tongues is particularly requisite. It is a well-known fact, that in the countries in which these languages are spoken, all diplomatic conferences must be carried on through the medium of an interpreter. This

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should if possible be avoided; for many of the necessary secrets of an embassy are thus entrusted to natives of the country in which it is placed. It is a curious, but I believe an undeniable fact, that lately at Constantinople, the chief dragomen to the English, French, and Russian ministers, were brothers!! In concluding this hint upon the education suitable to travellers, and the advantages of travelling fellowships, I trust that the University will overlook the insignificance of the proposer, in the importance of the proposition.

N.B.—Several of the observations originally put forward in this sketch have, I am proud to say, become matters of history since the first edition of this Narrative. I leave them, however, as memorials of what things were, not what they are; and I feel assured, so rapid is the progress making in this country, despite all the agitation of designing men, that should another edition of this work be required within the same space of time as between this and the former one, a still greater change for the better will have taken place. What could be achieved by travelling fellowships in our University may be conceived from the labours of Dr. Kennedy Bailie on the site of the Apocalyptic churches.

C.—Page 103.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF THE GUANCHES.

There are few of the extinct races of man that have elicited more inquiry, or of whom there is less known, than the Guanches. Their history is so wrapped in obscurity, and their vestiges so rare, that our speculations as to their origin and manners are principally derived from their embalmed remains, or the questionable authority of ancient writers and travellers. As the work of Dr. Prichard contains a collection of the greater portion of the history of this singular people, I shall here take the liberty of quoting some of the most important information that he has been able to procure. "It is supposed that the Guanches, the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands, were a branch of the great Lybian or Atlantic stock. It has been often conjectured that the Canary Islands were the *νησοι Μακαρων* of the ancients, and the site of the fabulous gardens of the Hesperides. They seem to be obscurely indicated in the traditions of the early Grecian mythology; but the first occasion in which they are mentioned in history, or in any account that approaches to authenticity, is in the report which was given by Sartorius, on the credit of which we are told by Plutarch, that the Roman general was seized with a desire to return to them, and live in peace and repose. It is said that, when flying from the arms of Sylla, Sartorius met with some seamen but newly arrived from the

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Atlantic islands, which were said to be distant 10,000 furlongs from the coast of Africa. 'They are called,' says Plutarch, 'the Fortunate Isles.' Rain only falls there, as it is said, in moderate showers; the seasons of the year are temperate; and gentle breezes abound, bringing with them soft dews, which so enrich the soil, that it bears, untilled, plenty of delicious fruits, and supports its inhabitants, who enjoy an immunity from toil."—*Lyon's Travels.*

These islands were described by Juba, an African prince, and one of the oldest travellers and geographers. According to him, one of the islands was called Canaria, (now Grand Canary,) from its containing a number of dogs of a great size. In his time the islands seem to have been but very partially inhabited. During a long lapse of time—that is, from the period when Juba wrote, in Cæsar's time, to the 14th century—history is silent as to the state of the Fortunate Isles. In the 15th century, Cadamosto, the Spanish navigator, and discoverer of the Cape de Verd Islands, waged war against the Guanches; and at that period the population of Grand Canary amounted to 9,000, and that of Teneriffe to 5,000. "The natives of the latter island are said to have been of great, and even gigantic stature." This assertion is certainly not verified by the remains of Guanches found at the present day. "They were a people of very simple habits, and possessed of very few arts; were ignorant of the use of metals, and are said to have plowed the land by means of the horns of bullocks. They believed in a future state, and worshipped a Supreme Being, whom they termed Achuharahan, the author and preserver of all good things. They also believed in a malignant being, termed Guayotta, and placed the abode of the wicked in the burning crater of Teneriffe."

"What remained of the Guanches," says Humboldt, "perished mostly in 1494, in the terrible pestilence called the Modorra, which was attributed to the quantity of dead bodies left exposed to the air by the Spaniards, after the battle of La Laguna. The nation of the Guanches was therefore extinct at the beginning of the sixteenth century. A few only were found at Candelaria and Guimar."

"The practice of embalming bodies and laying them up in mummy-caves or catacombs in the sides of mountains, is the most curious circumstance in the history of the Guanches; it is at least that which has attracted the greatest attention. The mummies were placed erect upon their feet against the sides of the caves; chiefs had a staff placed in their hands, and a vessel of milk standing by them." The vessels that were shown me in the museum at Santa Cruz, as those found along with the mummy, were rude wooden bowls. A similar practice was observed by the ancient Peruvians. "Nicol, an English traveller, states, that he had seen 300 of these corpses together, of which he says, that the flesh was dried up, and the bodies as light as parchment. Scorey was assured that in the sepulchre of the kings of Guimar there was to be seen a skeleton measuring fifteen feet, the skull of which contained eighty teeth." As this, however, is but parole or hearsay

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evidence, little reliance can be placed upon it. "The bodies were imbued with a sort of turpentine, and dried before a slow fire, or in the sun. This desiccation was so complete, that the whole mummies were found to be remarkably light; and Blumenbach informs us, that he possesses one which, with its integuments entire, weighs only seven and a half pounds, which is nearly one-third less than the weight of an entire skeleton of the same stature, recently stripped of the skin and muscular flesh. The corpses are decorated with small laces, on which are hung little disks of baked earth." In the Guanche mummy that I had an opportunity of examining, and to which I before referred, the thongs or laces with which the coverings were decorated, and which were part of the skin in which it was enveloped, were knotted in a very peculiar manner, and evidently with some design. It was not unlike the knotted thongs or Quippoe writing found among the ancient Mexicans. As to the little disks of baked clay to which Dr. Prichard refers, and those pieces of bone which I mentioned in the text, and concerning which the tradition current in the Canaries is, that they were used as money, a remarkable circumstance came under my observation while the first edition of this work was printing. In a most singular and extensive bone-heap, discovered in Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath, and which I have had an opportunity of examining, there were found, along with some human remains, and a vast collection of antiquities, several circular bone disks, and some cut out of bits of slate, precisely similar to those at Teneriffe. Their use is supposed to have been for spinning thread; may not those of the Guanches have been used for a like purpose? I am much indebted to Mr. Barnwell, on whose ground they were found, for liberty to examine these curious relics, as well as for the bones found in the same situation. I may also remark, that the form of the cranium of this Teneriffe mummy coincided in many respects with the forms of those Celtic heads found in Irish tumuli.

"Mr. Golberry took much pains to collect information respecting the mode used by the Guanches in preparing their mummies, and he has described a mummy in his possession which he selected from among many others still remaining in his time in the mummy-caves at Teneriffe. Of this, he says, the hair was long and black; the skin dry and flexible, of a dark brown colour; the *back* and breast covered with hair; the belly and breast filled with a grain resembling rice; the body wrapped in bandages of goat's skin."

Colonel Bory de St. Vincent, in his celebrated and elaborate work upon the Canary Archipelago, (*Essais sur les Isles Fortunees,*) has laboured to prove their Egyptian origin, and Blumenbach is inclined to a like opinion; while Dr. Prichard states that there is not sufficient proof to establish identity of origin, or any connexion between the Guanches and the Egyptians. He says—"there *seems* to be a sufficient evidence in what remains of the languages of the *Guanches*, to prove their descent from the Berbers of Atlantica. It *is difficult to* imagine *how* such a people as the Berbers

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of Shúlúh, who are not known to have practised navigation, could find their way from Africa to the Canaries; but many seas have been traversed by rude, and even by savage people, under circumstances apparently still more unfavourable; and the first population of many countries, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary by some writers, has certainly been spread along the sea-coasts, and across seas, for traversing which the races of men thus dispersed, appear to have been in general but ill provided." The Frenchman, to whose work I have already referred, seemed to have anticipated this objection of a distant voyage, and has ventured an opinion that the Canary Archipelago once formed part of a vast Atlantic continent, separated from that of Africa by a narrow strait, (not broader than that of Gibraltar,) called Cape Bojador; and that the elevated portion of these islands was a continuation of the Atlas mountains, which remained standing during some powerful convulsion that rent the surrounding portion of the Atlantic continent from them. But it requires no such plausible but unproved assertions to account for the peopling of an island not more than 200 miles from the main land—a gale of wind would have sent the simplest boat or raft across in forty-eight hours.

Glass, in his history of the Canaries, gives us a description of the mode of embalming of the Guanches, taken from an old Spanish MS. "First they carried it (the body) to a flat stone, where they opened it, and took out the bowels; then twice a-day they washed the porous parts of the body, viz. the arm-pits, behind the ears, the groins, between the fingers, and the neck, with cold water. After washing it sufficiently, they anointed those parts with sheep's butter, and sprinkled them with a powder made of the dust of decayed pine-trees, and a sort of brush-wood, which the Spaniards call Bressos, together with the powder of pumice-stone; then they let the body remain till it was perfectly dry, when the relations of the deceased came and swaddled it in sheep or goat-skins dressed, girding all tight with long leathern thongs; they put it in the cave which had been set apart by the deceased for his burying-place, without any covering. The king could be buried only in the cave of his ancestors, in which the bodies were so disposed as to be known again. There were particular persons set apart for this office of embalming; each sex performing it for those of their own. During the process, they watched the bodies very strictly, to prevent the ravens from devouring them; the wife or husband of the deceased bringing them victuals, and waiting on them during the time of their watching." This account bears a strong resemblance to the mode of preservation used by the Egyptians. Another point of similitude between the two nations is, that the incisor teeth of both were ground down, either by their particular food, or, what is more probable, by some artificial process. Blumenbach gives a representation of the skull of a Guanche, in the fifth Decade of his collection; and this has many points in common with the white Egyptian race. At the same time, it has also some resemblance to the Celtic races to which I before referred, in the

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flattened crown, the projecting occiput, and the great length in its antero-posterior diameter. In a Guanche mummy in the museum of Cambridge, each of the toes and fingers is bound separately by a strip of leather, the same as we find in the higher class of Egyptians. Mr. Marsden has given a table of affinities between the Berber or Numidian, and the Guanche tongues, which in many respects is synonymous with that of the Tuariks near Egypt, as shown by the vocabulary of Mr. Norneman.

On the whole, there seem to be many points of resemblance between the Guanches of the Canaries, and *one* of the races of the ancient Egyptians.

Since the first edition of this work appeared, I had an opportunity of examining some Guanche remains at Paris. One of these, the skull of a full-grown male, discovered by Mons. Bertelot at St. Tesedro, on the road leading to Laguna, in Teneriffe, presented the following peculiarities: The points of sustentation were the last molar teeth and the posterior margin of the foramen magnum. It was characterised by its great length from before, backwards, or in the antero-posterior diameter, not unlike the form of skull found in the oldest monuments in Ireland—the occipital bone projecting more than ordinarily on the side view; it presented a good oval, with rather a high, marked forehead, and prominent frontal sinuses, similar to those I have already described in the heads in this country. There was some lateral projection of the cheek-bones, and the orbits were rather square, in this respect approaching the Mongolian or Turanian races. The nasal bones were remarkably strong and projecting, so that this race must have had very large prominent noses. The sphenoid bone articulated with the parietal by a suture three-quarters of an inch long. The sutures generally were well marked, and the skull was rather thick and dense in structure.

In the skeleton of a small female, in the collection of the Jardin du Roi, the head possessed similar characters; and the pelvis, which was roomy and well-formed, had its greatest diameter in the antero-posterior direction.

D.—Page 135.

LANCELETS.

As I obtained several of these animals during our stay at Algiers, I may be permitted to offer some observations on them. There were two descriptions—the first and most common, about an inch and a half long—the *Amphioxus Lanceolatus* of Yarrell; and the *Limax* of Pallas, who first noticed it. The body is diaphanous, and enclosed in a thin flexible envelope, not circular, but preserving a five, and in some instances a seven-sided figure. This in every respect resembles the calamus or pen of some of

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the Mollusca, especially that in the common cuttle-fish. These little animals had a power of attaching themselves to each other in a remarkable manner, sometimes clustering together, and at others, forming a string six or eight inches long; the whole *mass* seemed to swim in unison, and with great rapidity, going round the vessel with a snake-like form and motion. They adhered to one another by their flat sides—when in line, the head of one coming up about one-third on the body of the one before it; no doubt those sides are of use in forming this attachment. The other variety was thinner, and from two and a half to three inches long, having a large dorsal fin, which moved continually in an extraordinary manner, describing a circle by rotating upon its narrow base. The mouth was a circular disk, surrounded by ciliæ that continued in constant motion. When put into a tumbler of water, it moved round the glass, and although no eyes were perceptible, it carefully avoided the finger, or any substance put in its way, stopping suddenly, or turning aside from it. Both these animals when taken out of the water kept up a strong pulsatory motion for some time. The small one (the *Amphioxus Lanceolatus*) by this means pumped out of its interior a quantity of air and water; and they could be seen coming to the surface to inhale, and a globule of air was observed floating through the internal cavity. In the larger species the internal tube was perfectly distinct, and of a blue colour. When put into spirits and water it died almost immediately, and turned opaque. A number of circular bands also appeared on it. Mr. Yarrell, in his beautiful work on British fishes, has placed this singular little animal among the finny tribe. With all due deference to that learned naturalist, I would suggest the following reasons for it belonging to the mollusca:—The absence of vertebral column, the transparency, and the thin flexible skeleton of the animal being external.

E.—Page 138.

Remarks on the Linen of the Ancient Egyptians.

The great antiquity of the manufacture of linen, and the numerous uses to which it has been applied by the ancients and moderns, gives this subject a degree of interest, almost greater, perhaps, than any other connected with the arts and manufactures. This is increased by the difference of opinion that exists at present amongst professed antiquaries: those of the continent, in many cases, maintaining that all the specimens of woven fabrics found by them in Egypt, or brought home from that country, excepting those made of silk and wool, were composed of *cotton;* while the British antiquaries, with few exceptions, maintain, that all similar articles

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found by them in Egypt, when examined by a microscope of sufficient power, are evidently made of flax.

My friend, Mr. Edward Clibborn, to whom I am indebted for the following remarks, and who has been connected with the Irish linen trade, has carefully examined the specimens that I brought home, as well as numerous others lately introduced by travellers into this country. He entertains the opinion, that though he has *not found a single specimen of cotton* in many hundred specimens of mummy cloths, and other woven fabrics from Egypt, yet he thinks it more than probable, that some specimens of cotton have found their way from that country to the continent of Europe. "The probability is decidedly in favour of the Egyptians having had this substance, which they may have, with silk, obtained from India; or the plant, or some varieties of it, may have been cultivated in Egypt or Arabia, or other neighbouring countries, or the cotton may have been imported in a raw or manufactured state into Egypt. Yet there appear to be several reasons against our admitting the assertion that the Egyptians had cotton up to a certain period, for we find fabrics of flax so very fine, and so very like Indian muslin, we are led to infer, that they would not have wasted flax, and the enormous labour necessary to bring it to this degree of fineness, if they had had cotton. It may, however, be urged, that these fabrics may have been made in imitation of Indian cotton goods* which they imported; in this case, the inference would be against the Egyptians having the cotton-plant at a very early period, but the chances would be in favour of their introducing it in the course of time, and also it would be in favour of our finding some specimens of cotton in their tombs, &c. In May, 1838, when discussing the subject of the material of the Egyptian mummy-bandages, a gentleman from Manchester present, stated that he actually manufactured a peculiar kind of calico, which was readily sold in Egypt, and there applied to the purpose of mummy-bandages by certain Arabs, &c. who made a trade of manufacturing mummies; now, it is possible that some of this American cotton, manufactured in Manchester, and sold in Egypt, may have been the cause of the difference of opinion between our British and continental antiquarians. The specimens were obtained by different travellers, and

* "The cotton-plant may have been introduced into Egypt long after cotton in the manufactured and raw states had been imported as articles of merchandise from India; and though it may have been much used in clothing the living, as a substitute for linen, yet the mummy-makers, from some peculiar notions, may have avoided its use altogether in the preparation of mummies. The specimens in the collection referred to were, in some instances, worn out rags, while in others, the cloth was perfectly good and new, and had never been washed or worn; and though in many cases it appeared to the eye and touch to be cotton, yet, when examined by the microscope, it was in every instance found that the fibre of the material was the same, and so like that of modern flax, no doubt was entertained of their identity. On the other hand, the fibre of cotton had quite a different appearance. It is a curious fact, not noticed by writers on Egyptian antiquities, that the flax and cotton plants are not believed to be natives of Egypt, and if so, that their manufacture in that country is consequently an exotic art."

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found frequently under different circumstances. They may be arranged under the following denominations—the material *in every instance* is flax :—

"1. Simple or single thread, called yarn, used in sewing, and also as the material of the woven fabrics.

"2. Doubled and twisted yarn, used for thread. In one specimen the warp is composed of this thread. This piece appears to have been very broad, above six feet, and how much more cannot now be told. The rolling of the edge and overcasting to prevent ravelling, is a curious specimen of needle-work. The quality is very coarse. It appears to have been used for a sheet, and came to this country about twenty years since.

"3. Fabrics made of (No. 1) simple yarn, of equal and different degrees of fineness, which may be divided into two classes; those which have nearly an equal number of threads in the same measured surface of warp and weft; and,

"4. Those which have a considerable difference in the numbers of the threads, the difference being always in favour of the warp, in a superficial inch, of which we always find more threads than in one of the weft.

"This difference is so great in some specimens, that the threads of the weft are completely hid by the others, which gives the linen manufactured on this principle, a very silky or shining surface like satin.

"There are other considerations which lead to the supposition that this is the kind of linen known by the epithet ϢϢ, applied to the Egyptian linen of the superior kind, which this certainly is, for it contains more flax yarn than the other kind. It must have been the more valuable, on account of the great quantity of labour consumed in its manufacture.

"There are specimens of this linen which are of different degrees of fineness, varying from the finest duck to the coarsest sail-cloth. It is quite opaque, that is, it cannot be seen through; it is stiff, like the Egyptian dresses represented in ancient pictures, and was probably used for clothing men, when the form of the person underneath was not intended to be seen. On the contrary, the open linen, in which the threads of both warp and weft appeared, was probably used by women when the person was exhibited. Linen of this kind was made of different degrees of fineness and openness, varying from the coarsest sacking and straining canvas, the material used for working worsted patterns on, to the finest cambric, and a fabric which comes very near silk crape in appearance, and used probably for ladies' dresses. This article must have been very dear, on account of the extreme fineness of the threads. It was so very transparent it might have been used for veils and other articles of female attire, according to the paintings found on the sides of the tombs.

"There are several specimens of the open linen, embroidered with a double-threaded worsted, exactly like modern Berlin worsted. One of these is interesting. The pattern represents roses, with four petals, shaped like hearts, arranged in lozenges composed of buds of different colours, which cross the linen obliquely, and thus present the appearance of an

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embroidered net of many colours. There is another specimen in which we have a double pyramid in the centre of the lozenges, and the diagonal lines forming the pattern, like the centre pieces, made of little squares. In this pattern there are only green and orange worsteds—in the former we have three kinds of red, two blues, a white, and a yellow. In both cases the linen ground appears to have been died nankeen colour.

"One specimen is embroidered with a pattern like a shell, which is of different colours. The helix or whirl is in *purple worsted;* and, as the famous colour of Hellas, or the Tyrian dye, was most probably found in this part of the shell, the chances are in favour of the artist using *it*, for the purpose of making the spiral, from an ordinary association of ideas, or, as Square would have said, a certain fitness or propriety in devoting the colour to that part of an artificial shell, in which it exists in the natural shell.

"Worsted of the same colour, which is decidedly *purple*, was found, not worked in, as was the case in the specimen already mentioned, but actually wove into the piece, and the pattern of the weaving changed, so that the colour of the thread is boldly and completely thrown out, forming a triple stripe, through which the weft cannot be seen. This pattern strongly resembles some representations of Persepolitan dresses, and is not very unlike some Arabic manufactures, but is much superior to any thing now made in the East. The quality of this piece of linen, like that on which the shell pattern is worked, is so very even both in the number of the threads of warp and weft, in the squareness of the work, and so different from the majority of the other specimens, a suspicion may be entertained that they are not Egyptian, but Asiatic, probably Persian; for the Egyptian perpendicular looms, represented in Wilkinson's and Rossellini's works, could not be used to weave an article of this kind, though they are exactly calculated to make a fabric with a very loose warp like the duck, &c. and with a comparatively tight weft. In Mexico and Peru* we find a loom of this kind still in use, and the article manufactured exactly similar to the Egyptian duck. When the warp and weft are of equal or nearly equal tightness, the piece in the loom must be horizontal, and the thread of the weft thrown by a shuttle, and pressed into its place by a reed or comb—two processes which the Egyptians do not appear to have known or practised, though probably common in Asia, where linen and its manufacture appear to have commenced; a supposition strengthened by the fact that flax is still found growing native in the mountain defiles of Mongolia, where it is, with hemp, manufactured into linen and other articles, as mats, ropes, &c.

* I witnessed this form of loom at work both in Barbary and Syria, particularly in Jerusalem, differing from the Egyptian only in the greater breadth of the piece, and in being worked by one person instead of two.

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"The finest specimen of linen was found stitched on to the back of that on which the shell was embroidered. Its texture is even, but there is a perceptible difference in the tightness of the warp and weft. It is evidently a part of what we would call the fag-end of the piece, having the tassels attached to it, and tied exactly as we find them at the end of a piece of modern Irish linen. There are thicker threads crossing the piece near its end, a plan still in use; but the ancients appear to have adopted the thick lines to prevent the piece tearing length-wise, and for the purpose of ornament. In two of our specimens, we find twelve of these thick threads crossing the piece, and the tassels tied as usual, but the slipping or unravelling of the weft is prevented by a curious process performed by tying the threads of the warp together, so that each is secured to the thread at each side of it. This process forms a slight ridge at the end of the piece, and is rather ornamental.*

"5. Several specimens of a species of linen have been found with double, though not twisted threads, in both warp and weft. We might apply the epithet diaper to this pattern, though it is not exactly like that fabric, which is now manufactured. This linen resembles matting, and in the finer specimens is really very handsome. It probably wore very well on account of its softness. It is worthy of notice, that the weavers saved themselves exactly one-half their labour, by weaving with a double weft, as the thread had to be inserted only half the number of times. Though there are numerous specimens of this kind of linen, no selvage was found to any of them, so we cannot tell how the second thread was passed. This linen is very flat, and the number of the threads, in warp and weft, in a superficial inch, nearly equal. We may be sure that this manufacture had its specific name, which distinguished it from the other two, which are essentially different. The Indians manufacture a cotton article with double warp and weft; it finds its way to Europe, as a wrapper to fine silk and cotton goods.

"6. A quantity of twine was also found, and used with the greater proportion of our specimens, in bandaging up a half dozen of sacred crocodiles, which Mr. Knox took, with his own hands, out of a catacomb in Egypt, so full of snakes and reptiles that no Arab could be induced to enter into it. On removing the parcel to the open air, a large snake, of a venomous nature, actually escaped from it; frightening the Arabs so much, that they would not touch the bundle, which, being lapped up in a mat of date-leaves and ropes, was boxed up without their scrutiny, and not opened until its arrival in London. The ropes were composed of two yarns, very nicely made, and though very dry, were, in many places, very sound, and

* This fringe appears to be alluded to in Numbers xv. 38, where the Israelites were directed to make "fringes in the borders of their garments, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a riband of blue." I have seen species of mummy-cloth in Egypt corresponding to this description precisely. Such was likely the "hem of the garment" spoken of in the New Testament.

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capable of lifting a load of upwards of 50 pounds. The ropes formed a weft to a warp of date-leaves, which formed a coarse kind of mat, round which the rope was also bound. Underneath the leaves, the envelope was composed of a great number of rags of all kinds of linen, from which our collection was chiefly made. The rags were sewed together so as to make a bandage, which enveloped the six animals, independently of the wrapping which was on each, and which was wound round with thread. The large bandage was secured by a piece of twine, made of ten threads of yarn, in two sets of five each, twisted very slightly together, and forming a very strong kind of twine—not that probably used for common purposes. The labour of making it must have been enormous, compared with that necessary to spin a piece of common twine out of plain flax, and not out of yarns already spun. It may be here noticed, that all the thick lines or ornamental ribs made on Egyptian linens are composed of the same thread, repeated or doubled, once or oftener, and in this way they may have been able to produce many pleasing stripes and plaids.

"From certain similitudes in the names of the standing or long part of the piece of linen in the Egyptian loom, and a well-known mythological story, it was suspected that this story might have been originally an allegory or riddle, descriptive of the rise and progress of an article of dress made of flax. Some ideagraphic and phonetic hieroglyphs also favoured the supposition; which, however, could not be proved; nor was any evidence of the fact considered extant, when it was found, on opening a piece of mummy-cloth, discovered by Dr. Wilde, under the head of a mummy at Sackara, that the threads of the warp of a piece of ancient Egyptian linen are double; that is, they pass from the tassel-end of the piece down to the other end, and turn round the first thread of the warp, which is compounded of five in our example. This compound thread is the radix or root of the piece, its foundation, as it were, and, properly, is not woven, for all the threads of the warp pass round and cover it. Though our piece is only a span wide, and has neither of the selvages, it is quite clear that this compound radix thread must have been secured to the loom, as it was stretched from side to side, to take the warp, as it was set in the loom, at the top of which it was arranged, by being passed through a looped cord, which distributed the threads—an operation effectually performed below by the first two or three threads of the warp, when first passed.

"The hollowing or bending up of the first thread of an Egyptian piece of linen, is a serious defect in that manufacture; it decreases rapidly as the piece advances, and a more general strain can be obtained by means of the roller, on which the work may be wound. Another great defect of the linen arises from the great length of the loom, and the looseness of the warp, which is consequently drawn in and crowded at the selvages, which are generally very good. The picture of the loom in Wilkinson's book, representing females weaving, is sufficiently explicit; and though it only

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presents them passing the weft, by means of a long ruler, with a bent end, yet we may, from an attentive examination of the linen, imagine the whole process from the beginning, when the yarn is in one or more balls, up to the time when it is cut out of the loom, a perfect piece of linen, with one tassel. We may even imagine a thrifty spinster of old, cutting or separating her thread for the first time, at the moment the piece is finished; under such circumstances, the piece would exhibit no knots, and be nearly faultless, and, *beyond a doubt*, must have been considered worthy of being constituted the standard of beauty, industry, economy, and perseverance, worthy of Venus, Vesta, and Minerva, &c.

"Many curious speculations concerning these personages present themselves; but here they would be out of place. We cannot conclude these remarks on Egyptian weaving without taking some notice of their spinning process.

"On several ancient Greek vases, we find representations of women spinning flax, exactly by the same process still practised in Spain, Madeira, and elsewhere, and which was common in Ireland before the introduction of the spinning-wheel.*

"The instrument consisted of a spindle, with a round disk attached to it, which the spinster spins with her finger and thumb, allowing the instrument to escape into the air, when it continued spinning for a certain time, twisting the fibres of flax together, supplied by the moistened fingers of the other hand, from the rock, which consisted of a pole, on the top of which was a slight frame for securing the flax. The Greeks and Romans have left us many designs representing this process, which appear to have been common to all long-haired people; yet, no representations of an Egyptian woman spinning in this way has been published; on the contrary, the pictures published by Rossellini represent women twisting and doubling a thread already spun, and with spindles so very long and heavy, that twine, probably intended for bird and fish nets, and not linen yarn, is the article manufactured. The spiral motion is given in a different way altogether to that commonly used for fine yarn, and the spindle is differently made, for it ends in a long tale, which is rubbed by the palms of the hand against a strap fastened on a woman's leg, by which means a rapid spiral motion is given to the bobbin, by an act not unlike that of the shoemaker, when twisting his wax-end.

"Coarse woollens and linen yarns could certainly be manufactured by this process; but it is quite monstrous to suppose, for a moment, that these

* While in Algiers, my attention was often attracted to a spindle of this description hanging down by the sides of the houses, and twisting rapidly. On looking up, I observed some of the female Moors on the housetop, spinning as my friend describes. And in that country, among the Kabyles, the loom is still the same as it was in ancient Egypt.

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figures, if correctly drawn, represent the spinning process of the finer Egyptian yarns.*

"Making allowances for the false proportions of the women, and the spindles they are using, we might suspect that they were employed in untwisting coarse Chinese silk thread; drawing it out and twisting it again, a process known to the ancients; or, we might suppose that they had a process not unlike a modern improvement in power spinning, of making a thread rather coarse, and then untwisting and drawing it out and twisting again. For such an operation, their flax appears to have been well adapted; for it is very fine, and the staple very short, apparently from its mode of preparation, performed chiefly by pounding it with a wooden beetle on a stone, and twisting the flax into a rope at the same time; by this plan, the blow being oblique, it splits the fibres, though it broke them at the same time, giving them very much the look and feel of cotton. Many of our specimens are so like cotton, that the best judges have been deceived by their unassisted sight; but when we have submitted the ultimate fibre to the microscope, we found it always to be exactly like the fibre of Irish flax, and altogether different from any kind of cotton, whether North or South American, Indian, Arabian, or Egyptian, with all of which it has been carefully and repeatedly compared."

F.—Page 144.

Physical History of the Kabyles.

Of the many different nations inhabiting the northern division of the African Continent, or that portion denominated by writers Atlantica, few have caused more discussion, or become, in later years, a subject of stricter investigation, than the Kabyles or Berbers. These rude and primitive people, who form a part of one great nation divided into several distinct tribes, but still preserving a sufficiency of analogies in language, manners, customs, and physical conformation, to prove their common origin, are by some supposed to be of Punic or Phœnician descent; while others look upon them as the aborigines of the country, who, by intermixture with, or contiguity to, the Phœnicians who settled on these coasts, adopted some

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* "We have heard such statements of the doings of the Commission, of which Rossellini was a member, in Egypt, that we can place no dependence whatever on his publication, unless, indeed, other witnesses confirm his statements. In this instance, Wilkinson is deficient."

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of those traits and characters that have given rise to the former opinion.

Africa, as known to the ancients, was divided into four parts—Barbary, Numidia, Lybia, and Negroland. Barbary included all that district lying between the Atlas mountains and the Mediterranean, and extended from the point of the Atlas near Messa to Gibraltar; and on the west to Mount Meies, situate about three hundred miles from Alexandria.

Numidia, called by the Arabians Biledulgerid, or the Land of Dates; its boundaries were the city of Eloacat, about one hundred miles distant on the east; on the west, the town of Non; on the north, the southern side of the Atlas; and on the south, the sandy deserts of Lybia.

Lybia lay still further south, having the ocean on the west; the Nile on the east; and the adjoining territory of Negroland forming its southern border. Negroland was still more remote, but parallel with the former; its western extremity was Gualata; and its eastern, Gaoga. Its southern boundary was unknown. Thus there were four great bands of country lying nearly parallel to each other; and beyond that it was a *terra incognita*. This is the description of John Leo Africanus. Marmol and Ptolemy have given a more complex subdivision.

John Leo gives the following account of the inhabitants of Africa:—"In ancient times, Negroland was the only inhabited country of Africa; at least Barbary and Numidia were for many years destitute of inhabitants, till the Tawny people settled in that country, who were called by the name of *Barbar*, an Arabic word, probably derived from Barbara, *i. e.* to murmur; because the Arabians looked upon the African language as an articulate sound of beasts. Others will have the Barbar to be only the repetition of Bar, *i. e.* Desert; supposing Bar-Bar, 'to the Desert, to the Desert,' to have been the word among Ifricus's followers when they fled out of Arabia Felix.

"These Tawny Moors are divided into five tribes—namely, the Zanhagi, inhabiting the western and southern part of Mount Atlas; the Musmudi, inhabiting the provinces of Hea, Sus, Guzula, and the territory of Morocco; the Gumeri, possessing the Barbary mountains upon the Mediterranean Sea, and the river Rif, which takes its rise near the Straits of Gibraltar, and runs eastward to Tremeson, or Mauritania Cæsariensis; and the Haoari and Zeneti, who were dispersed all over Africa. These tribes are distinguished from one another by certain marks, and wage continual war among themselves. In former times, they had their habitations and tents in the field; every one favouring those of his own tribe, and labouring for their interest and common benefit. The governors of the country attended their droves and flocks, and the citizens followed husbandry, or some manual art. Ibnu Racco, who writes of the genealogies of the Africans, divides these people into five hundred several families. Though their posterity is run out into innumerable branches, and at that great distance from one another, yet they retain *one language*, called by them Aquel Amarig, *i. e.* the *Noble*

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Tongue, which is the true African language, and branded by the barbarians for a barbarous tongue."

Marmol says that "Barbary is so called either from *Ber*, a name given to that country before it was peopled, whence the inhabitants were afterwards called Bereberes, and are still possessed of a city called Barbara, and a large tract of lands in Genehoa and Zinque; or, as some will have it, this name must be derived from the Romans, who christened it so by reason of the barbarity of their language." This seems to be also the opinion of Dr. Prichard. In another place the same old writer states that "the African authors assure us that Barbary and Numidia have been long inhabited, but they are not agreed upon the first inhabitants. Some say an Asiatic people, expelled their own country, and finding no security in Greece, went and peopled Barbary. Others allege that the people of Phœnicia, in Palestine, being expelled their own country by the Assyrians, and coldly received by the Egyptians, passed on to the Deserts of Africa, where they settled.

"But the African authors of the best note assure us that the first inhabitants of Barbary and Numidia, now called Barbarians, were five colonies or tribes of Sabeans that came thither along with Melec Ifrique, a prince of Arabia Felix mentioned above, to which six hundred families of Berebers, and the greatest lines of all Africa, owe their original. These tribes did first people the eastern parts of Barbary, and from whence they dispersed themselves over most of Africa, retaining the name of Berebers from Barbary, their first habitation; whereas the former inhabitants of Tingitana, Numidia, and Lybia, were called Chilohes. Though these five tribes lived first of all in tents of the fields, yet when they came to war with one another, those who were defeated and robbed of their flocks fled from the plains, where the conquerors remained, to the mountains, where, mixing with the ancient Africans and Getulians, they built houses to screen themselves from the weather.

"This occasioned the difference between the Berebers that live in the fields, and those that dwell in houses; the former of which have the preference for riches and power; though both of them are equally zealous in keeping their ancient customs, and celebrating the honour of the original." This division can be seen even at the present day, in the Kabyles who live in tents or mud houses in the open country, and rear cattle, while the Moors reside in towns, and follow trade, or are engaged in traffic or merchandise.

"Besides these there was," says Marmol, "a noted people in Africa, called Azuagues, who are now scattered up and down the provinces of Barbary and Numidia, and most of them are shepherds, though they have some artizans among them that make linen and cloth," (in a manner similar to that in use among the ancient Egyptians. "They live upon mountains and hills, and nestle in little holes and chinks; and, notwithstanding their extreme poverty, are commonly tributary to the kings, or Arabians. The

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African authors say they are Phœnicians, expelled by Joshua, the son of Nun; who, being denied admission by the Egyptians, passed on to Lybia, where they built Carthage, 1268 years before Christ. And a long time after that, if we credit Ibni-Abraquyq, a great stone was found there, with these words engraven upon it in the *Punic* language:—'*We fled hither from the presence of that notorious robber, Joshua, the son of Nun.*' Before the arrival of this people, Asclepius and Hercules had reigned in Africa; but after the destruction of Carthage, before it was rebuilt by Dido, this people retired to the west part of Barbary, under Hermon, their leader, and then built Liby-Phœnician cities, in which they still continued when the Romans invaded Africa."

Dr. Prichard gives the following solution of the term Barbar:—

"The only way of explaining, with any degree of probability, so extensive a diffusion of the term Barbarii or Barbari, and, at the same time, its local application to the country and the people of the African coast, is the conjecture that Barbar was originally an Egyptian term or name given by the Egyptians to the maritime country on the Red Sea, or its inhabitants. The word might be derived, as Leo derives it, from Bar, a desert, were it not improbable that an Arabian name could have been adopted by the Egyptians—the people so named not being Arabians. The Coptic word Βερβερ, signifying *hot*, may be the etymon of the name, if it originally belonged to the country. Βερβε, as well as Βερβωρ, means to cast out. Could the people be hence termed 'Outcasts?' These southern borderers on Egypt, probably ferocious Nomades, as are the Beshari at present, being dreaded and hated by the Egyptians, and their name being equivalent to that of *Savages*, it is possible that it may have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians in this sense. The Hindoos used, as it seems, the same name in both its meanings—both as a national appellation, which was extended, however, from the natives of the Barbary coast to other crisp-haired Africans, and likewise in the sense of outcasts or barbarians." This was also the opinion of Gibbon.

Dr. Shaw published a catalogue of Berber words; and, in later years, my esteemed friend, Mr. Hodgson, has given the most accurate account of the language of these people that has yet appeared.

"The more," says he, "I investigate the subject, the more I am satisfied that the idiom of the Berbers is not the remains of the ancient Punic, but that it is the same language which was spoken by the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa, at the time of the foundation of Carthage, much corrupted, however, by the introduction of Arabic, and, perhaps, in this district at least, of Punic words and forms. The former are indeed so visible, that it is easy to perceive that they do not belong to the original language, from the peculiar structure of which they essentially differ. The latter, if any there be, it is not so easy to observe, as there are no remains of the Punic language sufficient to assist us in the inquiry. We may, perhaps, discover hereafter some traces of it, by comparing the

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Berber of what was called Africa Proper, with the dialects of those parts where Carthagenian colonization did not extend. If the Punic idiom was ever incorporated to any extent with the language of the Numidians, in the vicinity of Carthage, or in the countries under her dominion, it must have produced a marked difference between their dialects and those of the more distant tribes, which cannot escape the inquisitive eye of philologists." Speaking of the Berber language, Mr. H. continues, "If these significant names extended east and west, from one end of the African continent to the other, and from its northern coast, south, even to the Desert of Saara, where no Phœnician colony can be supposed to have existed, it would be clear, independently of the inferences that may be drawn from the different structure of the two languages, that our Berber could not be the Punic, as Marsden and others have supposed, but was the language of the Autochthones, or the ancient inhabitants of the country, which the Phœnicians who founded Carthage, and their descendants, were obliged to learn and to speak in common with their own, and which procured for them the appellation of *Tyrii bilingues*." And he concludes his most interesting memoir on this subject, by drawing a parallel between it and the ancient Egyptian. "At every step," says he, "of my investigations, new proofs accumulate in favour of my hypothesis, that the Berber is the original language of *all* North Africa, including Egypt and Abyssinia; for, with the Coptic it has a positive affinity."—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. iv. 1834.

This has opened a new and most inviting field for future investigation, which, it is to be hoped, will not be lost sight of, more particularly as the word Berber is found written in the hieroglyphic character on some of the very early Egyptian monuments; and we have every reason to believe that individuals of this people are figured in the ancient Egyptian paintings. The osteological characters of the skulls belonging to the Berber race, are but very imperfectly known. I do not think that the characters and appearance of this people, as related by M. M. De Spix and Martius, who made their observations at Gibraltar, are at all applicable. For, although many Moors and natives of Tangiers came across the straits daily to market, very few of the Kabyles or Berbers ever leave their own country. In colour, these people vary from a dark brown to a tawny yellow; have thin lips, long oval faces, strait black hair, narrow, but not very retreating foreheads, and scanty beards. Those of this race I had an opportunity of observing, were particularly lean and bony, dirty and ill-clad.

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REMARKS UPON THE MODE OF SUCKING IN CETACEÆ.

Like all mammalia, the Cetaceæ suckle their young at the breast; but, by this latter term, we are not to suppose that they have mammary glands upon the pectoral portion of the body. These long thin flat substances are placed on the inferior and lateral parts of the abdomen, in order, as Hunter well described, that they may not vary the shape, nor interfere with the motions of the animal, and for other reasons to be explained hereafter. The lactiferous ducts are simple cœcal tubes, as in the ornithorhynchus, opening into a long duct or receptacle, which proceeds through the gland to the nipple, and bears a striking analogy to the pancreatic duct in man. Some years ago, Müller published a beautiful plate of this gland, in the Balænoptera Rostrata, and it was accurately described by Hunter, in 1787. The form and position of the nipples, however, require attention. They are two in number—not protuberant from the animal, like the teats of other mammiferæ: but lodged in the bottom of deep sulci or fissures, which, when closed, and the organs are not called upon to exercise their peculiar functions, completely hide them. Thus far we are acquainted with the anatomy of the parts, (at least sufficiently acquainted for the object of this inquiry, or the bearing of a work like this); but a very serious and interesting question here presents itself, viz:—In what manner do the young Cetaceæ suck? Do they respire during that process? and if so, how are these two functions performed under water?

On this subject, John Hunter made the following observations:—

"The mode in which these animals must suck, would appear to be very inconvenient for respiration, as either the mother or young one will be prevented from breathing at the time, their nostrils being in opposite directions, therefore the nose of one must be under water, and the time of sucking can only be between each respiration. The act of sucking must likewise be different from that of land animals; as in them it is performed by the lungs drawing the air from the mouth backwards into themselves, which the fluid follows, by being forced into the mouth, from the pressure of the external air on its surface; but, in this tribe, the lungs having no connection with the mouth, sucking must be performed by some action of the mouth itself, and by its having the power of expansion."

Ever since Hunter's day, the mode of sucking has been a stumbling-block to zoologists. A short time ago, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, the celebrated French naturalist, endeavoured to explain it by asserting that he had discovered a certain sac or reservoir into which all the lactiferous tubes

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poured their contents, and that a quantity of milk being already contained in this, the young animal had only to apply its mouth to the teat, and immediately certain muscles in the neighbourhood acted both on the gland and on the receptacle, and poured a quantity of milk (often several gallons in the larger species) into the young animal's mouth. This theory seemed plausible, and was generally adopted at the time.

At the meeting of the British Association in Dublin, in 1835, Dr. Arthur Jacob read a paper, calling in question the views promulgated by the French physiologist; and since then, Frederick Cuvier, in his article on the Cetaceæ, in the Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology, has laboured to refute them. In the first place, as to the sac or reservoir, it was long ago described by Hunter. He says, "*The trunk of this tube is large, and appears to serve as a reservoir for the milk.*" Again, concerning the muscle said to act upon the reservoir, a mistake seems to have crept in amongst the anatomists of this country, who have confounded with it the subcutaneous muscle that envelopes the animal. This latter is a kind of dartos, or collection of muscular fibres, mixed with a dense fibro-cellular texture, and spread generally beneath the blubber of the animal—in fact, a panniculus carnosus. I can perfectly agree with those who deny that this acts in circumscribed portions, and I believe that it can exercise but little power over the mammary gland; but that the muscle described by St. Hilaire does exist, there can be no doubt. I have dissected it in the *Delphinus Delphis* and *Phocæna Communis*, several of which I had an opportunity of examining in the Mediterranean; and I have the authority of several eminent anatomists, who have likewise satisfied themselves upon the point. It is attached to the pelvic bone, and spreads over the gland in an oblique direction, backwards and upwards towards the spine. But that it exercises this peculiar power of compressing, at will, the gland and its receptacle, I cannot take upon me to say. Independent of it, or any other muscular mechanism, the great pressure of the surrounding medium on the gland, would, as soon as the nipple was grasped, force out the fluid contained within; and the very great extent of this gland in Cetaceæ may be to forward so useful and beautiful a purpose.

In order to explain the subject more fully, it would be necessary to enter into a description of the beautiful mechanism of the parts connected with sucking in the human infant—an office that may be termed the birth of instinct, and one of the very first efforts at voluntary motion; but as this sketch is intended more for those already acquainted with such subjects, it would be unnecessary.

In Cetaceæ, the mouth, when opened, presents a purse-like cavity, similar to that of a crocodile; with this difference, that the mouth in the Cetaceans has no connection with the respiratory function, which is exclusively confined to the blow-hole, on the fore-part of the head. The glottis stands *above* the level of the roof of the mouth and soft palate;

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it rises up into the cavity connected with the blow-hole, and being slung by the hyoid bone, and a complicated muscular apparatus, from the base of the skull, can be drawn up, during the act of respiration, into the blow-hole; and the soft palate being horizontal, surrounds the larynx like a collar, in order more completely to insulate it from the cavity of the mouth. The food therefore passes into the œsophagus by deep channels on either side of the larynx. While dissecting these parts lately, I found, on the anterior margin of the soft palate, where it is touched by the larynx, what at first appeared an uvula, but, on examination, it turned out to be a considerable glandular body—a collection of mucous follicles, not unlike the tonsil, and serving, by their secretion, to lubricate the top of the larynx, as it passed by it, in each act of respiration. From this mechanism of the mouth and throat we learn, that in those animals sucking cannot be performed on the principle of exhaustion of the mouth by inspiration, as (according to some physiologists) it is in infants. It appears to depend more on the mechanical adaptation of the muscles of the mouth and tongue acting directly on the nipple, and few animals possess this apparatus in greater perfection than the dolphins and porpoises, and several of the larger whales—owing chiefly to the mouth being perfectly unconnected with respiration. Indeed, it may be doubted whether, if the blow-hole was closed, the animal could respire.

Dr. Jacob enumerates three modes by which the animal sucks under water:—First, By exhausting the cavity of mouth closed by the soft palate behind, by depressing the tongue; secondly, By exhausting the mouth by the diaphragm; and thirdly, by the squeezing and pulling of the nipple, by the gums of the young animal. The second of these, I confess, I do not understand. How the descent of the diaphragm in an animal, whose mouth is not at all connected with the respiratory apparatus, could assist sucking, it is difficult to conceive. The last appears to me to afford the desired explanation. But although Messrs. Jacob and St. Hilaire have told us *how* the animal may, and, in all probability, does suck under water, neither they, nor any other observers, have told us how the young Cetacean *breathes* all this time; and the question of John Hunter still remains to be explained; unless we believe that sucking is merely carried on between the periods of respiration, which will occupy generally from two to five minutes—an opinion, to my mind, very improbable.

During our sojourn in the Mediterranean, I had several opportunities of dissecting small Cetaceæ, and almost daily opportunities of observing the motions of hundreds of these animals; and to this motion, during the act of respiration, I would call the attention of physiologists, as it may offer some explanation of the mode of sucking. When the animal comes up to breathe, it protrudes the blow-hole above the water-line, and then making a graceful curve, by describing a semicircle, or, at least, the segment of a very large circle, it raises the extremity of its body and tail completely out of the water in its descent, so as to carry that portion of its under or

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abdominal surface, in which the nipples are placed, fairly out of the water into the air. In this way, shoals of them proceed at a rapid pace, never, however, raising the entire body out of the water, but cutting the water-line with their pectoral region, which is generally half emerged. This exact motion cannot be seen in rough weather, when the surface is much disturbed, and when Cetaceans are on the alert, as those in the Mediterranean generally are; nor could it be well seen from the high deck of a vessel. But I have observed it so often in perfect calms, when in a boat amongst a shoal of them, and having applied my eye as nearly on a level with the surface as I could, that I am convinced on the subject.

Now, it appears to me, that the young one, when it lays hold on the teat, need not necessarily relinquish it each time either it or the mother comes up to breathe. And I am informed by experienced whalers, that they have constantly seen the young ones attached to the mothers for a considerable time, and remaining so while the latter rose to blow. These men had no object in deception, nor any theory to favour and advance; and the excellent work of Scoresby, on the Whale Fishery and Arctic Regions, would lead us to suppose such to be the case with the large Cetacese there.

We know of other animals, for instance, the marsupial, which suckle while they progress; the monkey tribe skip from tree to tree, with the young ones attached to the teats; those animals denominated flying squirrels, and the cheiroptera—viz. the vampire bat, and even the common one of that species—will fly about with the young ones adherent. Nay, we know of Indians and Hottentots who carry their children slung on their backs, and attached to their enormous breasts. And why should not a whale be capable of a similar privilege? Closet zoologists, supposing that both mother and young could not breathe at the same time, have gone so far as to state that the old one turned on her back to allow the young one to draw the breast; others, that they lie on the side for a similar purpose. But this being a position they could not long maintain, would be rather too much of natural affection, even in a whale; as, though it might be very convenient for the young one, inevitable drowning would be the consequence to the old, if that position were long sustained.

It appears to me, then, that the young remain attached to the mother during a certain period, as other mammiferæ, and that each time the animal rises to the surface, it lifts the breasts, and consequently the young one, above the water, so that, in fact, all the young one has to do is to hold on, and it is both suckled and assisted to respire at the same time. Perhaps the sulcus in which the nipple is lodged may exert some power of retaining the lips of the animal in situ, by its margin grasping the extremity of the young one's mouth. Perhaps the reason for the parts being placed so low in the abdomen is, that the mother may lift the young one above the water.

The original communication upon this subject, of which this is but a

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brief, and, from the nature of this volume, an imperfect sketch, was made to the Obstetrical Society of this city; a society that continues to increase the long and well-earned reputation that has for more than half a century been accorded to that particular branch of science in Ireland, and that reflects upon its talented and enterprising founder, Dr. Evory Kennedy, a lustre that he so well deserves. Since then, some of our most enlightened physiologists have taken up the topic in their public lectures, and approved of the explanation I have offered upon this hitherto undecided question; and these considerations have induced me to give it, in a popular form, unconnected with anatomical details, a place in this appendix.

There is one other subject naturally arising out of any investigation of the Cetaceæ of the Mediterranean—that is, the story of Jonah; and on this I would suggest the following explanation of what sceptics have long been in the habit of dwelling upon as one of the fallacies of inspired writ. That Jonah could be preserved for three days and three nights in the belly of a whale, was in itself a miracle, and as such we are bound to believe it—even as the old woman said, who answered a casuist, that were she informed by the same Divine authority that Jonah swallowed the whale, she would believe it. Now, although it be a miracle, yet the Almighty generally works his wonders by natural means. First, it is said that the gullet or œsophagus of even the largest Cetacean could not admit a man's body;—this is answered by the very expression used in Scripture, that "the Lord *prepared* a great fish." Secondly, the whale, although an aquatic animal, yet breathing air by means of lungs, it would be naturally obliged to come to the surface to respire, nearly as often as a man is compelled to perform that function; and so, were Jonah placed behind the enormous cavity of the posterior nares, beneath the blow-hole, he could, even by natural means, be supplied with air. Thirdly, the whole story has by some been described as an allegory; and these persons have particularly dwelt upon the account of the sea-weeds surrounding his head, to show that it must have been on the shore that Jonah was thrown, alleging, that the whale feeding on small mollusca, it was impossible for sea-weed to entangle round the prophet's head;—in contradiction of this, it is particularly worthy of remark, that some of the very largest whales that inhabit the Mediterranean, are *graminivorous, ruminating* animals, and consequently feed on Algæ and other marine plants.

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H.—Page 178.

On the Removal of Cleopatra's Needle.

It has been long incumbent on the British government to bring one or other of the Alexandrian obelisks, called Cleopatra's Needles, to England, especially from the number of accounts and diversity of opinions promulgated by travellers and writers, many of whom, from the commencement of the present century, have attributed the prostration of the fallen obelisk to a different nation or individual.

The cause of the obelisk not having been brought home after the Egyptian campaign, may be learned by the following extracts, with which I have been favoured by Captain Larcom, R.N., from papers of his father, who then commanded H.M.S. Hind, and also Admiral Hollis, then commanding H. M. S. Thames.

"H. M. S. Hind, Egypt, 1802.

"The French had partially cleared away the rubbish from around the prostrate obelisk called Cleopatra's Needle, and it was determined to attempt the transport of this obelisk to England, as a lasting memorial of the triumphs of the British army in Egypt. Subscriptions were entered into by the officers of the army and the naval squadron then at Alexandria for this purpose. On the part of the army, the obelisk was completely cleared from the surrounding ruins, a road commenced to the port, and a pier in progress to the deeper water, and all preparations in forwardness for embarkation, while the navy had weighed the hull of a small Venetian frigate, the 'Leobon,' that had been sunk by the French during the siege, in the old harbour, calked and rendered her sea-worthy for the voyage. The weight had been estimated, and the position it ought to occupy in the hold of the vessel; it being intended that when firmly placed at the proper height from the keel, and there secured by shores, &c. that the vacant spaces should be filled up with bags of cotton, and to those who had seen the stowage of vessels in the cotton trade, not a doubt remained of the feasibility of the plan proposed to be adopted; but at this stage of the proceedings, in March, 1802, an order arrived from General Fox, the commander of the forces in the Mediterranean, and Lord Keith, the naval commander-in-chief on the station, forbidding the removal of the obelisk, on the plea that it would give offence to the Turkish government. Thus was lost to England the honour of having erected in her capital a trophy peculiarly appropriate to the conquerors at the Nile and at Alexandria."

"H. M. S. Thames, Egypt, 1802.

"It was the intention of the heads of the army and navy, who were left in Egypt after the peace had taken place with France, in 1801, to have

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taken the fallen obelisk to England, as a trophy of the very gallant achievements of those brave men who were employed in the reduction of Egypt, and for which purpose a subscription was raised, and one of the French frigates which had been sunk during the siege of Alexandria was got up, and fitted to embark it on board; but most unfortunately, from some secret and unaccountable cause, the scheme met the positive disapprobation of the two commanders-in-chief of the army and navy, who were at Malta, and the two commanding officers at Alexandria were ordered to desist from their plan of sending the obelisk to England. I carried the orders to Egypt. The only public reason given for it, was a supposition that it might give offence to the Turks; but this was not the case, as it had been previously guarded against, by a formal permission being asked, which was most readily granted by the Aga who commanded in Egypt, observing, at the same time, that the Turks cared not if we took every stone in the country; but he very sarcastically asked us if we had no stone-quarries in England, that we were taking so much trouble to carry such a useless mass there, as the obelisk appeared to him to be. This order to discontinue our scheme was a great disappointment to every one, as it had become quite an amusement, and both the sailors and soldiers were volunteers for the work. As we had then nothing to do, it was proposed to raise the base of the fallen obelisk, which was an immense square mass of granite; and it was accordingly done, so as to introduce under it a flat marble slab of about five feet square, with an inscription on it in French, Italian, Latin, and English—describing the battle of Aboukir—the landing of the French in Egypt, under Bonaparte—the subsequent reduction of Egypt by the English army, under their gallant chief, Abercrombie—the lamented death of that brave general—and restoring the country again to the Turks;—all of which was very carefully executed. An excavation was then made in the mass of granite under the base, sufficiently large to contain the slab without injury, and after throwing in some coins of our good old sovereign, the base was lowered carefully down on it, where from its very great weight, it will, in all probability, remain unmoved for as many ages to come, as these monuments of antiquity are supposed to have already existed; and if these four languages are then in existence, what a tale will the removing of it again unfold. The fallen obelisk was also turned over, but nothing of value or consequence was found under it."

A vessel belonging to Mohammad Alee Bâsha, having proceeded to England, and requiring some repairs, government deeming this a good opportunity of cultivating the friendship of this then rising man, had the vessel conducted into the royal dock-yard at Woolwich, where she was thoroughly repaired, fitted out like a British man-of-war, and returned to the Bâsha with some valuable presents from the Prince Regent: and from that period may be dated the friendly intercourse that has since existed and been cultivated by his highness the Bâsha. In addition to many other evidences of that good feeling, during the time of the Peninsular war, he,

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in 1820, *presented* the obelisks, called Cleopatra's Needles, to the Prince Regent, "as a mark of gratitude and esteem for favours received." The offer was made at the suggestion of Mr. Briggs, then our consul-general at Cairo. The Prince Regent, who had in the mean time ascended the throne, was pleased to accept the offered gift, and Major Wright, of the Royal Engineers, was sent from Malta, to form a plan, and estimate the expense of removing it. Major W. thus writes to a friend:—

"The only hitch against our project was the expense—the feasibility never was doubted. I think the cost in round numbers would have been about £5000. The means were simply a copy of those adopted by Carburi for the removal of the granite rock on which was afterwards placed the statue of Peter the Great."

The reasons generally assigned for the non-removal of this piece of antiquity were, the expense, and the spoliation of the ancient land of its most interesting relics. As to the latter, it might, perhaps, be an insuperable objection in any other country; but in Egypt it is *not* so—for there, what, by a happy constitution of atmosphere, time has spared, the gross ignorance and religious prejudices of the people make them delight to destroy; and where, says Mr. St. John, "the most extraordinary monuments of antiquity are daily liable to be converted into materials for building cotton-mills and other factories, as we see in the case of the Temple of Dendera, the false pyramid, and the superb portico of Ashmouneim, it seems excusable to endeavour, by conveying them to some more civilized land, to rescue such relics from destruction." And I myself can vouch for the fact of these very obelisks being daily subjected to the most wanton attempts at mutilation by every donkey-boy who guides a traveller to their site. Some years afterwards, the Bâsha, seeing that his present was not removed, although presented as a mark of "*gratitude and esteem*," stated, that as his intention of making a present of some fine pieces of antiquity to his majesty, had been known to the world, and had appeared in many of the public papers—"he wished the gift should be one of the greatest possible value in general estimation—that he regretted the mutilated state of the Alexandrian obelisk, and offered in its stead one of the finest of Upper Egypt, or any other piece of antiquity in his territories which could be deemed a present more worthy of his majesty's acceptance;" adding, in conclusion, that, nevertheless, should the Alexandrian be the one ultimately selected, he begged it to be fully understood that it was his wish to defray every expense attending its removal, until it was placed close to the very stern of the vessel appointed to convey it to England.

Captain T. C. Head, who, in 1833, brought this matter strongly before the public, adds, "that twelve years had elapsed since the notification was made, and the Needle of Cleopatra remains in its neglected state." There seems to be a disregard of courtesy, as well as of policy, in not accepting the offer of a grateful prince.

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The subject has been frequently discussed; and some years ago the master-builder at Chatham was directed to fit out the mast-hulk of that place for the purpose, and £12,000 were mentioned as the amount of expense. Afterwards the subject was discussed in the House of Commons, and the sum of £15,000 proposed to be granted; but it was again abandoned on the objection of its robbing the country of its relics.

We have thus seen, that although three obelisks are now in possession of Great Britain, (that at Luxor having been presented some years ago,) a system of over-stretched economy has prevented us from placing one of them in any of our capitals—although the French, *asking* theirs from the Bâsha as a *boon*, no sooner had permission granted them, than a vessel was fitted out, the obelisk removed from its site at Luxor, conducted 500 miles down the Nile, carried into the heart of the French capital, and now decorates the Place de la Concorde. "Trente ans se sont écoulés depuis la prise de possession de cette terre célèbre; et rien de grand ne serait resté de cette expedition, si l'idée n'etait venue enfin de transporter en France une des obelisques." And another author, when speaking of this obelisk, says—"The column of the French to be conveyed to France, and become a characteristic trophy of conquest." And, long before, Denon, speaking of *our* obelisks at Alexandria, says, "They might be conveyed to France without difficulty, and would there become a trophy of *conquest*, and a characteristic one, as they are in themselves a monument; and as the hieroglyphics with which they are covered render them preferable to Pompey's Pillar, which is merely a column, somewhat larger, indeed, than is any where to be found." What this possession, and what this conquest was, thus vaunted by Parisian savans, and emblazoned in the French capital, let those brave men who fought and bled in Egypt tell.

I should prefer the *prostrate* one at Alexandria to that at Luxor, on account of its vicinity to the scenes of British conquest, and the feasibility of its removal, and on account of the hieroglyphics on it being in much better preservation than those upon the one still standing beside it, which many persons might think a pity to remove, as, owing to the increase of civilization in that country, a hope may be entertained of its preservation where it stands, and the associations so pleasing to the traveller thus be continued. Should it, however, be deemed advisable to do so, the plan adopted by the French for the removal of theirs, which, as well as that at Rome, is smaller than either of the Alexandrian ones, might be put in operation. See "Description des Obelisques de Luxor, et précis des operations relatives au transport d'un de ces monumens dans la capital. Par M. Alexandre Delaborde."*

* It is worthy of being known to those who may engage in this work, that there are two sphinxes, which were taken by our troops from the French at the capture of Alexandria, still remaining there, and now built up in the wall of the custom-house, near the principal wharf or

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As regards the removing of the prostrate obelisk at Alexandria, it would be a slur upon our many scientific engineers for me to propose a plan—but of its possibility no doubt can exist. In 1824, Admiral Donally, in a letter published in the Appendix to W. Rae Wilson's Travels, submitted a plan for its removal. This consisted in fitting out the frame of a flat-bottomed vessel in England, and sending her to Alexandria, "and what in ship-building are called 'ways,' laid on an inclined plane from the needle to the harbour; an excavation should then be made under one end of the obelisk, and a shore or prop placed under it. At a certain distance from that, (depending upon the stability of the substratum,) let another excavation be made, and a second shore placed, and so on according to circumstances—I think one at each end, and one in the centre would answer. Thus the obelisk would be suspended upon three points. The frame of the flat vessel might then be easily placed under it, and strongly fastened together, and then planked and caulked, taking care that the 'ways' or inclined plane be properly placed. The shores then cut away, one by one, and the hole they make in the bottom closed, and the vessel, which will draw very little water launched into the harbour; temporary masts placed in her, and attended or towed by another ship, she might, I think, arrive safely in the Thames." Objections have been made to launching it at all at the new harbour, on account of its rocky and unsafe character; and it has been suggested by a distinguished officer, Major-General Sir John Burgoyne, who, to a knowledge of the country, adds engineering talents of the highest order, now happily employed for the benefit of Ireland, that it would be better "to roll and drag the monster across the isthmus, on which the present town is built, to the good harbour, and then embark it by means of a sufficient jetty." This jetty might, I think, be easily constructed near the Mahmoudie canal, where the water is sufficiently deep, and without rocks; perhaps, the construction of a mere raft of timber, or coating it in a case of timber with air-tight boxes would be sufficient, and then towing it away, during calm weather, with a steamer to England. Although the proposal which I made in April, 1839, of having the obelisk erected as the "Nelson Testimonial," has not been attended to; yet, I do not despair of seeing it one day ornamenting the capital of Great Britain. Several gallant officers have expressed a desire of seeing it standing in the square of Greenwich Hospital; and, certainly, it would not only be an appropriate site, but one that affords many facilities for its erection. A penny subscription from *all* the inhabitants of London would place it in any part of England.

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landing-place. I have no doubt that, if asked for by the French, Mohammad Alee would give permission for their removal, when they would be placed without loss of time in Paris, as another "*characteristic of conquest.*" It is likewise interesting to notice the fact of this obelisk's construction in the reign of Thothmes III., the Pharaoh *supposed* to have been destroyed in the Red Sea.

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I.—Page 193.

On the Membrane of the Camel's Mouth.

The peculiarity that this beast possesses of protruding a large inflated bladder-like substance from its mouth, when irritated, or over-driven, as I mentioned in the text, is very remarkable, and has but very lately been satisfactorily accounted for. In the "Nuova Giornale de Litterati," No. xvi. Dr. Paolo Savi, Professor of Natural History in the University of Pisa, published a most interesting memoir on this subject. His observations were made upon some of the animals of the *Camelus Dromedarius*, belonging to the celebrated breed of San Rossore, in that neighbourhood. He has discovered that this "guttural bladder" is nothing else than an extraordinary development of the uvula, which is usually fourteen or fifteen inches in length, and attached, not to the free margin of the soft palate, as in other mammalia, but to its anterior or adherent edge, and also to the arches of the palate; so that, hanging like a curtain in front of the *velum pendulum palati*, it appears to shut up the opening into the fauces. It is united to the posterior or free margin of the soft palate by a kind of frænaculum, divided longitudinally into two portions. There is also a semilunar reduplication of mucous membrane, that can occasionally close the opening of the posterior nares; "this kind of partition is so placed as to cover the larynx by its inclination; and consequently, it forms with that part and the superior wall of the nasal canal, a *cul de sac*." When the animal wishes to project the sac, it raises the soft palate, and with it, and the semilunar partition, closes the posterior nares, expiring at the same time with great force. The air not finding a ready egress by the mouth, owing to the isthmus faucium being closed by the enlarged and distended uvula, forces it forwards, and inflates it into the form of an elongated bladder, owing to its flaccid sides, &c. being attached to the palatine arches by means of the reduplication of membrane before mentioned. In this manner it is protruded from the side of the mouth, and retracted by the azygos muscle, and some of the fibres of the levatores palati mollis.—See *Jamieson's Philos. Journal*, Vol. xii. 1825.

My friend, Dr. Houston, informs me, that in the dissection of the mouth and fauces of the camel now in the collection of the College of Surgeons, he was struck with the very great flaccidity of the folds of membrane lining the arches of the palate, uvula, and all the adjacent parts; and says, that the submucus cellular tissue beneath this was particularly lax, allowing the membrane to be drawn out to a great extent. From the appearance that the parts present, it seems to me to partake

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more of the nature of *erectile* tissues; and, in all probability, the whole lining membrane of the jaws, palate, and pharynx, partakes of this flaccid and, under certain circumstances, and at particular seasons, erectile nature.

Since the above was first published, I have had an opportunity of carefully dissecting all these parts along with my venerable friend, Professor Seiler of Dresden, and have satisfied myself of the accuracy of Professor Savi's observations.

K.—Page 205.

Observations on the Trochilus of Egypt.

That the ancient Egyptians paid particular attention to the habits of the lower animals, there can now be little doubt, and that this knowledge of natural history was turned to account in their mythology, there is every reason to believe. Among the many fabulous accounts related of the animals of Egypt, there is a curious story told by Herodotus and Pliny, about a little bird of the plover kind, the *Charadrius Spinosus*, of Latham, and called by those ancient writers, the Trochilus.

Speaking of the crocodile, the former says, "Beasts and birds universally avoid it—the Trochilus alone excepted—which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itself on the sand, and generally towards the west, with its mouth open; the Trochilus, entering its throat, destroys the leeches; in acknowledgment for which service, it never does the Trochilus injury."—*Herod. Euterpe*, lxviii.

The recital of Pliny is still more extravagant. The following quaint translation of it may offer an apology for its insertion verbatim:—"When he (the crocodile) hath filled his belly with fishes, he lieth to sleep upon the sands in the shore; and for that he is a great and greedy devourer, somewhat of the meat sticketh evermore between his teeth. In regard thereof, cometh the wren—a little bird, called there Trochilus, and the king of the birds in Italy—and shee, for her victual's sake, hoppeth first about his mouth; falleth to pecking or picking it with her little neb or bill, and so forward to the teeth, which she cleanseth; and all to make him gape. Then getteth shee within his mouth, which he openeth the wider, by reason that he taketh so great delight in this her scraping and scouring of his teeth and chaws."—*Pliny*, B. viii. chap. 25.

Should the crocodile by chance close his mouth, it is again related by other authorities, how the little *picktooth* expands its wings, which, being provided with spurs, prick the monster, to remind him of the confinement of his benefactor. This little bird is still very common in Egypt, and called by the natives *Sicsac*. Foolish as this legend may appear, there is some

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foundation for it; and although we cannot credit the polite understanding and friendly footing between these animals, yet it is a very remarkable fact, that the great difficulty at present attending the shooting, or near approach to the reptile, is owing to the invariable presence of the Sicsac. As soon as the crocodile comes ashore to sleep, it is sure to be attended by the plover, who remains near it, either seated on the same bank, or wheeling above it in the air; and hence, in all probability, its name of Trochilus, from the Greek word Τροχος. Its note is peculiarly wild and startling, particularly on the approach of man, and by this means it gives warning to the sleeping monster. Its remaining in the vicinity of the crocodile may be to procure food either from its exuvies or the great number of flies and other insects that haunt and annoy it, the moment it appears on land; and this apparent sympathy between them may have given rise to the tales of Herodotus and Pliny.

L.—Page 254.

THE SCARABÆUS.

This creature offers another and still more striking example of the interest taken by the Egyptian priests in zoology. No animal formed a more important part, not only in the mysteries of their religion, but in their hieroglyphic writings, than did this. There is scarcely a monument in that country on which it is not either carved or painted. Seals, rings, necklaces, and amulets, formed of amethyst, green stone, cornelian, agate, and numberless other stones, as well as porcelain and common blue pottery ware, were carved into the form of this insect.

The animals I have figured in the text are a male and female *Copris*, one of the species of the Scarabeides, and which I am inclined to believe is the insect represented more frequently upon the Egyptian paintings than the *Scarabæus Sacer*. The male Copris differs from the female by the prominences in the form of horns on the head and corslet of the former. The *Scarabæus Sacer* is somewhat smaller, and without these horns, and both it and the *Ateuchus*—another beetle of the Scarabeides, are very common in that country—much more so than the Copris. The best proof, however, that can be offered as to this latter insect being the true mythological or symbolic beetle of the ancients is, that an *embalmed* Scarabee was found at Thebes, which Latreille pronounced to be the *Copris Sabæus* of Fabricius.

To enumerate the various surmises and conflicting opinions that have been set forth, accounting for the worship of this animal, would form a volume in itself. Like most of the other animals, it had in all likelihood many mystical meanings, the interpretations of which are to us still a secret. The most generally received opinions are, that it was emblematic

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of the sun, and also of the great reproductive power of the universe. It holds a conspicuous place in the representation of the zodiac at Denderah where it is supposed to mean the sign Cancer; or at least that the Greek sign of that creature was derived from it. Clemens Alexandrinus says—"The oblique course of the heavenly bodies is represented by a snake, but that of the sun by a scarabee; because, shaping a piece of dung into a circular form, he rolls it backwards, his face being turned in a contrary direction to his course." Plutarch says—"The scarabee depositing his seed in a piece of dung made into a circular form, rolls it backwards, as the sun appears to turn the heavens round in a contrary direction, himself being borne from west to east." Porphyry gives a like statement. That it does roll its ball backwards I have no doubt, and in that way it may be emblematical of the supposed annual course of the sun, from west to east, contrary to his diurnal course from east to west, as here stated; but I have seen them much more frequently in the position I have described at page 253 of this volume.

As Mr. Mure seems to have collected most of the opinions upon this topic, I here quote the following from his "Dissertation on the Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt:"—

Paoni (*Cancer*). "The month of the sun by pre-eminence, that is, of the greatest height and brilliancy of the luminary, corresponding to our July; which season, the rapid approach of the Nile to its full tide, and the rise of the dog-star, rendered the most important and joyous of the year; hence its dedication by preference to the splendid orb itself, which influenced and reigned supreme over their calendar, as well as their mythology.

"The sign of this season on the Greek zodiac is a crab; an unmeaning emblem as referred to Egyptian mythology. But on the greater number of Egyptio-Greek astronomical monuments, we find the scarabee, instead of the crab, as the emblem of the solstitial month; and it is hardly necessary to observe, that the scarabee is the symbol of the sun, or On, in his noblest capacity, as Lord of the universe, first source and origin, and continual preserver of the created world. In this respect the scarabee was a representative not only of the solar orb itself, but, by analogy, of certain deities of distinguished rank, whose loftier attributes comprehended those of the brilliant Lord of the physical world; as of Phtha, the Demiurgus or creative power, whom the Greeks identified with their Hephæstus or Vulcan, probably as combining with his other properties that of god of fire. In the ancient astronomical picture on the tomb of the kings, the scarabee, with the red disk of the sun in his claws, occupies a conspicuous place among the zodiacal emblems. The same insect also occurs in an astrological gem of Count Pahlen's collection, accompanying Libra and Scorpio; and we seem to have further curious evidence that it was the original symbol of this division of the ancient Egyptian zodiac, in the circumstance that the cypher of the same division, still in vulgar use, is apparently but

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an abbreviated form of the hieroglyphic 'Scarabee;' the hieratic contraction of which contains precisely the same elements, under trifling varieties of arrangement, as the modern sign—namely, two curves or hooks placed transversely. The Greeks, in adopting the zodiac, may either have mistaken the insect for a crab, to which, on some of the monuments, it bears a close enough resemblance; and on the gems of Abraxas, the scarabee, crab, and other shell-fish are frequently confounded; or possibly, as they did not attach the same veneration as the Egyptians to its symbolic character, they may have converted the reptile of the land into the reptile of the sea, as a figure more congenial to their ideas and taste, as a maritime people. There is, however, in one respect, a remarkable enough analogy between the two symbols, which may tend still further to show that the one is the Egyptian original; the other the Greek copy. Classical authors have asserted that the crab was chosen to represent the solstice, because of the correspondence of its proverbially retrogade motion to the sun's course about the tropic; an interpretation which has been adopted by the greater number of modern expositors." In the ruins of the temple marking the site of the Ombite nome, Hamilton describes a sun as worshipped under the mysterious emblems of the crocodile and the beetle. Dr. Young conceives that the scarabæi represented in the zodiac at Denderah, have more of a mythological than an astronomical interpretation; and this brings us to the second type under which this curious creature was adored—that of reproduction. But in this character it may likewise have reference to that under which we first considered it, for its rolling the ball containing its eggs, where after a time they are hatched, may be symbolic of the vivifying or generative power of the luminary. Another cause assigned for this reproductive symbol is, that it is one of the first animals that appear on the subsidence of the inundation; but the very extraordinary instinct and apparent foresight of the animal in providing for the continuance of the species, and the marvellous care and solicitude it exhibits in the formation of the nidus or womb that it constructs, in which to deposit its eggs, and then to assist in their incubation in the manner I have described, were all no doubt attended to in the days of its deification, and formed the grounds of its sacred character. According to De Peau, it would appear that the scarabæus was held sacred in Ethiopia and other parts of Africa even before Egypt was peopled, if we are able to draw the line of distinction between the date of the inhabiting of these two countries. In the holy cricket of Madagascar, we can perceive traces of the beetle worship of Egypt; and a similar reverence for some of this tribe of insects is evinced by the Hottentots, and other southern Africans.

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M.—Page 380.

THE TYRIAN DYE

Being the substance of a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, May, 1839.

There are few subjects possessing a greater degree of interest than the study of the arts and manufactures of the ancients. They are not only useful and instructive to the scholar and the antiquary, by explaining much of the obscurity existing in the writings of ancient classic authors, as well as by elucidating the manners and customs, and state of society of our ancestors, but because they afford a practical lesson to the manufacturer and the artizan in the present day.

The exact origin of the art of dyeing, or the precise period when it was discovered, is still involved in obscurity. Like most other arts, it must be referred to a period far beyond the date of any authentic record upon the subject; but authors generally agree in assigning it to Egypt. It is, however, remarkable that, in the pictorial language of the Egyptians, we do not find a single instance of the actual manufacture illustrated, although dyes similar to the Tyrian were common among them. I do not allude to the dyes obtained from the preparations of copper, with which their different porcellaneous substances were stained, but to those used in the dyeing of linen or woollen fabrics.

If such were an art peculiar to Egypt, and not obtained from other places, as Tyre, and the coast of Phœnicia, (to which opinion I am inclined,) and which places were, we know, in great commercial intercourse with the Egyptians, the secret was in possession of the priests, who were unwilling to make it known.

The fables related of the discovery of the Tyrian dye, are too well known to require insertion here.

Pliny, the naturalist, who must himself have witnessed the process, has given a lengthened and a detailed account of it in his ninth book, from chapter xxxvi. to lxi. inclusive; from which, as it is the only such account in existence, I shall give a few extracts in the translation of Dr. Holland, merely substituting a somewhat plainer idiom for the quaint language of 1634. Of late years it has been too much the fashion, not only to decry the deficiencies, but totally to discredit the assertions of this celebrated author. True it is, that his writings contain many fabulous, many miraculous accounts; but such, it should be remembered, were the popular or vulgar errors of his day, such as, in times to come, another generation shall discover in our own systems. Pliny, like too many writers of the present day, gave insertion to a mixture of parole evidence, and actual personal knowledge

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and observation—and it requires some discrimination to draw the line of distinction between the two. We quote the following :—

"CHAP. XXXVI.

"THE NATURE OF PURPLE FISHES AND THE MUREX OR BURRET.

"Purples live ordinarily seven years. They lie hidden for thirty days' space, about the dog-days, like as the murices or burrets do. They meet together by troops in the spring, and by rubbing one against the other, they gather and yield a clammy substance and moisture, in the manner of wax. The murices do the like. But that beautiful colour so much in request for dyeing fine cloth, the purples have in the midst of the neck and jaws. And nothing else it is, but a little thin liquor within a white vein; and that it is which maketh that rich, fresh, and bright colour of *deep red purple roses*. As for all the rest of this fish it yieldeth nothing. Fishers strive to get them alive, for when they die they cast up and shed that precious tincture and juice, together with their life. Now the Tyrians when they light upon any great purples, they take the flesh out of their shells, for to get the blood out of the said vein, *but the lesser they press and grind in certain mills, and so gather that rich humour which issueth from them*. The best purple colour in Asia is this thus gotten at Tyros. But in Africa, within the island Meninx, and the coast of the ocean, by Getulia; and in Europe, that of Laconica. This is that glorious colour, so full of state and majesty, that the Roman lictors with their rods, halbards, and axes, make way for; this it is which graceth and setteth out the children of princes and noblemen; this makes the distinction between a knight and a councillor of state; this is called for and put on when they offer sacrifice to pacify the gods; this giveth a lustre to all sorts of garments. To conclude, our generals in the field, and victorious captains in their triumphs, wear this purple in their mantles, interlaced and embroidered with gold. No marvel, therefore, if purples be so much sought for, and men are to be held excused if they run a-madding after purples.

"But how should the other shell-fish, called Conchylia, be so dear and high-priced, considering the tincture of them carries so strong and stinking a savour; so sullen and melancholy a colour, inclining to a *blue* or *watchet*, and resembling rather the angry and raging sea in a tempest?

"Now, if I should lay a straw here, and proceed no further in this discourse of purples and such like, surely our luxurious and riotous spendthrifts would think they had great wrong, and were defrauded of their right; they might, I say, complain of me, and condemn me of idleness and negligence. Therefore, I care not much to put my head within the dyer's shops and work-houses, that like as every man, for the necessity of this life, knows how the price of corn goes; even so our fine folks and brave dandies, who take such pleasure and delight in these colours may be perfect,

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what is the reason of this, their only life. In the first place, these shell-fish that serve either for purple colours, or other lighter dyes of the Conchylia, are all one in matter; the difference only is in temperature, more or less. And indeed they may all be reduced into two principal sorts; for the less shell, called Buccinum, fashioned like unto that horn or cornet wherewith they used to wind and sound, whereupon it took that name, hath a round back, and is cut like a saw in the edges. The other is named Purpura, shooteth out a long back, like a gutter, and within the one side it doth writhe and turn hollow, in form of a pipe, out of which the fish puts forth a tongue. Moreover, this purple is shaded, as it were, even as far as to the sharp top or turbant thereof, round about with sharp knobs, pointed lightly, seven in number, which the sea-cornet buccinum, hath not." (*This seems to be the murex.*) "But this is common to both, that look how many roundles they have, like tendrils clasping about them, so many years old are they. As for the cornet Buccinum, it sticketh always to great rocks and stones, and therefore is ever found and gathered about them.

"CHAPTER XXXVII.

"HOW MANY SORTS THERE BE OF PURPLES.

"Purples have another name, and are called Pelagiæ, as one would say, fishes of the deep sea. But in truth there are many sorts of them, and those differing either in place where they keep, or in food whereon they live. The first, Lutense, *i. e.* muddy, because it is nourished of the corrupt and rotten mud; the second, Algense, (the worst of all,) feeding upon reits or sea-weeds named alga; the third, Tæniense, (better than the former two,) for that it is gathered and taken up about the brims and borders of the sea, called, for the resemblance to fillets or lists in a cloth, Tæniæ.' (*Probably a species of serpula.*) "And yet this kind yieldeth but a light colour, and nothing deep. There are of them also which they term Calculosæ, of the sea gravel, which is wondrous good for all these kind of wilkes and shell fishes. And, last of all, which simply are the very best, the Purples Dialetæ, *i. e.* wandering to and fro, changing their pasture and feeding in sundry soils of the sea (the muddy, the weedy, and the gravelly). Now these purples are taken with small nets, and thinly wrought, cast into the deep. Within which, for a bait to bite at, there must be certain winkles and cockles, that will shut and open, and be ready to snap such as are without; these limpids are called Mituli. Half dead they should be first, that being now put into the sea again, and desirous to revive and live, they might gape for water; and then the purples make at them with their pointed tongue, which they thrust out to annoy them, but the others feeling themselves pricked therewith, presently shut their shells together, and bite hard. Thus the purples, for their greediness, are caught and taken up hanging by their tongues.

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"CHAP. XXXVIII.

"THE FISHING-TIME FOR PURPLES.

"The best time to take purples is after the dog-star is risen, and before the spring; for, when they have made that viscous mucilage in manner of wax, their juice and humour for colour is over liquid, thin, and waterish. And yet the purple-dyers know not so much, nor take heed thereof; whereas, indeed, the skill thereof is a special point of their art, and wherein lieth all in all. Well, when they are caught, as is above said, they take forth that vein before-mentioned, and they lay it in salt, or else they do not do well, with this proportion ordinarily, namely, to every hundred-weight of the purple liquor a sestier, or pint and a half of salt. Full three days, and no more, it must thus lie soaking in powder; for the fresher that the colour is, so much is it accounted richer and better. This done, they seethe it in leads, and to every amphore (containing about eight wine gallons) they put one hundred pounds and a half just of the colour so prepared. It ought to boil with a soft and gentle fire, and therefore the tunnel, or mouth of the furnace, must be a good way off from the lead and cauldron; during which time the workmen that tend the lead must often skim off and cleanse away the fleshy substance, which cannot choose but stick to the veins which contain the juice or liquor of purple aforesaid. And thus they continue ten days, by which time, ordinarily, the lead or vessel will show the liquor clear, as if it were sufficiently boiled; and to make a trial thereof they dip into it a fleece of wool, well rinsed, and washed out of one water into another; and, until such time that they see it give a perfect dye, they still ply the fire, and give it a higher seething.

"That which staineth red is nothing so rich as that which giveth the deep and sad blackish colour. When it is come to the perfection, they let the wool lie, to take the liquor, five hours. Then they have it forth, touse and card it, and put it in again, until it hath drunk up all the liquor as much as it will.

"Now this is to be observed, that the sea-cornet Buccinum makes no good colour by itself, for their dye will shed, and lose the lustre; and therefore they join it usually to the sea purple Pelagium, which maketh too deep and brown a colour, unto which it giveth a fresh and lively tincture, as it were in grain, and so make that sad purple which they desire. Thus, by mixing and medling the force of both together, they mend one another, whilst the lightness or sadness of the one doth quicken and raise, or else dim or take down, the colour of the other. To the dyeing of a pound of wool they use this proportion of two hundred Buccina, or sea-cornets, joined with a hundred and eleven Pelagian purples; and so cometh that rich *amythist*, or *purple violet* colour, so highly commended

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above all other. But the Tyrians make their *deep red purple* by dipping their wool first in the liquor of the Pelagian purples only, while it is not thoroughly boiled to the height, but as it were *green* and *unripe;* and therefore they let it take what it can drink. Soon after, they change it into another cauldron or lead, where the colour of the sea-cornets alone is boiled. And then it is thought to have a most commendable and excellent dye, *when it is as deep a red as blood that is cold and settled,* blackish at the first sight, and look between you and the light it carries a bright and shining lustre, and hereupon it is that Homer calleth blood purple.

"CHAP. XXXIX.

"WHEN THEY BEGAN AT ROME TO WEAR PURPLE FIRST.

"I find in Chronicles that purple hath been used in Rome time out of mind. Howbeit K. Romulus never wore it but in his royal habit or mantle of estate called *Trabea.* And it is well known that Tullus Hostilius was the first Roman king who, after he had subdued the Tuscans, put on the long purple robe named pretexta, and the cassocks broached and studded with scarlet in broad guards. Cornelius Nepos, who died in the days of Augustus Cæsar, the emperor, says, 'when I was a young man, the light violet purple was rife and in great request, and a pound of it was sold for 100 deniers; and not long after, the Tarentine red purple or scarlet was much called for, and of the same price. But after it came the fine *double-dyed* purple of Tyros, called dibapha, and a man could not buy a pound of it for 1000 deniers, which was the price of ten pounds of the other. P. Lentulus Spinther, in his œdileship of the chair, first wore a long robe embroidered with it, and was checked and blamed therefore. But now-a-days,' saith Nepos, 'what is he that will not hang his parlour and dining-chamber therewith, and have carpets, cushions, and cup-board cloths thereof?' And it is no longer ago, when Spinther was œdile, than in the 700th year after the foundation of Rome, even when Cicero was consul. This purple in those days was called dibapha, *i. e.* twice-dyed, and that was counted a matter of great cost, and very stately and magnificent. But now you shall have no purple cloths at all, of any reckoning, but they shall have their *double* dye. As for the cloth dyed with the purple of the shell-fish, Conchylia, the manner of making the colour and of dying are in all respects the same, save that there are no sea-cornets used thereto. Moreover, the juice or liquor for that colour is tempered with water instead of the usual preparation of urea, altogether used in the other, and therein is sodden but the half proportion of colours to the foresaid tinctures. And thus it is made that light, pale, stammel, so highly commended for being short of the deep, rich, colour; and the less, while that the wool is suffered to drink the fill, the more bright and fresh it seemeth.

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[CHAP. XL. gives a description of the price of wool dyed with these colours.]

"CHAP. XLI.

"THE MANNER OF DYEING THE AMETHYST, VIOLET, OR PURPLE, THE CHRYMSON, AND SCARLET IN GRAIN, AND THE LIGHT STAMMEL OR LUSTIE-GALLANT.

"It would not suffice our prodigal spendthrifts to rob the precious stone amethyst of its name, and apply it to a colour, but when they had a perfect amethyst dye, they must have it to be drunken again with the Tyrian purple, that they might have a superfluous and double name, compounded of both, (Tyriamethistus,) correspondent to their two-fold cost, and double superfluity. Moreover, after they have accomplished fully the colour of the Conchylium, they are not content until they have a second dye in the Tyrian purple lead. It should seem that these double dies and compounded colours came first from the error and repentance of the workman when his hand missed, and so was forced to change and alter that which he had done before and utterly misliked; and hereof forsooth is come now a pretty cunning and art thereof, and the monstrous spirits of our wasteful persons are grown to wish and desire that which was a fault amended first; and seeing the two-fold way of a double charge and expense trodden before them by the dyers, have found the means to lay colour upon colour, and to overcast and strike a rich dye with a weaker, so that it might be called a more pleasant and delicate colour. Nay, it will not serve their turn to mingle the abovesaid tinctures of sea-fishes, but they must also do the like by the dye of land-colours," (*probably the kermes;*) "for when a wool or cloth hath taken a crimson or scarlet in grain, it must be died again in the Tyrian purple to make the light, red, and fresh lustie-gallant.

"As touching the grain, serving to this tincture, it is red, and cometh out of Galatia (as we shall show in our history of earthy plants) or else about Emerita in Portugal, and that, of all other, is of most account. But to knit up in one word these noble colours, note this—that when this grain is but of one year's age, it maketh but a weak tincture, but after four years, the strength thereof is gone. So that, neither young nor old is of any very great virtue. Thus, I have sufficiently and at large treated of those means which men and women both so highly esteem, and think to make most, for their state and honourable port, and setting out of themselves in the best manner."—*Pliny, 9th Book.*

Aristotle likewise informs us, that the smaller species of shells were *broken up*, as it would be too difficult to separate the animals from them. Those in the breccia found at Tyre are all of a small species.

From the account of Pliny, it appears that four colours were produced, but all coming under the denomination of "the Tyrian," which is the ex-

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pression made use of by the older writers, particularly the Hebrew and Syriac; for Bochart and others consider the ב and מ inverted in the name ארגמן Argamen, *purple*, and with that change the word would simply mean *Syrian Colour*.

The first was a sullen and melancholy colour, inclining to a *blue* or watchet, and resembling the angry and raging sea in a tempest, and was procured from what he termed the cornet sea-buccinum; the second was obtained from the Pelagian, or deep-sea purples, and was in all probability a plain *red*, or, as it is termed, too deep and brown a colour; the third was formed by mixing these two together, and gave the rich *amethyst*, so highly esteemed above all others; and the fourth seems to have been a bright *crimson or scarlet*, and appears to be that mentioned by Homer as the colour of the blood when cold, and held between the examiner and the light. Besides, there was another, which the author states was obtained at a great price by again dipping the amethyst in the purple dye, and so getting a tint, called from being so dipped, *Tyriamethystus*. Some difference in colour may have arisen from the various species of mollusca used, and the different coasts from which the shells were obtained, as besides the Asiatic and African shores of the Mediterranean mentioned by Pliny, Chios and the islands in the vicinity were famous for their purple; and it was true that Alexander, when revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants in purple robes. They are likewise found at Sigetum, and on the coast of Caria.

The isles of Elisha, mentioned by Ezekiel in his glowing description of the manufactures of Tyre, appear to be Elis in the Peloponnesus, which, as well as Lesbos and Tenedos, produce shells affording a purple dye. Athenæus tells us of the largest being found about the promontory of Lectus; and it is probable that the best purples were those obtained from the deep sea. Different varieties of murices and buccina are found in the Gulf of Tarentum, conglomerated into a breccia, somewhat similar to that which I brought from Tyre.

The first written account of these Tyrian colours that we read of, is that contained in the 25th chapter of Exodus, where they are mentioned among the offerings that the children of Israel were commanded to offer as decorations of the tabernacle, when they wandered in the wilderness. The manufacture of these they in all probability learned from the Egyptians, and they may have been some of the wares of which that nation were despoiled on the departure of the Hebrews. "And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass, and *blue*, and *purple*, and *scarlet*, and fine linen, and goats' hair; and rams' skins dyed *red*, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood."—(Exod. xxv. 3, 4, 5.) And the same articles are frequently enumerated in the subsequent descriptions of the decorations and ornaments of the priests and the sanctuary. Dr. Adam Clarke's observations on the original words used to express these colours, are well worthy of remark:—

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"BLUE, תכלת, *techeleth*, generally supposed to mean an *azure* or *sky colour*, rendered by the Septuagint, ὑακινθον, and by the Vulgate, *hyacinthum*, a *sky-blue* or *deep violet*.

"PURPLE, ארגמן, *argamen*, a very precious colour, extracted from the *purpura*, or *murex*, a species of shell-fish, from which, it is supposed, the famous Tyrian purple came, so costly, and so much celebrated in antiquity.

"SCARLET, תולעת, *tolaath*, signifies a worm of which this colouring matter was made; and, joined with שני, shani, which signifies to *repeat* or *double*, implies that to strike this colour, the wool or cloth was twice dipped; hence the Vulgate renders the original '*coccum bis tinctum*,' 'scarlet twice dyed;' and to this Horace refers, Odar. lib. ii. od. 16, v. 35:—

'—— *Te* BIS *Afro*
Murice TINCTÆ
Vestiunt LANÆ.'——

'Thy robes the *twice-dyed* purple stains.'
FRANCIS.

"It is the same colour which the Arabs call *al kermez*, whence the French *cramoisi*, and the English *crimson*."

Fine linen, or fine-twined linen, follows next among the articles enumerated, and here it is curious that this article is always mentioned in connexion with the scarlet colour, as if that texture (which some suppose to be silk) was dyed scarlet. The very obvious and striking similarity of these colours, as shown by their derivations, and in particular that of the twice-dyed scarlet, to the account of the Roman naturalist, is so plain and distinct that it requires little comment.

But there are other substances mentioned in this description that claim our attention:—

"GOAT'S-HAIR, עזים, *izzim*, *goats*, but used here elliptically, for goat's-hair. In different parts of Asia Minor, Syria, Cilicia, and Phrygia, the goats have long, fine, and beautiful hair,—in some cases almost as fine as silk, which they shear at proper times, and manufacture into garments. From Virgil, Geor. iii. v. 305, we learn that goat's-hair, manufactured into cloth, was nearly of equal value with that formed from wool.

'For hairy goats of equal profit are
With woolly sheep, and ask an equal care.
'Tis true the *fleece*, when drunk with Tyrian juice,
Is dearly sold,' &c.
DRYDEN.

"RAM'S-SKINS DYED RED, ערת אילם מאדמים, *oroth eglim meoddamim*, literally the 'skins of red rams;'" and these the learned commentator supposes to have been of a violet colour, and that such was the

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natural colour of the fleece; and, to this effect, he quotes the passage in Homer's Odyss. lib. ix. v. 425:—

> "Strong were the rams, with native *purple* fair,
> Well fed, and largest of the fleecy care."
> POPE.

And again, in Virgil, Eclog. iv. v. 43:—

> "With native *purple* or unborrowed gold,
> Beneath his pompous fleece shall proudly sweat,
> And under *Tyrian* robes the lamb shall bleat."
> DRYDEN.

I cannot subscribe to this, as no such sheep are known to inhabit any of these countries. If they really were of a *violet* colour, it is not improbable that they may have been dipped in the Tyrian dye; but the sheep that now inhabit Syria and Asia Minor, that in any way differ from the common, are of a reddish fawn, or chocolate colour. This peculiar tint is sought for, among the Mooslims, even at the present day, and is sometimes produced artificially. Thus Captains Irby and Mangles arrived at an encampment of the Jellaheen Arabs, near El Baid, beyond Hebron; among whom was a tailor, making sheep-skin coats, which were dyed red with ochre, or some such clay colouring matter.

"BADGER'S-SKINS, עֹרֹת תחשים, *oroth techashim*. Few terms have afforded greater perplexity to critics and commentators than this. Bochart has exhausted the subject, and seems to have proved that no kind of *animal* is here intended, but a *colour*. None of the ancient versions acknowledge an animal of any kind, except the Chaldee, which seems to think the badger is intended, and from it we have borrowed our translation of the word. The Septuagint and Vulgate have, skins dyed a *violet* colour; the Syriac, *azure;* the Arabic, *black;* the Coptic, *violet;* the modern Persian, *ram's-skins*, &c. The colour contended for by Bochart is the hysginus, which is a very deep blue. So Pliny, *Coccoque tinctum Tyrio tingere, ut fieret hysginum*. 'They dip crimson in purple to make the colour called *hysginus*.'—*Hist. Nat. Lib. IX. c.* 65."

In the coverings of the Tabernacle, mentioned in the 26th chapter, the "fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet," are again brought before us, the latter as being the colours of which each of the four curtains were dyed, and were, in all probability, placed in the following numerical order:—The first, or outermost, was a stuff of goat's-hair, and was, in all probability, *blue*. The second was of "ram's-skins dyed red;" this was a plain *red*. The third was of "Badger's-skins," and most likely *purple, violet*, or *hysginus*; and the fourth, of "fine twined linen," was *scarlet*, and seems to have been a diaper, or embroidery, termed in Scripture "cunning work." Besides these distinct textures of different hues, there may have been, in some cases, an intermixture of them, in the manner of embroidery, as in the instance of the veil, and the hanging for the door of the tent, "of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine-twined linen, wrought with needle-work." (v. 36.)

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In after times, Josephus informs us that this veil "was a Babylonish curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for, by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea—two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, the sea the other."—*Josephus' Wars of the Jews*, b. v. ch. v. s. 4.

To the Rev. George Sidney Smith, Professor of Biblical Greek in our University, I am indebted for the following account of the names of some of the colours used by the Hebrews and other Oriental nations:—

"In Isaiah i. 18, we find the word φοινικοῦν of the Septuagint rendered scarlet; and κοκκινον crimson. The corresponding Hebrew words are שנים (Shaneem), and תזלע (Thola). There is no difficulty, of course, in recognizing in κοκκος, or κοκκινος, the dye called kermes. The worm which yields this dye, is, in Hebrew, *Thola* vermis. However, in 2 Chron. ii. 7, κοκκος answers to כרמל (Carmeel), which is the same as the Arabic قرمز, *kermes*, the Persian *kerm*, and sanscrit *krimi*; and from the same root came *crimson, carmine, carmoisi*, &c. in modern tongues. But the Arabic letters Kaf and Fe (ك, ڤ) differ only by one having a single dot over it, and the other, two dots; the one, in fact, being a *digammated* form of the other; so that the Arabic *kermes* easily passes into *vermes*, from which comes *vermillion* and its cognates. But κοκκος also frequently answers to the Hebrew שני (Shanee), and to תולעת שני (Tholahath Shanee); the meaning, however, of Shanee is disputed. It properly means *duo, two*; and hence, is often put as equivalent to twice dyed, *dibaphum*. But as this operation of double dying was properly belonging to the manufacturer of purple, and not of scarlet, the best authorities, such, as Braun, Bochart, &c. dispute this sense. Most probably, it comes from an Arabic root, shanah, *splenduit*. The Syriac name for coccus, Zehoree, comes likewise from Zahar, *splenduit*.

"*Purple* is called, in Hebrew, ארגמן (Argāman.) It was 'color sanguinis concreti,' as is collected from the Rabbin. The word is derived, by Bochart, 'quasi *Armagon* or *Aramgevan*,' from Aram, Syrian, and Gon or Gevan, the common Syriac for '*colour*.' Gesenius objects to this, as against the analogy of Shemitic compounds, in which the genitive should follow, and not precede the nominative, and proposes some conjectural derivations, not very satisfactory.

"From the mixture of the scarlet of the κοκκος, and the purple, (Argāman,) was produced a compound called, ὑσγινος, or, in Syriac, *Sasgon* which means, *worm-colour*—תם (Sus,) being a worm.

"But there was another important colour derived also from the sea. This was called תכלת (Thechēlet), translated ὑακινθος and ὑλοπορφυρος by the Septua-

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gint, and is described as being the cærulean, or deep blue of the sky—indigo, as we should say.

"This Thechēlet, or deep blue, was obtained from a molluscous animal called דזלזון (Chilzōn), whether a buccinum or not, I do not know, (perhaps, Buccinum Lapillus.) The Rabbins say, that as the animal grows, its shell grows with it, which leaves no doubt as to its molluscous nature, and is against the supposition of its being a kind of *Sepia*, as some think.

"The Rabbins, however, have many fables about this Chilzōn—such as, that it rises to the surface of the sea every seventy years. And one of their questions was, 'Does a man commit one sin, or several, who crushes a live *chilzōn*, for the sake of the dye, on the Sabbath-day?' And the passage, Deut. x. xxiii. 19, 'They shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand,' is paraphrased in the Targum of Jonathan, 'They shall feed on abundance of the Taritha, (a delicious fish of the Thunny kind,) and catch numbers of the *chilzōn*!'

"Maimonides gives an account of the manufacture of Thechēlet from the *chilzōn*. There is nothing very important in it; the wool was steeped and washed, and then the blood of the *chilzōn*, with various dyer's drugs, was poured on it, till it was the colour of the sky.

"No other blue would answer for sacred use but this; and the command of Moses, Numbers xv. 38, 'To put on the fringe of the garment a ribbon of *blue*,' is now disobeyed by the Jews, because they have lost the art of dying from the chilzōn.

"The purple (Argāman) and the hyacinth, or conchylium (Thechēlet) are constantly distinguished by ancient writers. Vitruvius states, (but I do not know with what authority,) that the purple was made 'ex buccino et conchylio admisto;' but that the colour called conchylium was 'ex solo conchylio.'

"Another red colour was called לבא *Laca*, and was principally employed in dying *leather;* perhaps not unlike the present *morocco* leather. It was called, too, סרלבא (*Sarlaca*) or Tyrian red; and this word Sarlaca affords the most probable derivation that I have met for our word *Scarlet*. The Laca was, *I think*, obtained from some kind of alga; פוך (Phook) is the Hebrew word for fucus, which is plainly derived from it."

The chilzōn may be a species of serpula, of which I found such numbers on the coast of Tyre, the interior of which were stained a purple colour.

The engraving at page 379 exhibits a fragment of the breccia of shells that I obtained in the *mills* or dye-pots sunk in the rocks at Tyre, of which no doubt can now exist, but that they are portions of the *Murex Trunculus;* and those at page 380 show a *recent* specimen of the same shell, from the coast about Smyrna, and a smaller one of the same kind, which I picked up on the strand near the Tyrian peninsula.

The larger Murex belongs to my friend Mr. R. Ball, who, on my show-

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ing him the breccia, at once produced this shell, as being the same as those broken-up pieces in the conglomerate.

No doubt, a dyeing material can be obtained from a variety of turbinated shells, that have a very large geographical distribution. Fabius Columna seems, however, to be the first who *supposed* that the Murex Trunculus was the actual shell, and since his day, this opinion has been adopted by Cuvier and Lamark; and experiments were performed on different shells, but particularly the Buccinum Lapillus of Linnæus, by Reaumur and Duhamel, to show how the dye could be obtained; but the opinions of authors amount, at best, to a well-founded supposition, and might as well have applied to any of the several varieties of mollusca that afford a colouring matter; whereas, the fact of finding the shell in the actual dyeing-pots at Tyre, appears to set this disputed question at rest. This dye appears to have been in use up to the introduction of Christianity; for, besides that a Syrophœnician woman is represented as a seller of purple, the elder Pliny, from whom I have already quoted so largely, flourished seventy-nine years after the birth of Christ. After this, we have no account of the manufacture; probably it declined with the decay of its native city, and even at the time of the Roman naturalist a substitute had been found in the *Kermes* procured from the Coccus Ilicis, a parasitic insect found upon the evergreen oak. The dye then seems to have been lost; until, upon the discovery of India and the New World, equivalents for it were found in indigo and cochineal. Da Costa was of opinion that the liquor of the purple-marking whelk of Cornwall (*Buccinum Lapillus*) was a valuable dye to the ancient English, and quotes the venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century. "There are," says Bede, "snails in very great abundance, from which a scarlet or crimson dye is made, whose elegant redness never fades, either by the heat of the sun or the injuries of rain; but the older it is, the more elegant."—*Bede Eccles. Hist.* L. 1, c. 1. p. 227.

From my friend, George Finlay, Esq. of Athens, who kindly undertook to make inquiries for me with regard to the ancient manufacture of the Tyrian dye upon the coast of Elis, I have lately received the following communication:—

"That no tradition of any kind exists in Greece, which ascends back for centuries, I can safely say, as I have paid a good deal of attention to searching for the traditions of the country, in every part of it, and I have seldom found any traces which ascended more than a few generations. I have, however, for some time been engaged in writing a history of the Hellenic people, from the decline of the Roman empire to the present time, and I find frequent mention of the manufactures of the Peloponnesus. The Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Greece in the twelfth century, mentions also a Jewish colony of 2,000 persons, which was established at Thebes, and carried on an extensive silk manufactory, and purple dyeing. In the life of Basil, the Macedonian, by the Emperor

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Constantine Porphyrogenitus, (Basil reigned from 867 to 886,) mention is made of richly dyed cloths and carpets; and the fishers for purple (*σηγχυλιωται*) are noticed as exempted from military service in the reign of Romanus Lecapenus (935), which you find in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De Administrando Imperio*, cap. 52. But I have no means of ascertaining whether the shell was the same species of Murex as that used in Phœnicia or not. It is, however, almost certain, from the general similarity of all the shells found on the coasts of Greece and Syria, which, I am told, almost universally correspond in species, and from the fact of Benjamin of Tudela mentioning Jerusalem and Thebes as two towns where Jews were great purple dyers. Their removal to Thebes would be caused by the advantage of living on the spot where the silk was manufactured, and their secret in dying purple would of course be the Phœnician method."

Walker, in his Irish Bards, enumerates the colours and dying materials used by the ancient Irish, as black, crimson, *purple*, and yellow.

"There is," says he, "a beautiful crimson obtained from the periwinkle, and a kind of limpet, of red, white, black, yellow, brown, and sand colours. The fish is laid with its mouth downward on some solid body, and the shell broke, but so as not to bruise the fish. When the shell is picked off, there appears a white vein, lying transversely in a furrow, next the head, which may be taken out by a bodkin, or other pointed instrument. If periwinkles are used, the shell is not to be broken. The vein lying on the head, on being pricked with a pin, distils a few drops of a white milky liquor, without injuring the fish, which may be pricked thus once a day for four or five times. The letters, &c. drawn on the linen with this liquor, obtained from either fish, first appear a light green, then a deep green, and, in a few miutes, turn to a full sea-green; then, a blue, afterwards a deep purple red, and all in a few hours, if exposed to the sun. But, after washing it in hot water and soap, the purple becomes a beautiful bright crimson, which nothing can change."—*Walker's Irish Bards*, Vol. II. p. 261.

At Nycoya, in the West Indies, Gage found a shell, resembling the ancient purpura, and used for a like purpose; but the descriptions of this author are so very like those of Pliny, as to their hiding before the rise of the dog-star, disappearing for three hundred days, &c. that he seems to have studied the latter *too closely*. At Guayaquil, in South America, there was, some time ago, a considerable manufactory of this article, and the cloths dyed with it were only allowed to be worn by the Spanish lords. It is also known to the inhabitants of the South Sea and Carribean Islands, where it is called Burgum.

In 1684, Mr. W. Code, of Bristol, made a communication upon this subject to the Royal Society of London, in which he states that he obtained a purple dye from the *Buccinum Lapillus*, found on the coast of Somersetshire, and North Wales, similar to that found on the coast of Pitou; and also states, that at that time a trade was carried on in Ireland,

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by persons who went about marking handkerchiefs and linen, with a dye obtained, likewise, from the *Buccinum Lapillus.—Phil. Trans.* vol. ii. p. 823.

This art is still known to some of the people on the Wicklow coast.

In the fifth vol. of the "Belfast Magazine," (1810,) there is an account of some recent experiments performed on this colouring matter, extracted from Montague's *Testacea Britannica*. In this case the animal used was likewise the *Buccinum Lapillus*, and afterwards the *Turbo Clathrus*. These experiments I have repeated with the *Buccinum Lapillus*, and they gave the like result. Those I made use of were collected by my friend Dr. Farran, at Howth and Malahide, where they abound in such quantities on the rocks, that tons weight of them could be collected in a short time.

On breaking the shell, the colouring fluid will be found contained in a receptacle, lying in a sulcus behind the neck of the animal. This receptacle can be at once distinguished by the whitish-grey colour of the fluid that it contains, and by its tortuous, worm-like appearance. On removing this, which is of the consistence of cream, with a sharp-pointed instrument, and applying it to any linen, woollen, cotton, or silken textures, it, in a few seconds, assumes a straw-colour, then a light green; presently, the margin of the coloured part becomes a pinkish red, and, as the drying proceeds, the whole deepens into a vivid purple, which, on washing, increases in lustre and intensity. It must, however, be exposed to solar light, and the more intense the light, the sooner will the changes of colour take place, and the more beautiful the tint produced.

To show the effect of light upon this substance, the following experiment may be instanced. I soaked a piece of flannel in a solution of this juice, and pinned it against the window-frame, in a strong light; having been called away, I did not remove the bit of flannel for above two hours. When I returned, I found that the side next the light had assumed the usual purple colour, but the reverse side, that away from the light, and which was also perfectly dry, had remained a green—that hue which is the second step in the transition; and this colour remained fixed.

I do not believe that there was any mordant used to strike or fix the dye, for it is an animal indigo, and contains a mordant in itself; there was no need, therefore, of the tin which the ships of Tarshish brought from Cornwall being used for this purpose. And the salt, mentioned by Pliny, seems to me to have been used, not as a mordant, but in order to purge out the juice from the animals; Templeman, however, has proved that salt has no effect whatever.

"It was found," says the writer of the article in the Belfast Magazine, and I have had similar results, "that after the colour was fixed at its last natural change, nitrous, no more than vitriolic acid, had no other effect than that of rather brightening it; aqua regia, with and without solution of tin, and marine acid, produced no change; nor had any fixed or volatile alkali any sensible effect."

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I have found that the colour decreases in lustre by the animal being kept for any time out of its natural element. From the experiments upon the *Turbo Clathrus* I quote the following :—

"As the animal becomes sickly by keeping for some days in sea-water, it frequently discharges a most beautiful purple liquor. This circumstance was known to Plancus, who observes that it was one of those shells which yield the purple dye of the Mediterranean; and which is also recorded by Martini. It may, indeed, with much reason, be conjectured that this is really one of the shells from the animal of which the ancients procured their famous purple dye; though if Pliny is consulted, the shells that produced this precious colour were either Murices or Buccines, or both. 'Glowing with Tyrian Murex,' is an expression of Virgil, that indicates it to have been collected from shells of that genus only; but we must recollect that conchology was, at the time of those writers, in its very infancy; scarcely systematized, or formed into any divisions, so that *Turbo Clathrus* may possibly have some claim to the credit of contributing to the celebrated Tyrian Murex."

The colour of this animal differs, however, materially from that of the Buccinum Lapillus, for

"Mineral acids turn it to a bluish green, or sea-green; sulphuric acid renders it a shade more inclining to blue: vegetable acids probably do not affect it, since cream of tartar did not in the least alter it. These colours laid on paper, were very bright, and appeared for some months unchanged by the action of the air, or the sun; but being exposed for a whole summer to the solar rays, in a south window, they almost vanished. The application of alkali to the acidulated colour always restored it to its primitive state, and was as readily changed again by mineral acid; in particular, it differs materially from the succus of Buccinum Lapillus, which we have before remarked is *unalterable*. Its property is materially different from litmus, which is turned from blue to red, with the most trifling mixture of any acid. It differs, also, from vegetable colours in general by not being affected by alkali, which turns the infusion of blue or purple flowers to green."

No reliance can, I conceive, be placed on the accounts of the ancients, as to what the exact animal was; some supposing it to have been a Purpura, some a Murex, and others a Buccinum or a Turbo; all of which do, no doubt, yield a dye, but the finding of the breccia of the *Murex Trunculus*, in the dye-pots at Tyre, is, I think, conclusive.

There is, I understand, a tradition among Irish antiquaries, that the shells were found on this coast, and that it was for this purpose the Tyrians voyaged so far west. This, however, is not very likely, when the shells that give the colouring matter were found, so abundantly, near home, and the *Murex Trunculus* is not found here; besides, unless they manufactured it on the Irish coast, it would be of little worth, for, unlike cochineal, the colour fades on the death of the animal.

Stone mortars, similar to those found at Tyre, were in use among the

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ancient Egyptians; and several of the mummy clothes have a blue cross-stripe above the end or selvedge. This colour, Mr. Thompson supposed to be the product of indigo, and this opinion is adopted by Mr. Wilkinson; but the tests used by the former, prove it as well to have been the Tyrian, or conchilian colour; and this is the more probable, from the Hebrews carrying along with them not only the art, but very likely the materials to manufacture it with, as I have endeavoured to prove in the previous part of this essay; and if it be established that all these colours were the produce, or, at least, the manufacture of Tyre, it proves the existence and commercial importance of that place as far back as when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness.

I trust some of our enterprising manufacturers will institute an inquiry as to the possibility of turning the shells producing a colouring matter, that inhabit our shores, to account. Some valuable information on this subject may be found in the work of Amati, called, "Purpura Restituta," Reaumur's Experiments on the Buccinum of Poitou, Duhamal's Experiments on the Mediterranean Mollusca, Fabius Columna De Purpura, Vitruvius De Architect, 1, 7, c. 13. See, also, Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, Donovan's, and most other conchological works.

N.—Page 517.

ANATOMICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEADS FOUND IN THE ACELDAMA, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE CRANIUM OF A MODERN EGYPTIAN.

In the skull belonging to the Ethiopian variety, figured at page 515, the nasal bones are rather more prominent than in the generality of this race, and the tube of the ear is a little lower down than in most skulls that I have examined. Independent of the general characters of the heads of this variety, as I have enumerated them at pages 513 and 514, I may notice the following peculiarities or distinctions between that figured in the text and the European or Caucasian form of cranium.

Besides the greater density and strength of the malar or cheek-bone, it presents a much larger lateral surface than in the Caucasian, and a greater hollow or depression at its junction with the orbital process of the frontal. The posterior surface of the superior maxillary bone is, likewise, more convex externally, and the external pterygoid plates stronger. The other peculiarities of the lateral view are well exhibited in the engraving.

Professor Owen has, with his usual talent and observation, drawn attention to the analysis of the basis cranii of different skulls. A few words on the comparisons of this and the other crania represented in the text may not be amiss. The outline of the base is longer, and its sides flatter; the foramen magnum is more elliptical; but its anterior edge is on a plane anterior to the anterior margin of the mastoid processes. The occipital condyles look more outwards, the basilar process is longer and narrower

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than in Europeans, the glenoid cavity is much deeper, and the hard palate is shallower and less arched.

The pyramidal skull of the Mongolian variety represented at page 516, differs, however, from the true or well-marked Mongolian in the following particulars:—The face is not quite so flat or confluent; the zigoma is not quite so prominent laterally, and more rounded at its junction with the malar or cheek-bone. The alveolar process, or the sockets for the teeth, projects rather much, so as to throw out the teeth at a small angle with the upper jaw, in this respect approaching the negro race; the nasal bones are more prominent, and have a very deep notch at their junction with the forehead or frontal bone. This peculiarity Dr. Prichard says he has observed in Australian and Polynesian skulls; but another head that I removed from the left-hand chamber of this tomb, wants this, and possesses more of the Chinese feature. And he also says, that he has seen Esquimaux heads, that they very much resembled, and that in some particulars they are like those artificially-shaped crania brought from Peru; but a glance at this skull, and at one of those altered by artificial means, will at once explain the difference. The orbits preserve much of this Mongul peculiarity, being long, large, deep, set widely apart, and having the lower edge on a plain posterior to the upper.

I know not whether the remark be original, but it has struck me as being extraordinary, that the knob at the top of this skull, which is so characteristic of the pyramidal heads to which this belongs, and which might be adduced as one of the characteristic distinctions of a particular race, is chiefly found among those nations who shave the scalp, except a long tuft of hair left at top, growing from this part of the crown of the head. Such is the practice, and such the heads among the Chinese, Kalmucs, and Turks, who are descendants of the Turcomans, a true Mongul race. Homer mentions that the Thracians, another Turanian people, wore the hair only on the crown of the head. I have frequently observed in the barber's shops in the east, that the heads of young boys did not possess this knob, even comparatively with the men; and from this circumstance I am inclined to suppose, that their wearing this tuft on the top of their heads, is partly the cause of the protuberance, especially as, when uncovered, they are constantly pulling and twisting it in their fingers.

The engraving of the mixed variety at page 518, is the skull of an old edentulous person, probably a female; so thin as to be almost diaphanous in many places, and is particularly light and friable. The zigomæ are slightly arched, and project somewhat beyond the lateral surface of the head. The nasal bones are rather prominent; the alveolar process is wholly absorbed, and the hard palate very narrow; the condyles are on a plane with the extremity of the mastoid processes. The want of frontal development, and extremely small size of this head, give it some of the characters of that of an idiot; but there were many such in the same chamber.

To enter into a more minute detail of *all* the anatomical characters of these heads would be foreign to a work such as this.

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In the skull of a modern Egyptian who was killed before the walls of Acre, in the attack on that place by Ibrahim Bâsha, in 1836, and now in my collection, we have a well-marked instance of the generality of that people, who are characterized by extreme narrowness of breadth, as compared with the height of their foreheads; this skull barely measuring three inches above the external angular processes of the frontal bone. This is evidently a mixed variety, and exhibits in a very remarkable manner the blending of the anatomical characters of the two races from which the greater part of the modern Egyptians are sprung; that is, the Arab and the Negro. But many of the negresses who are sold in the Egyptian slave-markets are natives of Mozambique; and these, it is well-known, have higher foreheads than any of the other negro races. The zigomæ are on a plane somewhat external to the frontal and parietal bones, and more arched than in the well-marked Ethiopian. The nasal bones are more prominent, while the alveolar process of the superior maxilla presents all the characters of that race. The upper and lower margins of the orbits are on the same plane; the base of the skull presents a greater preponderance in its antero-posterior, compared with its lateral diameter; but the most striking peculiarity of this base is that of the projection of the occipital condyles below the plane of the mastoid processes. The sutures of this head are the most strongly marked that I have ever seen, and contain (particularly the lambdoid) the largest and greatest number of ossa triquetra I have ever met with.

O.—Page 565.

REGISTER OF THE FAHRENHEIT THERMOMETER, ON BOARD THE CRUSADER YACHT, TAKEN AT THE HOURS OF 9, A.M.; 12, N.; AND 9, P.M., FROM THE 9TH DECEMBER TO THE 23RD OF MAY, 1837–8.

Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock.	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
December	9	56	59	58½	Gibraltar.
..	10	57	59	54	—
..	11	60	62	56	—
..	12	57	59	52	—
..	13	58	59	54	—
..	14	57	58	52	At Sea.
..	15	58	59	53	Coast of Spain.
..	16	57	57	59	—
..	18	60	61½	54	Coast of Africa.
..	19	62	62	56	Algiers.
..	20	61	62	57	—
..	21	59½	63	56	—
..	22	61	61	57	—
..	23	57	60	58	—
..	24	58	60	54	—
..	25	56	59	54	—
..	26	57	59	56	—
..	27	58	61	55	—
..	28	56	60	54	—
..	29	60	61	57	—
..	30	59	60	54	—
..	31	59	61	56	—
January, 1838.	1	57	59	57	West Coast of Sicily.
..	2	57	56	56	—

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Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock.	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
January, 1838.	3	56	57	56	Marsala.
..	4	54	57	56	—
..	5	58	59	58	Coast of Sicily.
..	6	58	59	58	Malta.
..	7	59	61	60	At Sea.
..	8	60	60	60	—
..	9	58	58	57	—
..	10	56	58	57	Off Candia.
..	11	58	59	59	At Sea.
..	12	59	62	61	—
..	13	62	64	62	—
..	14	63	63	61	—
..	15	58	62	60	Alexandria.
..	16	59	63	60	—
..	17	60	63	60	—
..	18	58	62	57	—
..	19	59	62	58	—
..	20	60	65	59	—
..	21	60	64	59	—
..	22	61	64	60	—
..	23	60	64	64	—
..	24	58	63	63	—
..	25	59	64	62	—
..	26	60	65	63	—
..	27	64	65	63	—
..	28	60	65	62	—
..	29	57	64	62	—
..	30	60	64	60	—
..	31	59	64	60	—
February.	1	59	65	60	—
..	2	59	63	57	—
..	3	59	62	58	—
..	4	59	63	57	—
..	5	58	62	61	—
..	6	60	61	59	—
..	7	58	62	56	—
..	8	57	59	55	—
..	9	59	60	56	At Sea.
..	10	58	60	56	—
..	11	59	63	58	Symi.
..	12	58	61	56	—
..	13	59	60	54	—
..	14	59	60	56	—
..	15	57	59	58	—
..	16	57	60	56	—
..	17	57	59	57	Rhodes.
..	18	58	62	54	—
..	19	58	61	53	—
..	20	53	56	42	Marmorice.
..	21	39	50	41	—
..	22	47	55	40	—
..	23	52	55	52	—
..	24	56	57	58	—
..	25	58	64	61	Karagatch.
..	26	60	64	60	—
..	27	62	65	63	—
..	28	63	66	60	—
March.	1	55	65	58	At Sea.
..	2	52	66	58	Macri.
..	3	60	63	58	—
..	4	64	66	60	At Sea.
..	5	61	64	60	—
..	6	62	68	54	Cyprus.
..	7	60	64	57	—
..	8	64	69	63	—
..	9	60	68	58	Beyrout.
..	10	63	68	59	—
..	11	59	62	60	Beyrout.
..	12	60	66	61	Tyre.
..	13	63	67	60	—
..	14	62	65	59	—
..	15	63	68	59	—
..	16	60	64	60	—
..	17	60	64	59	—
..	18	62	65	59	Jaffa.

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Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock.	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
March.	19	59	64	60	Jaffa.
..	20	58	66	60	At Sea off Jaffa.
..	21	56	65	68	—
..	22	59	66	64	—
..	23	58	70	68	—
..	24	60	74	69	—
..	25	64	78	62	—
..	26	68	68	62	—
..	27	63	65	62	—
..	28	60	64	60	—
..	29	63	68	64	—
..	30	62	66	62	—
..	31	62	69	64	—
April.	1	60	62	60	—
..	2	59	64	59	—
..	3	58	57	54	Greece.
..	4	55	55	50	—
..	5	52	65	59	—
..	6	58	59	56	—
..	7	59	60	57	—
..	8	58	59	57	—
..	9	61	64	60	—
..	10	58	58	56	—
..	11	54	56	55	Athens.
..	12	55	60	59	—
..	13	61	64	56	—
..	14	59	64	57	—
..	15	56	59	58	—
..	16	56	63	58	—
..	17	58	60	56	—
..	18	60	63	59	—
..	19	59	62	58	—
..	20	60	63	59	—
..	21	61	68	64	—
..	22	62	67	58	—
..	23	65	64	62	—
..	24	64	68	60	—
..	25	61	61	61	—
..	26	64	68	68	—
..	27	65	69	60	—
..	28	62	68	61	—
..	29	64	64	64	—
..	30	58	60	57	—
May.	1	59	62	60	—
..	2	62	62	60	—
..	3	59	61	58	—
..	4	62	62	61	—
..	5	65	68	64	—
..	6	66	66	66	At Sea, between Malta and Gibraltar.
..	7	66	68	67	—
..	8	67	67	66	—
..	9	65	66	64	—
..	10	63	64	63	—
..	11	68	71	68	—
..	12	69	71	66	—
..	13	67	68	66	—
..	14	65	67	64	—
..	15	62	63	61	—
..	16	66	73	60	—
..	17	58	61	60	—
..	18	62	66	64	Gibraltar.
..	19	66	68	56	—
..	20	58	67	64	—
..	21	60	67	64	—
..	22	61	68	67	—
..	23				We left the Mediterranean.

THE END.

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